To

Mr. J. E. Chilberg, President,
Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition
Seattle,

with the compliments of
Clarence E. Young,
General Secretary, World's Congresses of
1893
Chicago.

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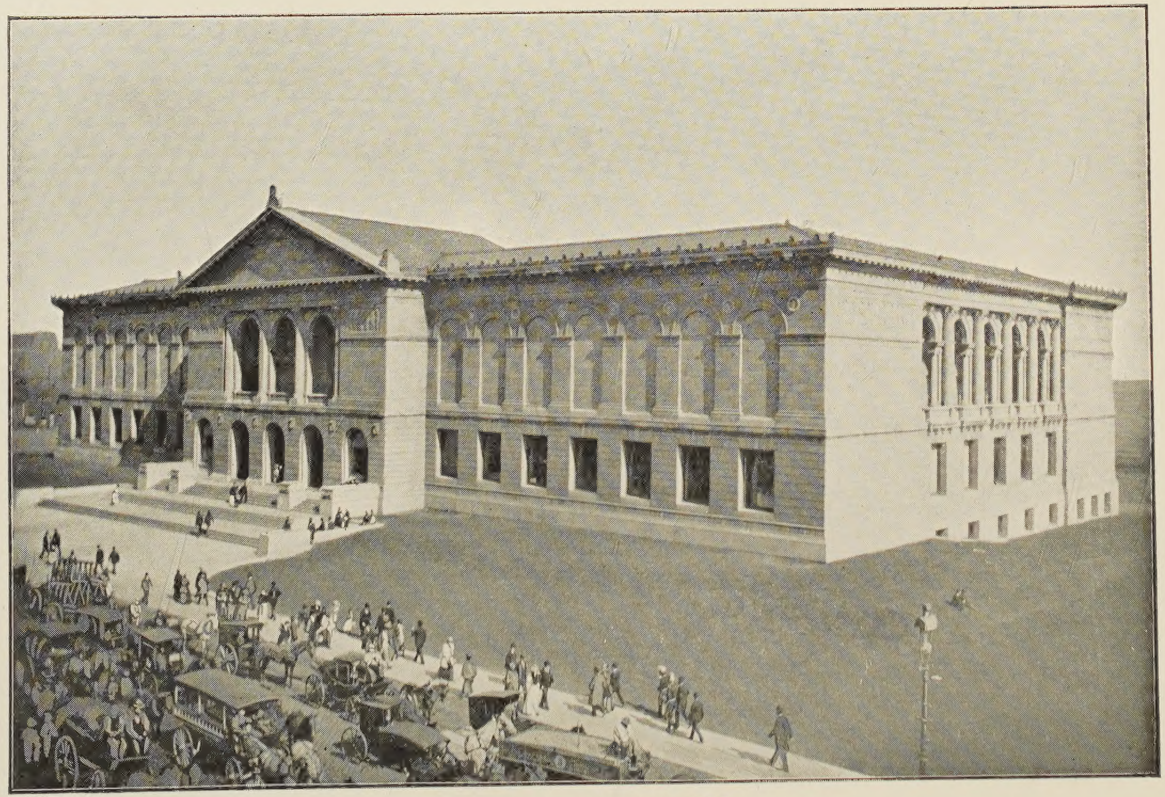

THE NEW ART INSTITUTE.

J. E. Chittenden
Seattle

THE WORLD'S CONGRESS

OF

REPRESENTATIVE WOMEN

A HISTORICAL RÉSUMÉ FOR POPULAR CIRCULATION OF THE WORLD'S CONGRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE WOMEN, CONVENED IN CHICAGO ON MAY 15, AND ADJOURNED ON MAY 22, 1893, UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE WOMAN'S BRANCH OF

THE WORLD'S CONGRESS AUXILIARY

MRS. POTTER PALMER, PRESIDENT.
MRS. CHARLES HENROTIN, VICE-PRESIDENT.

EDITED BY MAY WRIGHT SEWALL,
CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE OF ORGANIZATION.

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TO

THE MEN AND WOMEN

AMONG HER CONTEMPORARIES WHO,
"HAVING EARS TO HEAR," CAN UNDERSTAND ITS MESSAGE,
AND HAVING
OPEN MINDS AND GENEROUS HEARTS,
CAN REGARD WITH FAVOR
THE ULTIMATE ABSOLUTELY EQUAL COPARTNERSHIP
WHICH
IT UNMISTAKABLY FORESHADOWS,

THIS WORK IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

BY

THE EDITOR.

HON. CHARLES C. BONNEY,
President World's Congresses of 1893.

ANNOUNCEMENT.

THE series of World's Congresses which convened in Chicago during the World's Columbian Exposition under the auspices of the World's Congress Auxiliary, of which the Hon. Charles C. Bonney is president, were opened by a Congress of the Representative Women of all Lands. This Congress was, without doubt, the largest and most representative gathering of women ever convened in this or any other country. It assembled at 11 o'clock A. M. on Monday, May 15th, immediately after the general opening of the World's Congress series, and adjourned Sunday evening, May 21st. There were seventy-six sessions and over six hundred participants. The greatest interest was manifested by participants from all parts of the world, and the aggregate attendance for the week was over one hundred and fifty thousand.

While the officers of the World's Congress Auxiliary provided for the liberal participation of women in the other great departments of thought, like Education, Science, Music, Religion, Moral and Social Reform, Government, etc., they also wisely decided to give a full week to a Woman's Congress for the purpose of presenting to the people of the world the wonderful progress of women in all civilized lands in the great departments of intellectual activity.

This great Congress, which represents the Department of Woman's Progress in the general programme of the World's Congress Auxiliary, was under the direct supervision of the Woman's Branch of the Auxiliary, of which Mrs. Potter Palmer is president and Mrs. Charles Henrotin vice-president. The work of organization was committed, under the supervision of those officers, to a general committee composed of the following ladies:

Mrs. May Wright Sewall, chairman; Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, secretary; Miss Frances E. Willard, Dr. Sarah Hackett

Stevenson, Dr. Julia Holmes Smith, Mrs. John C. Coonley, Mrs. Elizabeth Boynton Harbert, Mrs. William Thayer Brown.

The proceedings of this Congress of Representative Women present in a remarkably compact yet comprehensive form all the varied interests in which the women of the world are concerned. The two volumes in which those proceedings are published, under the editorial supervision of Mrs. May Wright Sewall, chairman of the Committee of Organization, constitute a complete and comprehensive yet condensed and readable library on all the great themes in which the enlightened women of our time are concerned. No other book or collection of books on these important subjects can take the place of this history of woman's progress. To every woman who holds any place of leadership among her sex these volumes may be truly said to be indispensable. Without them she can not be in touch with the vital influences of the great movement of the nineteenth century which is known as Woman's Progress.

CLARENCE E. YOUNG, *General Secretary*,
World's Congresses of 1893.

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PREFACE.

IN presenting to the public the following report of the World's Congress of Representative Women, which convened at Chicago Monday, May 15, 1893, in the Memorial Art Palace, under the auspices of the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary, the officers of the Woman's Branch have judged it expedient to preface this report with a few words of explanation as to the inception of the Congress.

An invitation was extended by Mrs. Potter Palmer, president, and Mrs. Henrotin, vice-president of the Woman's Branch, to the "National Council of Women of the United States," at the meeting in session in Washington during February, 1891, inviting the Council, in the name of the World's Congress Auxiliary to hold its annual meeting in Chicago during the Exposition of 1893. Invitations and circulars were specially prepared by the World's Congress Auxiliary, and delivered by the president and vice-president of the Woman's Branch to the members of the National Council, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and members of other organizations present at that meeting, inviting them also to hold their annual meetings in Chicago, under the auspices of the Woman's Branch of the Congress Auxiliary, during the Exposition year.

Mrs. May Wright Sewall, as president of the National Council of Women of the United States, and as representing the International Council of Women, in response to the invitations from the officers of the Woman's Branch, and in the absence from Chicago of those officers, wrote to the Hon. Charles C. Bonney, president of the World's Congress Auxiliary, requesting that the quinquennial meeting of the International Council of Women be also held in Chicago as one of the series of World's Congresses.

At the request of the officers of the Woman's Branch, President Bonney, in replying to Mrs. Sewall, outlined the plan for the Congress of Representative Women, to convene under the direction of, and to be presided over by, the officers of the Woman's Branch; and at the request of those officers, Mrs. May Wright Sewall was invited to become chairman of the Local Committee of Organization.

From the inception of the Congresses the officers of the Woman's Branch had in mind a Congress of Women, in which the presentation of the professions and trades now open to woman would have been given great prominence; but having received written applications and verbal requests from the officers of many associations to hold annual meetings in Chicago during 1893, they realized that the holding of so many separate meetings would be impossible, and would greatly interfere with the general scheme of the Congresses. They therefore abandoned the project of convening a Special Congress of Business Women, and exerted their influence to secure the representation in the World's Congress of Representative Women of all women in active business.

The formation of dual committees of men and women to assist in the organization of each of the twenty departments of the series of Congresses which were to be held during the Columbian Exposition, secured for woman an equal representation with man along every line of human thought and progress; and it was not to supply any lack in the original scope of the Congresses that that of Representative Women was added to the list. Great care was taken in issuing the preliminary circulars of this Congress, and in arranging programmes, that it should be distinctly understood that in this Congress the contribution of woman alone to the general progress of society, the reform of social evils, and the bettering of the industrial conditions should be presented, while the other Congresses should treat all subjects in their entirety.

Mrs. Potter Palmer, president of the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary, and as president of the Board of Lady Managers of the World's Columbian Exposition, had already secured for the committees of foreign women the official recognition of the various European governments, and

the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary was thus put in relationship, through the Secretary of State, with the women forming these governmental committees. The president of the Woman's Branch in her journeys to Europe lost no opportunity of urging the officers of foreign societies to send delegates to Chicago to participate in each Congress of the series.

A large number of circulars both in French and German were mailed by the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary to the celebrated women of the world, giving the scope of the proposed Congresses, and urging women everywhere to visit the Columbian Exposition and participate in the Congresses. The delegates who in response to this invitation attended the World's Congress of Representative Women and the Congresses that followed during the Exposition season were, in most cases, accredited representatives of the different European governments; and the reports which they will make on their return will be published and widely read.

Mrs. May Wright Sewall's trip to Europe in the interest of the Congress of Representative Women also bore abundant fruit, and to her untiring efforts were due the presence at the Congress of some of the most brilliant foreign representatives.

Early in the formation of this Congress, that its relation to the World's Congress Auxiliary might be clearly understood, the president and vice-president of the Woman's Branch issued the following circular:

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT IN RELATION TO THE CONGRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE WOMEN TO BE HELD DURING THE WEEK COMMENCING MAY 15, 1893.

The undersigned take great pleasure in announcing that the Congress of Representative Women of all lands will be opened in the Permanent Memorial Art Palace, on the Lake Front Park, city of Chicago, on Monday, May 15, 1893, and that the Congress promises to realize the highest expectations of those who have been engaged in its organization.

That there may be a perfectly clear understanding of the nature and purpose of the Woman's Congress, the undersigned will say that while it was called by, and convened under the auspices of the World's Congress Auxiliary of the World's Columbian Exposition, and is particularly under

the direction of the general officers of the Woman's Branch of the Auxiliary, it is not intended to supersede the proper work of women in any other department of the World's Congress work. In Temperance; in Moral and Social Reform; in Education; in Science; in Music, and the other departments of progress, woman will still have her appropriate part to perform. This Congress of Representative Women is intended to afford a proper and convenient opportunity for presenting the progress of women, in all lands and in all departments of human progress, more fully than there would be opportunity to do in the other departments of the World's Congress work. In this Congress all organizations of women of whatever name or object, and all distinguished women, whether they belong to any particular organization or not, will meet on absolutely equal terms for the advancement of the common interests of women everywhere. This explicit statement is made for the purpose of setting at rest any question which may have arisen in regard to the relations of the various organizations to the World's Congress Auxiliary.

The work inaugurated by the Committee of Organization, of which Mrs. May Wright Sewall is chairman, has been prosecuted with indefatigable zeal in all parts of the world, and has elicited responses of the most cordial and satisfactory nature from the representative women of all countries. Almost without exception, the organizations of women in various countries have readily enlisted in the support of the Congress and the furtherance of its plans. The National and International Councils of Women, the Federation of Women's Clubs, and other organizations of women, readily acceded to the proposal of the World's Congress Auxiliary that a World's Congress of the representative women of all countries be convened to take the place of the usual annual meetings of such organizations, and have ever since labored with untiring zeal to promote the success of the Congress.

We therefore earnestly invite the leaders of women in all countries, and the associations of women in all lands, to vie with each other to the utmost of their power in endeavoring to make the success of the Woman's Congress the crowning event of woman's progress to the year 1893.

BERTHA M. H. PALMER, *President*,
ELLEN M. HENROTIN, *Vice-President*,
Woman's Branch World's Congress Auxiliary.

The societies and associations of women throughout the United States responded most generously, even enthusiastically, to the call for the Congress. The list of foreign societies whose reports appear in the Report Congresses is a long and brilliant one, and all present united in bearing testimony to the eager interest which women are taking all over the world in social, economic, and political questions.

The American associations were nearly all represented in the Congress, and by their zeal and enthusiasm rendered it the

most brilliant as well as the largest gathering of women ever convened.

The officers of the Woman's Branch tender their sincere thanks to Mrs. May Wright Sewall, chairman of the Committee of Organization, and Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, the secretary, for the untiring energy and unselfish devotion with which they labored to secure the success of this unique Congress, and to the members of the Local Committee, who faithfully attended committee meetings, and who exerted their influence to secure the coöperation of every association in the United States. How great and far-reaching was that influence may be judged from the personnel of the members composing the committee — Miss Frances E. Willard, president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union; Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson, president of the Chicago Women's Club; Dr. Julia Holmes Smith, vice-chairman of the Woman's Committee on a Congress of Homeopathic Physicians and Surgeons; Mrs. Elizabeth Boynton Harbert, of the Evanston Women's Club; Mrs. William T. Brown, vice-president of the Chicago Women's Club, and Mrs. John C. Coonley.

It would not be practicable to mention by name every organization of women participating in the Congress, but the officers of the Woman's Branch desire to convey to each and every one their sincere thanks for the interest evinced and the practical support which they gave in the General Congress as well as in the Report Congresses, by holding their annual meetings under the auspices of the World's Congress Auxiliary.

The thanks of the officers of the Woman's Branch are cordially extended to the various clubs and organizations who so generously entertained this Congress.

The Chicago Women's Club, which opened their record as hosts by giving a brilliant reception to the World's Congress of Representative Women, entertained almost every Congress which convened during the season.

This Congress was also entertained by the West End Woman's Club, the Board of Lady Managers of the World's Columbian Exposition, and the National Council of Women, besides many private receptions.

The Congress will undoubtedly be productive of great good in arousing the enthusiasm of women for association, for already many new associations, some of which are destined to be a great power, have been formed, having taken their impetus from the Congress of Representative Women.

The subjection of woman is nearing its end, for she has now secured governmental, industrial, and social recognition. She will, like man, remain under the dominion of physical law, inherited tendencies, and social conditions until they both acquire that fuller knowledge which will enable them to conquer these great forces.

The majority of men and women alike struggle from morning until night to keep a roof over their heads and bread in their mouths, and the entire energies of woman should from this day forth be united with those of man, to better existing economic and social conditions, so that joy and beauty may become as much a part of life as sorrow and labor.

BERTHA M. H. PALMER,
President Woman's Branch W. C. A.

ELLEN M. HENROTIN,
Vice-President Woman's Branch W. C. A.

BERTHA M. HONORÉ PALMER,
President Board of Lady Managers, World's Columbian Exposition;
President Woman's Branch World's Congresses of 1893.

WORLD'S CONGRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE WOMEN.

CHAPTER I.—THE INTRODUCTION.

SUMMARY AND COMMENT BY THE EDITOR—SELECTED PARAGRAPHS FROM THE FORMAL ADDRESSES AND IMPROMPTU SPEECHES DELIVERED AT THE MORNING AND EVENING SESSIONS OF THE GENERAL CONGRESS, MAY 15, 1893, BY CHARLES C. BONNEY, BERTHA HONORÉ PALMER, ELLEN M. HENROTIN, MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, THE COUNTESS OF ABERDEEN, FLORENCE FENWICK MILLER, JANE COBDEN UNWIN, HANNA BIEBER-BOEHM, ISABELLE BOGELOT, MARGARET WINDEYER, AUGUSTA FOERSTER, BARONESS THORBORG-RAPPE, CALLIRRHOË PARREN, JOSEFA HUMPAL-ZEMAN, KAETHE SCHIRMACHER, KIRSTINE FREDERIKSEN, MRS. JOHN HARVIE, HULDA LUNDIN, DR. AUGUSTA STOWE GULLEN, MRS. FOSTER, MARY MCDONNELL, ELIZABETH M. TILLEY, LAURA ORMISTON CHANT, MARGARET V. PARKER, NICO BECK-MEYER AND MERI TOPPELIUS—EDITORIAL COMMENT—EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE CLOSING SESSION OF THE GENERAL CONGRESS BY MAY WRIGHT SEWALL.

THE two volumes now given to the public contain an abridged record of the proceedings of a group of meetings probably among the most remarkable ever convened. This is not said in forgetfulness of the councils of Nice and Trent, of the pregnant interview between King John and his Barons, and of the first Continental Congress; but in the belief that with these, and with similar creed-making, epoch-making assemblies, the World's Congress of Representative Women must be counted.

The addresses and discussions partially reproduced in these volumes have no mean degree of intrinsic value and interest; but only when they are read in the light that it is hoped will be thrown upon them by this introduction can

their entire significance and suggestiveness be understood. In this light, whether one considers its origin or its motive, its *dramatis personæ*, or the character and the range of the topics discussed in it, it will appear that the World's Congress of Representative Women was not only an event in the social history of our country, but a mile-stone in the evolution of our race.

The preparations for the Congress, characterized by a remarkable unanimity of purpose among those engaged therein, were met by a corresponding unanimity of sympathy among those invited to participate in the programme, and in other ways to promote its success. Notwithstanding the prevailing sympathy, invitations were now and again answered with the questions, "Why hold a congress of representative women any more than a congress of representative men?" "Since women are to be permitted, nay, invited and solicited, to have a place on the committees of arrangements, the advisory councils, and the programmes of most if not all of the hundred other congresses to be held in behalf of as many different classes, subjects, and interests, why hold a separate, exclusive congress of women at all?"

The uniform reply to such queries was, in substance, that in all the other congresses women would appear, not in the rôle of women, so to speak, but in that of teacher, physician, preacher, author, stenographer, insurance agent, banker, archæologist, philanthropist, etc., to discuss, in company with men belonging to the same professions, engaged in the same businesses, and interested in the same themes, the questions pertaining to their respective professions and avocations.

It was admitted that by their presence and participation in these various congresses women would illustrate incidentally the changing attitude of the world toward themselves, as women; but it was urged that such incidental illustration would present most inadequately the revolution wrought in recent years in the world's conception of

woman's natural capabilities and her consequent just position, while it would fail utterly to record or commemorate the struggle through which some women (aided by some men) have won for all women the place conceded to them in modern life. The motive of the entire scheme of the Congress Auxiliary was to ascertain and exhibit the present status of the human race in respect to all important activities; to all great movements; to all fundamental interests.

No interest can be more fundamental than that at once expressed and awakened by the questions: What is the relation of one-half of the race to the other half? to the whole? What is its part in the development of the whole and in the work of the world? As no question can be more fundamental than these, so none has been more persistently asked; and it must be added, that none has received more answers or more contradictory ones.

The importance attached to women's entertaining a proper conception of their powers, position, and scope can be inferred from the number of dissertations of all kinds — sermons, essays, tracts, lectures, and letters — that clergymen, teachers, scientists, and moralists have devoted to it; a number which, in comparison with that devoted to men's conception of their position and scope, seems disproportionate.

That women have been dissatisfied with the conceptions of their place in the divine economy enjoined upon them by men, that they have been discontented in the position arbitrarily assigned to them, is evident from the changes in this conception and position conceded already, and from the efforts being made to secure further changes. Nay, it is evident that women are dissatisfied with any conception of themselves, with any position which implies their natural, necessary, and, therefore, perpetual subordination to men.

It is easy to say that the changes already made in the interpretation of woman, and in the laws, the customs and ideals concerning her, are but the modifications incidental to the general development and improvement of the human race.

Doubtless, as enlightenment and the sentiment of humanity have increased, the sense of delicacy has grown more acute, and consequently the most humiliating element in the position of women has been less brutally emphasized; and there are many who maintain that woman's position has experienced no greater alteration than that of man; that both have been equally subject to the law of progress and are equally indebted to its results. But any student of history, any student of current literature, any close observer of to-day's life, knows that between the changes made in the last half-century in the condition, attitude, and outlook of men — which are indeed due to the general progress and improvement of the race — and the changes made in the same time in the attitude and condition of women, there is a fundamental difference. It is just this fundamental difference, by far the most vital element in the changes already wrought in woman's position, which can not be ascribed to the general movement of civilization. The progress of civilization as it has affected man (i. e., man as distinguished from woman), wonderful as it is, has been in perfect harmony with the very ancient conception of man as an independent individual, a conscious son of God. It was impossible that woman should not share with man the opportunities for work, pleasure, and culture incident to the growth of civilization; but in addition to these gains she has acquired a new conception of herself, as also an independent individual and a conscious daughter of God, which is not harmonious with the former prevailing conception of her as man's addendum, his helpmeet, his subordinate.

Hence it was that a congress in which women should meet to present their position and work in every field of labor which they have entered; a memorial congress in which women might read their own interpretation of their natures, their own version of their rights, responsibilities, duties, and destiny, seemed an indispensable feature of the Congress Auxiliary scheme.

The universal willingness among progressive women to

assist in stating woman's view of herself may be inferred from the fact that, although a few women hesitated and delayed, no woman invited to a place on the Advisory Council or on the programme finally declined, excepting because of illness, distance, expense, or prior engagements which made acceptance impossible. In response to such invitations, the women of twenty-seven distinct, separate countries were represented on the Advisory Council by five hundred and twenty-eight names. Of these, two hundred and nine served as official representatives of one hundred and twenty-six organized bodies of women.

According to their nationality, these one hundred and twenty-six formal organizations of women may be classified thus:

The United States of America	56	Ireland	1
Belgium	1	Italy	1
Canada	6	New South Wales	1
Denmark	2	Norway	2
England	30	Scotland	3
Finland	2	South America	1
France	7	Sweden	3
Germany	9	Switzerland	1

According to their respective purposes or objects, the same organizations may be grouped as follows:

Education	11	Moral and social reform	15
Literature and art	5	Civil and political reform	34
Science	4	Industry	6
Religion	30	Orders	2
Charity and philanthropy	17	Miscellaneous	2

No complete record of the lay membership of all these organizations has been obtained, but it must run into the millions.

During an entire week from four to twenty meetings were held daily, exclusive of the Conference congresses and of the numerous meetings that were improvised, in response to irresistible public appeal, to fill the afternoon recess. That is, there were held in this one week eighty-one meet-

ings, at each of which a carefully prearranged programme was rendered, besides the meetings held under the auspices of the eight committees on conferences and the indefinite number of informal meetings above referred to.

From Tuesday to Friday, inclusive, there were never less than seven nor more than eighteen meetings in simultaneous progress. In these meetings three hundred and thirty * women contributed addresses or joined in discussions. Adding this number to the four hundred and twenty-six who served only on the Advisory Council and to the eighty-one * women who served only on the different conference committees, we have a total of eight hundred and thirty-seven different women whose united efforts secured the success of this Congress.

From the above statements one must infer that for some reason the most thoughtful, the most finely developed and most highly cultured women considered it important to seize this unique opportunity to present their estimate of woman's place and possibilities.

The secretary of the World's Congress Auxiliary has stated that the total attendance upon the meetings above enumerated exceeded one hundred and fifty thousand persons. This seems an excessive estimate; however, the maximum capacity of the Art Palace is ten thousand; and its maximum capacity was taxed by throngs that, filling every room or hall where a meeting was announced, overflowed all these and surged through anterooms and passages, patiently or otherwise waiting the withdrawal of some listener for a chance to obtain standing-place in the always crowded aisles.

The policemen in attendance (of whom there were fifteen) testified that often hundreds of people were sent away long before the hour of opening a meeting arrived. From the

*Many women spoke in two or more Congresses or served on two or more Conference Committees; and one hundred and two members of the Advisory Council served the Congress also in other ways; but these figures include no duplicates, each woman being counted but once.

preceding statements may be inferred the eager desire of the public to hear women's views of woman. The desire in woman to tell her own story, to paint her own portrait, to read her own future, a desire so deep that it seemed a duty, so dominating that it amounted to a necessity — made the World's Congress of Representative Women possible. The corresponding eagerness of the world at large to listen to the story, to look at the picture and the vision — this made the Congress successful.

In all the other (more than a hundred) congresses fewer women participated than in this one; in all the others combined (excluding possibly the Educational congresses and the Parliament of Religions) there were fewer listeners. What is the import of these facts?

It were idle to try to reproduce in print the impression made by the Congress upon the minds of those who were fortunate enough to attend it. One might show photographs of the throngs vainly endeavoring to elbow their way through the packed mass of eager would-be auditors filling the space in front of the Art Palace, crowding the steps and trying to effect an entrance at the police-guarded doors; of the anterooms filled to suffocation with those who, happy in gaining admittance, but miserable in finding every session-room overflowing with earlier arrivals, spent entire sessions in pushing their way from one door to another only to find all doors blocked; of the halls where the flags of all the countries of the world float above platforms crowded with distinguished women of a score of nationalities, upon whom are focused the eyes and thoughts of audiences characterized by serious enthusiasm. From all these photographs, however, the color and movement are inevitably lacking. One might show diagrams of the rooms wherein standing-space was at a premium, and rapt listeners were quite oblivious to the stifling atmosphere, realizing only that it was palpitant with eloquence; but these diagrams would hold small suggestion of the feeling of the occasion. One may read the words that were spoken, but only to realize that "it

is the spirit which giveth life," and that the spirit which was kindled by the circumstances, the scene, the event, has in large measure with these passed away. However, the word, though cooled by time, is the best symbol of the spirit, and that readers of these volumes may be prepared to peruse them sympathetically, and therefore intelligently, it is desirable to give them in this introduction the point of view and the key-note of the Congress.

At no one session of the Congress were these made more intelligible than at the sessions on Monday, May 15th, in the official opening addresses and in the speeches of the foreign delegates. While it has not seemed desirable to give complete abstracts of these addresses in the body of the report of this Congress, it seems necessary for the purposes above indicated to insert brief extracts from them at this point. It is hoped that through these extracts readers will get a reflection of the spirit of the Congress that will prepare them to weigh its importance and compute its results.

Mr. Charles C. Bonney, President of the World's Congress Auxiliary.

Representative Women of All Lands: The inaugural ceremonies of the World's Congresses of 1893 having been closed, it is now my agreeable duty to announce the opening of the first Congress of the series — the World's Congress of Representative Women. To you has been allotted the high honor of leading the way in the great series of presentations to be made in this Memorial Art Palace during the six months of the Exposition season. This Congress will be in the especial charge of the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary; and thus the magnificent achievements of woman in the upward and onward march of civilization will be presented first in the review of human progress which has been arranged for the

intellectual and moral exposition which will make ever memorable this year of grace 1893.

This is peculiarly appropriate in view of the fact that the nineteenth century will be known in history as the century of woman's progress, as much if not more than by any other name. It is in this age that woman has become distinguished along the higher lines of human progress, carrying with her wherever she has gone a higher civilization, greater refinement and culture, and, as might have been expected, a beneficent influence on every interest with which she has come in contact. What woman's progress signifies is, not the degradation of man, but the elevation of woman. In the deeper philosophic sense, the distinguishing developments of the nineteenth century along the line of what is known as woman's progress, represent the substitution of the law of love for the law of force. Just in proportion as nations and peoples substitute the law of love for the law of force, and seek to do to each other good instead of evil, just in that proportion will come the higher and better civilization of the race.

Woman holds in her hand no agency of force by which she can compel a compliance with her desires, and accomplish the objects which she has in view. She must attain her ends solely by the exercise of the spiritual graces and refinements, the moral beauties and powers, of which she has always been the supreme mistress.

It was for reasons such as are indicated in these remarks that a distinct organization was created, called the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary, to represent the interests of women in the World's Congresses of 1893. It was deemed important that this should be done for a double purpose — to give woman's work in this connection such distinctness and comparative independence that it should be seen and judged by itself, and to secure to woman that power and independence of action which would be impossible in case mixed committees of men and women had been appointed. The higher work of women in the world

is so new and so important that it is due both to her and her achievements that the distinctions indicated should be preserved. Working side by side with the corresponding committees of men, the committees of women for the organization of each of the congresses, acting under their own general officers, have pursued their work with such fidelity, such subordination to the general plans and purposes of the work, and such conformity to the rules and regulations for the various congresses, that no words of mine can well exceed the praise which is their due.

By what has proved a most fortunate circumstance, one which seems indeed almost like a special dispensation of providence in favor of the Woman's Congress, it has the great honor of leading the way as the first of the series.

When representatives of the National and International Councils of Women first called upon me to propose a congress of their organizations, there was no week subsequent to that of May 15th which could be assigned for such a purpose. Asking those representatives to embrace all organizations of women, and all representative women whether affiliated with any organization or not, I agreed to hold that week for a short time to give them an opportunity to confer with their associates in regard to its acceptance, and promised, if accepted, to appoint the proper committee of organization for a World's Congress of Representative Women. A few days later I was notified that this week had been accepted, and that the arrangements for the congress would be prosecuted with the utmost energy and zeal.

The Committee of Organization was thereupon appointed, consisting of Mrs. May Wright Sewall (chairman), Mrs. Rachel FosterAvery (secretary), Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson, Miss Frances E. Willard, Dr. Julia Holmes Smith, Mrs. Elizabeth Boynton Harbert, Mrs. William Thayer Brown, Mrs. John C. Coonley. This committee, acting under the general supervision of the president and vice-president of the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary,

entered at once upon its labors. With incomparable ability, energy, and zeal they published their plans and purposes throughout the civilized world, in the form of the customary preliminary address issued by the various committees of organization, and soon aroused an intense interest in the proposed congress. It is but simple justice to say that the burden of the great labor was borne by the distinguished chairman and secretary of the organizing committee. This magnificent assembly, convened in response to the call of the World's Congress Auxiliary, through its Woman's Branch and Woman's Committee of Organization, is the highest possible praise of the work that has been accomplished, and the highest possible promise of a successful, harmonious, and world-influencing congress.

BERTHA M. HONORÉ PALMER, PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF LADY MANAGERS AND PRESIDENT OF THE WOMAN'S BRANCH OF THE WORLD'S CONGRESS AUXILIARY.

As president of the Woman's Branch of the Congress Auxiliary, I have the privilege and pleasure of welcoming to Chicago the brilliant women of well-known achievement who will inaugurate the series of congresses to be held in this building during the coming months. Their appreciation of the significance of this occasion and the value of this opportunity has caused representatives from every part of the world to be here. Each has been moved by the desire to assist in properly focusing the last and best thought developed in the various departments of the world's work. Wisdom will be drawn from women of all nations; all bring their votive offerings to help to build and make beautiful the great temple of truth. The influence for good emanating from these halls can not be overestimated, for the words here spoken will be widely read and felt. They will express not only the actual conditions and potent forces which are working for good to-day, but also the influences that lie

just back of them, which will make possible a better and happier to-morrow.

ELLEN M. HENROTIN, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE WOMAN'S BRANCH OF THE WORLD'S CONGRESS AUXILIARY (ACTING PRESIDENT).

Of the inestimable value of the participation of women in the Columbian Exposition and in the Auxiliary Congresses it is vain even to conjecture.

We feel to-day, in reviewing the past, as if great things had been accomplished, but this is the opportunity to centralize thought the results of which are destined to bring about a peaceful revolution in the social, legal, and moral status of women.

What advantage is it if a few make brilliant records, and fail to raise man and woman to the heights of the serenity of knowledge?

The rights of the individual are sacred, but only as one of a great social unity; and it is just on this line that women must bestir themselves to be good citizens of the city, the state, and the nation; to enter into the paths of commerce and finance; to supervise and educate the young; to create new trades and professions for women. In truth, what stands in the way, not of women, but of the world, to-day is woman's ignorance of practical affairs — her lack of participation in public affairs, the fatal conservatism in the leisure classes, equally marked among working-women.

Our reason and our judgment approve the modern conception of education, of democracy, of religion — but we shrink from the actual inauguration of new principles of life, and weakly cling to the past.

If these congresses can arouse women to the magnificent possibilities, not alone of womanhood, but of humanity, surely the world will look back to the summer of 1893 as blessed.

ELLEN M. HENROTIN,
Vice-president Woman's Branch World's Congresses of 1893.

May Wright Sewall, President of the National Council of Women of the United States and Chairman of the Committee of Organization for the World's Congress of Representative Women.

From the outset of this great work every member of the committee charged with the organization of the World's Congress of Representative Women has felt her strength to be the strength of ten, not through any self-confidence, but through confidence in those allied with us; for back of our committee has stood the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary; its president, Mrs. Potter Palmer, and its vice-president, Mrs. Charles Henrotin, bear names to conjure with; back of the Woman's Branch has stood the World's Congress Auxiliary itself, whose president, the Hon. Charles C. Bonney, from the outset avowed it to be his desire that this Congress should be the first in influence and excellence, as it should be earliest of all the long list of congresses in date; back of the World's Congress Auxiliary was felt the potent influence of the National Government, which by the statute under which the Auxiliary is organized pledged substantial aid and spiritual sponsorship to all congresses which should be convened in the name and under the protection of the Congress Auxiliary; back of the National Government, surrounding, directing, and controlling it, was felt the still more potent influence of that world spirit (der Zeit Geist) to whom alone it is given to declare when the fullness of time shall have come for any event, for the prosecution or for the success of any cause. Though the confidence of the committee is justified by its indorsers, the committee knows that its work will be judged only by its success. Hence, before the World's Congress shall have passed into history, it avails itself of this opportunity to make a brief statement of the motives and methods of its work. What is excluded from any motive is not unimportant in deciding its character; nor is it, indeed, less important than what is included in it.

May I then say that the committee has from the beginning of its work consciously and persistently excluded from its purpose the promulgation of any one cause, the exploitation of any single society, the exaltation or promotion of any one woman? Excluding all these fractional considerations, it has as persistently endeavored to promote that whole cause which is as yet lacking in the feminine correspondent of the masculine name, "fraternity"; to uplift that whole society to which we might and to which we do all belong, which we name humanity; to exalt that perfect woman, who, uniting in her own person the characteristics of Eve, Venus, and the Virgin, is the ideal that can be conceived only by the high-hearted man, the lofty-minded woman; that ideal which, taking a different name in every country, is Hera in Greece, Minerva in Rome, and in America the Goddess of Liberty. The exaltation of this universal womanhood it is which the Committee of Arrangements seeks.

By what method? Although the method has been outlined by the president of the Congress Auxiliary and by the acting president of the Woman's Branch, it may not be out of place to make a plea for the high-sounding name of our Congress. Abroad, it is charged against Americans that they are fond of high-sounding names; and we must confess that by naming the school a college, and by calling the college a university, the ideal of education in our country has been debased. Heaven forbid that the size of the world shall be reduced in the public imagination, or that the dignity of this Congress shall be abated in the public mind, by its high-sounding title, "The World's Congress of Representative Women."

Almost all of the countries of Europe, India, China and Japan, Turkey, Syria, and other oriental states, divers border states of Africa, Iceland, Australia, and our next neighbors, Mexico, Canada, Central and South America, are, in this Congress, united to all the states within our own borders. May we not say that this is a world's congress? Are its members representative? That is a question, answer to which must depend upon point of view and definition.

"Organization is the tendency of the present age." How many times have we heard this in the last decade as organizations have been springing up all over the world. Notwithstanding that it has become a hackneyed statement, the hackneyed statement clothes a vital truth. Recognizing that organization is the tendency of the age, it was to organizations of women that our committee made its first appeal. It was our first necessity to find a roster of these organizations. Adding to *bona-fide national organizations* the beginnings of such formed in the capitals of countries wherein national organizations in the full sense of the term are not yet effected, we made a list of one hundred and twenty-six. Each of these organizations was regarded by our committee as a constituency, and was invited to name its representative on the Advisory Council and on the list of speakers. It was optional with each one of these one hundred and twenty-six independent constituencies to decide whether the same person should serve in both capacities or not. Therefore, it will be understood by every woman, present and absent, belonging to a national organization anywhere, that if she has not been consulted in the preparations for this Congress, or if she has not been invited to speak in its sessions, she must appeal to her constituency for an explanation and not to the committee; since each constituency made its own nominations, which in every instance have been respected.

Though it was our desire to recognize isolated individuals equally with the representatives of organizations, it is with a higher pride, with a deeper gladness, that we welcome to our platform representatives of those arts who hitherto have achieved their fame, scored their successes, carried their career from beginning to end, under the impulse of individualism as distinguished from that of associated endeavor. I know that no other woman whose name is upon our list of speakers will feel it invidious if I mention those queens regnant of the realm of art, Janauschek, Modjeska, Clara Morris, and those princesses of the same

realm, Mlle. Rhea, Julia Marlowe, and Georgia Cayvan; for I count it one of the realized dreams that such representatives of art will come here and let the concentrated luster of their brilliant achievement be added to the more diffused light that shines upon the paths of the women who work in education, in philanthropy, in charity, in religion, in moral and social reform.

Again, in seeking for individuals outside as well as within the arts who should be invited to participate in this Congress, the selection was not made by our committee unaided. Indeed, for the most part, our committee simply has confirmed the nominations made by a constituency of twelve hundred men and women selected by us, to whom were issued letters asking them to nominate the women outside of organizations who should stand upon the Advisory Council of this Congress or should be asked to speak from its platform; and no woman has been placed upon the Advisory Council or the programme who has not thus been vouched for by some man or woman in the picked constituency of twelve hundred.*

Glad as we are to unite in this Congress mistresses of the different arts, we feel it a gladder if a humbler duty to unite in it the races that are at work together within our own land for liberty. It is a wonderful truth that the capability for forgiveness, that divinest of attributes, is a human inheritance. You will find upon the list of our speakers a descendant of the last hereditary chief of the Cherokees, and also some descendants of that other more greatly outraged race, imported only to be reduced to servitude, who come to us but one remove from the generation of their own blood which was sold from the block. Is not this a magnificent proof of the capacity for forgiveness possessed by these two races?

In our own country, where all races are mingling, difference of race has never made so deep a chasm as religious difference makes, especially when the latter is intensified through its being a racial inheritance. Therefore it is

* See Appendix A.

with peculiar joy that we read upon our lists side by side with the names of representatives of the mother church, the great Catholic church, in Europe and in the United States, names of women representing all the leading sects of that great subdivision of religious faith named Protestantism. It is with a still keener pleasure that the committee welcomes to this congress a representative of a still older faith, the Hebraism out of which Christianity evolved. The preparations for the Parliament of Religions have so emphasized the fraternity of faiths that the propriety of emphasizing the mingling of the adherents of different religions in this Woman's Congress may be questioned. But more is implied by this meeting of women of different creeds of the same general faith than would be indicated by the meeting of men of entirely different faiths; for, however men may have led religious struggles by virtue of simply external forces, such struggles have always drawn their inspiration from the woman heart; from the heart to which reverence is a native principle; from that heart which cherishes its religion, by whatever name, as its first and final love.

The educative character of the Congress must not be forgotten. Its best work will not be done during its sessions; much of its best work has been done already. The committee can never express the gratitude it owes to the press of foreign countries in disseminating its plans. All of the documents so generously printed at the expense of the United States Government have been reproduced in the papers of Italy, France, Germany, England, Bohemia, and in abridged form in Denmark, Norway, Russia, and Finland. Leading journals of all these countries have opened their columns from time to time to notice our letters and appeals in successive order since the first preliminary address, and have followed their notices of our work with eulogistic editorials, thus commending it to thousands of women who, although they can not share the privileges of these sessions, have already shared the inspiration of the preparations.

The influences that have mingled in these preparations can not be enumerated. The Honorable Mr. Bonney told us this morning that seven centuries of human progress were reaching their climax in this series of congresses. With his permission, I will say that the influences which are to be gathered up in this Congress must include that of Miriam as she gave instruction to the great leader, Moses, and that of Sappho as she sat in her proud island home, gathering about her her disciples, those women to whom with the art of poetry she imparted also the principles of religion and government.

I wish I could intimate at what sacrifice our delegates have come to us. I wish I could indicate to you the character of the women whose eyes are fixed upon these halls to-day. I hold in my hand cablegrams from England, Scotland, Russia, Finland, Holland, Belgium, and France, from organizations of women in all these countries, who send their loving greetings, their words of cheer and sisterly affection.

I wish I could enumerate all of the delegates gathered here at this hour, and to the name of each append a recital of her good works. But could I enumerate all, I should close with the name of the only one to whom I shall refer. Sitting upon this platform, to be introduced to you by and by, is a woman who sailed from the Cape of Good Hope. Is it not indeed from the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, from that promontory of eternal and boundless aspiration jutting out into the wonderfully radiant waters of infinity, that we set sail to-day? A great leader marshaling his forces for a mighty battle reminded them that from the heights of the pyramids twenty centuries looked down upon them. Can we not feel to-day that twenty centuries of aspiration lying back of us find some response in this event, and that twenty centuries of hope fulfilled lying before us, looking back shall find that this Congress dates the hour of a new march — not for divided womanhood as against a separate manhood, but a new march for a unified, harmonious, onstepping humanity?

THE COUNTESS OF ABERDEEN, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE RETURN OF WOMEN TO ALL LOCAL GOVERNING BODIES, OF THE WOMEN'S LIBERAL FEDERATION OF SCOTLAND, AND OF THE WOMAN'S FRANCHISE LEAGUE OF ENGLAND.

On behalf of the women of my own country, on behalf of the various associations that have asked me to act here, and especially on behalf of the largest political association of women in the world, I beg to thank the preceding speakers.

It is only, after all, a very short time back that this associated work of women has become strong; really it is only within our day — and we have heard even to-day the whisper of the thought that perhaps our danger lies now in over-organization; that everything must be done through committees, associations, and meetings; but I think we are already finding out that the way to create a larger usefulness is to bring together all of these various associations into a larger union, so that they may together find out the sources and the causes of their weaknesses and failures as well as of their strength and their successes. During the last five years in Great Britain there have been such meetings where representatives of secular as well as of religious, political, philanthropic, and social work have gathered together to learn to know one another. I am proud to say that the first conference of that sort, although it was conducted in a small school, was held in our town of Aberdeen in Scotland. It was held five years ago, and we can trace to it very great results, upon the workers out in the country districts, who before that time were working in loneliness, not knowing what a sisterhood they had to look to. That conference has been followed by others, by larger ones, which are increasing from year to year, and large meetings are being held throughout England at cities like Birmingham, Liverpool, and Bristol. During the last three years

meetings have been held which have given out great inspiration to all the women workers who had the privilege of attending them. If such results come from these meetings in one country, who can foretell the results which will come from this wonderful Congress which you of the New World have convened together?

I can only say on my own behalf that I feel it is an enormous responsibility to stand here as the representative of the women of my own country; an enormous responsibility, filling me with apprehension lest I may not be able to catch the spirit which pervades this meeting and to convey it to those whom we, as representatives here, are acting for. I can only pray that the womanhood of the world may indeed arise to the greatness of the opportunity which is now presented.

FLORENCE FENWICK MILLER, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WOMAN'S FRANCHISE LEAGUE OF ENGLAND, THE CENTRAL NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE, THE SOCIETY FOR THE RETURN OF WOMEN TO ALL LOCAL GOVERNING BODIES, AND THE NEW SOMERVILLE CLUB (LONDON).

It is an amusing fact that in Mother Shipton's prophecies it is said that the twentieth century should be the century of women; assuredly, Mother Shipton made a very happy hit. When I first began to take in women's questions they were generally spoken of as "Americanisms." I can remember this word in my early girlhood as the term indicative of, I will not say, opprobrium, but of a spirit which dismissed a subject at once in old-fashioned England. Any new idea as to the education of women, or the admittance of women to the learned professions, or any improvement in woman's dress was an Americanism.

It has been said very truly that the discovery which men have made in this age of the true powers of women is as

great a discovery in its consequences as the discovery of the powers of electricity. Those powers always existed. It is only to-day that they are being utilized; it is only to-day that women are being asked to step forward, that they are being allowed even to exercise to the full all those powers that have been bestowed upon them, assuredly for the purpose of being used, but that in past ages have been only too completely crushed within the bosoms where they existed.

In England we have gone ahead very rapidly with advanced ideas about women from the days when those ideas were mere "Americanisms," and I am inclined to think that as far as the laws go we stand at present in a higher position than the women of any other nation.

In England women exercise every franchise except the parliamentary one. Women have sat upon the school boards over there from the beginning. The London School Board has never been without one or more lady members, I myself having been a member of it for nine years. The London County Councilors are elected in part by the votes of women. My friend and fellow-delegate, Mrs. Cobden Unwin, was elected by a large constituency to sit upon the London County Council, but the judges decided that as the law had not explicitly made a woman eligible she could not sit. In the new bodies of parish councils, that are now being established by an act which is before Parliament, women are entitled both to vote and to sit. They can also exercise all rights of property, whether they are married or single, and they can stand before the law in all matters in regard to property on an absolute equality with men. Medicine is now open to women after a long and hard struggle. The law is not, and the orthodox church is not. The orthodox church I am inclined to think will be the last stronghold that will give way. I fear it will be found to be even worse than the law; but things go ahead so fast that perhaps before I die I shall see a lady Archbishop of Canterbury. In almost every way women in England now find an avenue open to them for the exercise of their

special and peculiar talents. As an illustration of what we yet require I will just mention to you what are the specific laws for which the Woman's Franchise League is at present working. In the first place we are working for the parliamentary vote, because we feel that that must be the bulwark behind which we intrench every other privilege and every other right that we obtain, and because we feel that it is a slur and an insult that the most highly cultivated, the most competent, the most business-like, the best trained of women should be held incapable of giving any opinion upon the affairs of their country, while the lowest, the most ignorant, and the most illiterate of men is supposed to be equal to having such an opinion.

The next measure we advocate in the House of Commons is one for amending the divorce laws, which are very unequal between men and women. Our next bill is one for making equal the condition of men and women before the law in case of inheritance of property where there is no will. At present if a man dies without leaving a will his wife and his daughters are postponed by the law to the interests of his eldest son in particular, and to those of all his sons in general. If it were not our duty to do these things, if it were not our duty to cultivate our minds and to exercise our opinions, the power to do it would have been denied us. Powers and duties are correlative, stand in opposite scales, and are absolutely balanced. Let no one suppose that a power which is not used is anything else but the talent that was buried in the napkin; let no one shelter herself under the idea that she is unselfishly giving up what she might have claimed for herself, that she is putting aside her own claims and generously taking a lower place. It is by such subterfuges that we are led away from difficult and tiresome duties. Whatever powers a woman has it is her duty to exercise to the full, and it is because we believe that the exercising of those powers to the full will be a benefit to mankind at large that we are so much in earnest about the woman question.

JANE COBDEN UNWIN OF ENGLAND, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE FRANCHISE LEAGUE OF ENGLAND, THE CENTRAL NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE, AND THE SOCIETY FOR THE RETURN OF WOMEN TO ALL LOCAL GOVERNING BODIES.

As one of the delegates from England I desire to thank you most heartily for the reception you have accorded me. I recognize the warm interest which is felt in this country for the work the societies which I represent are carrying forward in England for advancing the position of woman in public and political life. I can assure you that in England we fully appreciate the progress in this direction which you are making in this country, and we look forward hopefully to the not very distant date when the women of these two countries shall have won for themselves the absolute rights of free citizens.

HANNA BIEBER-BOEHM, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE JUGENDSCHUTZ VEREIN (GERMANY).

The women of Germany give their greeting to the women of the world here assembled, and especially to the noble women of America, who have done so much for the advancement of our woman cause, and who by their brave and persevering activity have raised the position of woman to a heretofore unknown prominence.

ISABELLE BOGELOT, TREASURER OF THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN, OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE, AND REPRESENTATIVE OF LA SOLIDARITÉ DES FEMMES.

In the name of France I first greet our hosts, the American ladies, and then all who represent here their different

countries. To-day we wish to have only one country, that where reigns justice; a single flag, that which will make all our hearts beat for the amelioration of the condition of women in the entire world.

I bow before the recollection of the noble ones who have left this earth before a definite victory. I am proud to find myself in the midst of women whose names will be handed down to posterity, shining with the recognition of their enfranchised sisters, for to have struggled for the rights of women is to struggle a second time for the abolition of slavery.

I conclude my sincere and modest wishes by congratulating the young women who will come to take part in our work and to enjoy the happy results which have crowned persevering efforts. In walking upon the path traced by their elders, and working in their turn, the generation which follows us will see, I hope, the triumph of the cause of woman. Who knows whether the complete recognition of the rights of woman will not take for its annually recurring gala-day the glorious date of the 15th of May, 1893, a day when all the nations, uniting at Chicago, opened the international congress of women.

Margaret Windeyer of Australia, Representative of the Womanhood Suffrage League of New South Wales.

Coming as I do from the newest country represented in this august body, words fail to express how highly I esteem it an honor and privilege to be among your number. The members of this Congress stand upon the immovable basis of a common interest, viz., the advancement of women and through them of the whole human race; and it is no light matter to stand among you as the representative of that country of great actualities and greater possibilities, Australia. Though widely separated from the thinking women

of Europe and America, there are women in Australia who have the courage of their opinions; who unflinchingly strive toward the good and true; who try to bear each other's burdens; who seek to obtain right and justice for all; who show themselves capable of attaining higher education, and of taking an active part in the organizations which exist for the welfare of the young and for the alleviation of human misery.

AUGUSTA FOERSTER OF GERMANY, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE GENERAL GERMAN ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN, OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE WORKING CLASSES, AND OF THE FEDERATION OF ALL THE SOCIETIES OF LADY TEACHERS IN GERMANY.

I have the honor to bring you the cordial greeting from three German associations of women. We are highly interested in all the work our American and foreign friends have done. In regard to the higher public education of women, you enjoy all the advantages that we are longing and fighting for.

The three associations I have the honor to represent are: General German Association of Women, whose leader is the well-known Frau Luise Otto-Peters in Leipzig; Association for the Education of the Working Classes; General Federation of All the Societies of Lady Teachers in Germany, whose members are just now holding their annual meeting under the splendid leadership of Helene Lange. There are in this federation, which was established in 1890, thirty-eight societies, with four thousand five hundred members. Our aim is to have more lady teachers and superintendents in our public schools; to give women a greater influence in public education at large, and to qualify them for these responsible tasks by a higher education. Last, not least, we demand a higher public education for all women.

Baroness Thorborg-Rappe, Official Representative of the Government of Sweden (Appointed by a Special Meeting of the Cabinet Called for That Purpose).

A Norwegian authoress, Mrs. Camilla Collett, has, in a series of essays on the "Woman Question in Europe," expressed herself thus regarding its progress in Sweden:

"Sweden stands first among the northern states in the movement for the education of woman. She early outstripped the others in a more lively and general interest in woman's rights, and the result is that to-day the country is blessed with many noble reforms in this direction. This striking fact is unquestionably due to the liberal sentiments which Swedish men entertain for women themselves, as well as for the cause which the women advocate. From early times the men of Sweden have been considered to represent the specifically chivalrous virtues of our northern climes, and if the daughters of the land have not yet reaped the full benefit of this inestimable trait, now assuredly the harvest-time has come."

The reports from the Swedish Ladies' Committee, which I shall have the honor of presenting you, will bear witness to this fact. It is, no doubt, a great victory that the American women have gained over the prejudices which have long kept in bondage the capacities of woman, thus having succeeded in getting her accepted as the equal collaborator with man in this great international competition.

It will be your just reward that the impressions and ideas which shall be kindled in this Congress will contribute to the betterment and elevation of mankind.

Callirrhoë Parren of Greece, Representing Her Country by the Particular Appointment of Queen Olga.

I come from a distant but not unknown country, the Kingdom of Greece. I have crossed the sea and the ocean

that I might meet with you and join with you in celebrating on this occasion the progress of woman, in a country in which women continue the work of my ancestors. American ladies, from their colossal progress, may be considered the younger sisters of the women of ancient Greece. Have you not done in this age what they did twenty centuries ago? Are not you the athletic heroines of progress who have raised up the flag of woman's intellectual independence, and have achieved by your native intelligence and by your ardent devotion to science and art the realization of the great idea of Christ — the equality of the sexes?

Have not your great nation and your great men, the wealth of your country, the millions of dollars to your credit in your national budget proved that the developed woman is the greatest and richest factor in a commonwealth? that women with systematic culture, with purpose and with heart, not only fashion honorable men and invaluable patriots, and consolidate homes, but also make nations and countries strong? As the first Christians looked intently toward Jerusalem as the spot whence, through Christianity, the regeneration of nations was to be effected, so all the civilized world looks intently toward America as the point whence shall issue the true civilization and the permanent progress of the people. We, far away to-day in our small Greece, with our beautiful sky, our smiling landscapes, and with the living and instructive monuments of our ancestors — we, the small descendants of great progenitors, follow your course with enthusiasm.

Age-long servitude has rendered our minds inert, our bodies weak. The darkness of the Middle Ages has spread a thick cloud over Greece, and the tyrannical yoke which but just now we have thrown off has left ineffaceable scars. Nevertheless we advance, if only slowly. The monuments of our ancestral fame are colossal evidences of genius which remind us of our descent. They say to us that a nation does not die whose works time, the great destroyer, has not been able to render tame and weak.

I shall not try, ladies, to inform you as to my ancient country. You know its great and glorious history, from which has been nurtured all the human race. Generally the name of Athens has been accepted to mean light, progress, civilization, letters, art, science; but before all these it had another meaning, to many unknown. It meant in general the predomination of the goddesses in Olympia, and the predomination of woman in society. Our women in ancient times, according to a very old tradition, had the same civil rights as men. When it was to be decided what deity should be the protector of their city, while the men, who were more lazy than the women, voted, in small numbers, for a god, the women all voted for a goddess. Thus Athens came under the rule of Pallas Athena — of wisdom.

Josefa Humpal-Zeman of Bohemia.

What can I say for the Bohemian women to you? We have come thousands of miles, as have many other noble representatives. I only regret that my friend who was to represent the women of Bohemia to-night is not able to be here, because she has been delayed on the voyage and may not arrive until a week later. We have in our country, among those high hills, and in those quiet valleys, women who are to-day struggling for the same ideas, the same aims which you are struggling for; and the very fact that I, a Bohemian, a descendant of that famous educator who dared to advocate equal education for women and men — that I stand here a Bohemian woman, Bohemian born, Bohemian educated, to assist in this Congress, proves my statement.

Ladies, I need not make any excuses for the women of my nationality. They have struggled; they have tried to perform their duties in their own homes. They have also gone to the wars and stood side by side with their husbands in the Thirty Years' War, where they fought bravely. They have

CLARENCE E. YOUNG,
General Secretary World's Congresses of 1893.

become educators, artists, and students; and more than that, they have tried three years ago to establish the first school for the higher education of women in Central Europe, and did establish at Prague a private school to prepare women for the university of that city; and the Reichsrath has said that just as soon as the women of Bohemia get the young women prepared for the university, that it shall be open to them, and women will have equal education. The women of Bohemia are now out of their own private money supporting this school, where they have over eighty students studying the classical languages, mathematics, and medicine. More than that, the first two physicians that have been appointed by the government of Austria as state physicians, as army physicians, in the county of Bosnia, are Bohemian women. I know that women in our land are interested in your good work, because I have been requested by the leading newspaper men of Bohemia to keep this Congress before the eyes of our women. I wish that I could make you understand how happy, how proud I am that I can have a part in this great movement, in this great current which is pushing with all its force forward, and which is bound to sweep away all narrow prejudices and put woman where she belongs, by the side of man, as a human being.

Kaethe Schirmacher of Germany.

If you will give me your attention a few minutes, I will tell you how I happen to be here, because I think it is such a fine illustration of the liberal mindedness of American women. Ever since I heard of the World's Fair at Chicago, I set my heart on being here, because I wanted to see great things, because I wanted to see great men and great women. For a long time I found it very hard to get any opportunity for gratifying my wishes. Then it came to me all at once. We have at the place I live a woman's association, the president of which was asked to take part in the World's Con-

gress. Our president, though she was very sensible to the honor of being invited, could not come; and as I am the secretary of the association, she told me to answer the letter. I did so. At the same time I suggested some subjects for discussion, and one of the subjects, namely, "The Effect of Modern Changes in the Industrial and Social Position of Women upon Their Marriage Prospects," had the good fortune to please the chairman of the committee, so she asked me to come, and I am here. I have a great interest in the question above stated.

KIRSTINE FREDERIKSEN, RECORDING SECRETARY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN AND REPRESENTATIVE OF THE DENMARK DANSK KVINDESAMFUND.

My country is a small one, so small that all its inhabitants might get into the city of New York, but it has been very anxious to be represented at this World's Congress of Women, and has sent four representatives. I for my part stand here with the greetings of nine hundred Danish women, all members of our Danish association of women, which for twenty years has worked hard for the advancement of womankind in every position, in the family, in society, and in public life. As the name of that association tells you, it is national, and it represents every class in the nation. You will find among its members simple-minded country women, hard-working, self-supporting women, who are leading out into new paths for themselves and their kind; and you will find both the high born and the lowly. You will find there those who love liberty and who enjoy the light of the highest education in Copenhagen. You will find among these nine hundred women representatives of our leading families. When they chose to send me over here it was because I, in my daily work, labor for the women and children. We think America the very best place in the world for women and children.

Mrs. John Harvie of Canada, Representative of the Young Women's Christian Association of Canada.

As Canadian women we scarcely feel like foreigners, but know that we have much in common with our American sisters. We proudly boast the same noble ancestry. Our countries are geographically contiguous, and we are very near together in many respects, so near that we feel we are almost one. It seems to me that we feel the differences more on account of the political lines which separate us. On the higher plane of thought and power we can see and feel that we are one.

As women representing the great sisterhood of women of the world we stand shoulder to shoulder with the long procession moving forward for the emancipation of women in this nineteenth century. We feel assured there will go out from this noble gathering unlimited influences for the enlightenment of our sex, and the strengthening of the tie that binds us all together in a great sisterhood of women, regardless of nationality.

Hulda Lundin of Sweden, Representative of the Swedish Ladies' Committee.

I am living in a corner of the world which is a small piece of that country inhabited in the olden time by the Vikings. It was a country too small for them, and so they left it and went out to foreign countries. I do not know whether I have any of the blood of those Vikings in my veins, but I do know that I have drunk of their spirit; so I could not stay in my own little country, but have several times left it to go out in the world to see and to study. I have gone to Italy, to France, to Germany, and to many other countries of Europe. But at last I found even that continent too small for me. I had to go farther on, and so I came to the New World, to America. I am happy to be here, and I hope that I

shall feel deeper, that I shall learn more, that I shall be able to work harder for my dear old Sweden when I go back to it.

Dr. Augusta Stowe Gullen of Canada, Representative of the Woman's Enfranchisement Association of Canada.

May we not congratulate you and ourselves that we are together permitted to behold this day, a day so representative of woman's advancement toward the goal of her liberty and freedom?

Woman's discovery of her own potentialities is full of prophetic meaning; meaning which can not be more fully explained than in the language of Victor Hugo, who declared that the twentieth century would record the death of war, and the scaffold of dogma, but that man would live. There will be but one country, and that the whole earth; but one hope, and that the whole heaven. All hail to the twentieth century, which shall own our children, and which our children shall inherit.

Mrs. Foster of Canada.

I have just one word to say, and that is that this Congress of Representative Women is starting a greater electric current than any that Edison ever started. He has done a great deal, and we are to see in the White City such exhibitions of electricity as the world has never seen before, but I believe that an electric current has been started by this Congress and will continue to be carried on by its influence that will arouse the women of the whole world, and that we shall see such results as we have never even dreamed of.

Mary McDonnell of Canada, Representative of the Dominion Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

With sentiments of the deepest gratitude we acknowledge the debt we owe the women of this republic, not forgetting

the pioneers of the woman suffrage movement. When we recall the scorn and ridicule so needlessly hurled and so patiently endured, we are reminded that martyrs have made smooth the path we now tread. Our hearts go out in loving sympathy to the women who drove the van cart of this movement for woman's freedom; the pioneers who endured all the persecutions that narrow minds could inflict while clearing away false sentiment that was found blocking every avenue to human progress. Opinions, it is said, govern the world, but ideals draw souls, and in truth women from all nations have been drawn to this one common center by one common ideal.

ELIZABETH M. TILLEY OF CANADA, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE DOMINION BRANCH OF THE INTERNATIONAL ORDER OF THE KING'S DAUGHTERS AND SONS.

We were introduced as foreign delegates, but I assure you that we don't feel like that at all. We are more like members of the same family, with some slight differences perhaps, but all the same we are of one kin, and in coming here we feel that we have come among our friends and relatives. As Mrs. Harvie remarked before, there is nothing but the custom-house that seems to divide us. We hope some day there may be a change there.

LAURA ORMISTON CHANT OF ENGLAND, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE BRITISH SECTION OF THE WORLD'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION, OF THE CENTRAL NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE, AND OF THE UNIVERSAL PEACE SOCIETY.

I come to you this morning as a simple messenger from the mother country to say how my heart is beating to think of the great dream that you have thrown into realization

to-day. If you and I could but look forward to the future and see how five hundred years to come they will look back to us, the happy men and the happy women, the happier all the world over for the realization of this great dream, we should feel even gladder than we do; but this morning our hearts are taken up in fraternal greeting; we are shaking hands with all the world, with no distinctions of race, or creed, or time, or nationality. We are all one, children of one common Father, sunning ourselves in the magnificence of our common humanity. We stand before our Father, God, men and women, two halves of this great human race, confessing that on both rests the great work of lifting the world out of its sorrow into the joy of which we have sighted the shore this morning. To-day you have touched in this great Congress the divine majesty of woman. Oh, how one's heart aches to think how many there are who will not yet be able to take in the great thought, who have not yet room enough in their hearts to house this magnificent conception. But for you and for me, who have had room enough, by means of sorrow, by means of great love, by means of long work and self-abnegation, by means of communion with the highest and loftiest teachers, to you and myself, who have housed this magnificent conception, what henceforth, dear women, is our vocation in this great life of ours? What is the duty that is forever laid upon our shoulders after this morning, after this great event? It is that we shall go on being the creators of this noble order of womanhood, God's world over, in whatever country and under whatever name, and speaking whatever outward language.

Margaret V. Parker of Scotland.

I am glad to find myself here to-day, because I had the honor of moving the first resolution out of which the first international council of women proceeded. We were giving

a reception to your noble women, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Saint Susan B. Anthony, in Liverpool, when I submitted this resolution.

Nico Beck-Meyer of Denmark, Representative of de Samlede Kvindeforeningen.

The Danish women of the Associated Women's Union of Denmark, to-day send their greetings to their sisters, the American women, with their deepest wishes for success and blessing on the work of this Congress. Calm as the land of our homelike Denmark is, that peaceful country of meadows and of lakes, so is the character of our nation calm; but where its interest once becomes aroused it is interested in earnest; therefore I say if there were any possibility of it, every progressive woman of Denmark would be in this building.

It is strange how little influence distance has. Distance is nothing. Difference among nations is nothing. Time is nothing. It is all eternity. And if we have an open eye we shall see that when work is commenced in one country the same kind of work is, on account of the power of the spirit, commenced in other countries at the same time.

Meri Toppelius of Finland, Representative of the Finsk Qvinnoforening.

The first International Council of Women, at Washington, in 1888, was of great importance to all the women's associations in the world, and the result of that Council will forever be a blessing to the women everywhere. Now this, the third one, is the second in America, and will, as it is an auxiliary to the World's Exposition, be of still greater importance. In the last decade strength of coöperation has been more and more considered among the

women's associations in the world. Therefore the women in all civilized lands are feeling both proud and gratified by an invitation to an international woman's congress. My own beloved native land, Finland, does not have any political prominence, but in an international battle on the field of intelligence it has always been in the front rank. The women of Finland have faithfully and enthusiastically worked for the progress of mankind in knowledge and truth. The women in Finland believe in coöperation, and therefore they work in associations for women's rights; the oldest one of these is the Finsk Qvinnoforening, the Finlandish women's association, founded in 1888. The president of the association, Alexandra Gripenberg, represented it at the International Council at Washington, and brought us many new thoughts and impressions from the New World. As I have the honor to represent the same association at this World's Congress, I desire to bear to the president of the International Council of Women, and to the representative women of the world present to-day, the cordial regard and greeting of Finland.

Editorial Comment.

It is believed that the preceding extracts show the significance of the Congress to those participating in it more clearly than any formal statement could. Unfortunately many of the foreign delegates whose knowledge of English was imperfect, were deterred by the diffidence thus caused from speaking at the opening sessions. Still more unfortunately the representatives of Italy, Iceland, and Siam did not arrive until after the close of the Congress, and those of Spain and Syria were too late for the opening sessions. The utterances on subsequent occasions of the delegates from these countries prove, however, that had they been present, their contributions would have been but variations of the prevailing note.

"To him who hath ears to hear" their voices all unite in the following simple proclamation:

Woman has attained her majority; she recognizes herself as an individual, and is entering with conscious responsibility into her inheritance of this world as joint heir with man; joint heir of its labors, joint heir also of its rewards. In her possession of liberty woman founds her claim of equality; and she sees that acknowledged equality with man is the only possible basis of permanent and satisfactory coöperation with him. The method of attaining such coöperation is indicated in the following address, the last delivered in the Congress:

The Economy of Woman's Forces through Organization — Address by May Wright Sewall of Indiana, Chairman of the Committee of Organization.

The subject which I am to present is "The Economy of Woman's Forces through Organization." It is the most important question that confronts either the men or the women of our time. We have reached nearly the end of a marvelous week, a week from which many events in the history of progress will be dated; but when the history of this week shall be accurately and completely written, the one feature of it that will stand out most conspicuously will be its vast extravagance. What prodigal expenditure of time, money, and strength has been poured into this Congress, simply because to convene it we were obliged to bring together isolated individuals from the ends of the earth who have stood for ideas, about which should have gathered great national organizations; to reach whom we have been forced to address each one separately. It is true that it is the glory of this Congress to have convened one hundred and twenty-six national organizations of women, or organizations approxi-

mately national. But what are one hundred and twenty-six national organizations, each of which holds itself distinct from every other of the one hundred and twenty-five? What are they compared to what they might be if linked together in organized form? Take for example the fifty-seven national organizations of women in the United States, representatives from which have been gathered in this Congress. If all of the fifty-seven had been made one body, however loose the bonds that bound them together, what an easy thing it would have been to send along the line all of the watchwords necessary to advise every member of the preparations for this great Congress. But with the exception of the fourteen national organizations that are linked together in the National Council of Women of the United States, each stands by itself alone; and for the most part each stands by itself in proud isolation, apparently unconscious of the fact that its isolation is its weakness. Therefore to gather them together, to each society had to be sent the letters and the documents; to each one had to be sent letter upon letter to convince those at its head that coming into this Congress did not mean yielding up its individuality. It is painful to consider the record of this correspondence, to estimate the time and strength that have been put into over ten thousand letters and forty-five thousand documents; each of the former addressed and mailed by itself; each committed to an individual with the hope that that particular individual would possess a heart and a head capable of comprehending the magnificent generosity of the idea underlying the plan. It is a story of tremendous waste. Do I tell it now to mourn over and deplore it? Nay, but simply to call you to face the fact. Now that it is over, and now that all of the representatives of each of the organizations which finally gave their adhesion to the Congress find their own character untouched, excepting only as they have been quickened and magnified; find their own individuality unimpaired; their own identity not permanently lost, but found in a larger identity than

any they had ever dreamed of before, we may perhaps dispassionately discuss the idea.

Not an organization has held a department congress under the roof of this Art Palace without experiencing the economy of organizing along these large lines; because every department congress has had provided for it an audience outside of itself. We know that whenever an organization holds its semi-annual, its annual, its biennial, or its triennial meeting, as the case may be, it gathers to itself as participants and auditors only those people who already believe in it, who already are a part of it, who already have given their adhesion to the idea for which it stands. Is it not true that the National American Woman's Suffrage Association, holding its little department congress in Hall III, had an opportunity to place before people who never before had heard them, the arguments upon which the advocates of suffrage base their claim?

Is it not equally true that the department congress of our Catholic sisters had a Protestant hearing that its members never would have obtained from the annual meetings of their own societies? That the temperance women found strangers coming into their meeting? That the women who stand for the higher education, and who ordinarily convene no one in their sessions excepting members of the alumnæ association and the mothers of daughters who are reaching the age when the question whether they are going to have the higher education must be settled, saw in their meetings other people who are not wont to consider problems of the higher education?

I venture to speak of another association in which I am deeply interested, and to say that I believe for the refining, elevating, and enlarging ideal which is personified in the Federation of Clubs, it was a most felicitous circumstance to meet here in a congress where were convened for other purposes many women who are not club women. If that association had held its own congress, under its own name, isolated from everything else,

only club women would have come to it. Here is one economy; it is by no means the only one.

I have spoken of the great extravagance of this Congress; but great as has been its extravagance, how much greater would have been the cost of convening each one of the organizations composing it at a separate time? Each doing all its own printing, not being mentioned at all on the documents of other organizations; each organization writing all the letters for itself, not being named at all in the letters that were sent out from any general headquarters; each engaging its own hall; each securing its own reporters and stenographers, and making its own arrangements with the Associated Press and the daily press? What do you think would have been the relative cost of holding all of the meetings that have been held within this building under the auspices of the one committee, if each one had been held under the auspices of its own separate committee? The cost would have been multiplied by the number of associations that have been convened. Therefore, while this Congress has been a vast extravagance, it has illustrated a vast economy.

However, up to this point I have spoken only of the baser forms of economy — the economy of money, of physical strength, and of time. Valuable as is money; more valuable as is physical strength; more valuable than both as is time, there are things still more valuable than money, strength, and time. Spiritual force, sympathy, a sense of the relations that exist between one set of people and another set of people, an appreciation of the relation that exists between one idea and another idea, all of these things are infinitely more valuable than those I have hitherto enumerated. Yet all of these things are utterly disregarded when we hold ourselves in a state of isolation. It is only, as every woman who has spoken on this platform, illustrating her statement from the standpoint of the idea for which she has spoken, has said — it is only when one adds herself to another, in the recognition of a common

interest, of a common motive, of a common ideal, that the two find they can accomplish twice the task with half the effort. If this be true of the individuals that unite themselves into associations, is it not equally true of the associations that unite themselves together for large purposes for which no association by itself stands, but which all together can accomplish?

For what does such organization as we have witnessed this week stand? It stands as an illustration of one of the most important subjects on the week's programme; it stands for a recognition of THE SOLIDARITY OF HUMAN INTERESTS. No paper that has been presented in the general Congress has more beautifully, more forcibly enunciated and advocated that doctrine than a paper presented in the Department Congress of the International Council of Women. There Frau Bieber-Boehm gave her idea of the International Council from the standpoint of moral education; she said: "It is only when the women of every country have made the highest possible moral claim, viz.: that there shall be but one moral standard for both men and women, and that that shall be, not the standard by which we now measure men, but the standard by which we now measure women; not until all the nations of the world shall have adopted that standard," said she, "can I work to a successful issue in my society in Berlin, which stands for the moral protection of the young." It was a true word. We may illustrate it along all the lines of effort that have been presented in this Congress, and there is no line of effort that has been presented here from which any of us can afford to hold ourselves isolated. Consider industry. To-night Miss Addams (known in connection with Hull House) told us that hitherto woman has stood in the industrial world as a casual, simply because she has stood in the industrial world unorganized; each woman unrelated to every other woman, each woman regarding every other woman as her competitor, and because her competitor, her enemy. Consider education. We all know the enormous

failure that results from attempting to educate a nation on the system of private, of individual instruction. Whatever tutors, whatever governesses the families of the rich may be able to provide for the petted child in the bosom of its own family, little will it avail if all the other children in the community are left uneducated. Education must be organized in order that there may be a common ideal, that there may be a touch of common ambition; that one young woman may be an incentive to another young woman, and one young man to another young man. It is only as education is organized in systems of schools and colleges that the highest possible culture can result. If this is true of industry and education, it is equally true of moral and social reform. This has been illustrated a thousand times over by the papers and discussions in the various congresses during the last week. The lesson of it all has been — "I can keep my children pure only if you keep your children pure; my child must be affected, even to infection, so long as he breathes the atmosphere of the children who are not measured by the same moral standard by which I try to measure him." That is what organization along moral lines means. What of organization in its relation to civil liberty? We have the history of our own country back of us, and we know very well that civil liberty would never have been obtained for any one if all had not been consciously related to one another by virtue of a common need. We know that the town meeting in which the men of the little country districts used to meet, the larger organization of the county, and the still larger organization of the State were necessary in order to secure the still greater organization of a United States, and that only through the demand for civil liberty by men already organized was civil liberty obtained. So along all lines of effort. If each of us had had to make the struggle of life alone, we know that no one ever could have advanced beyond the most debased barbarism. It is only because even in barbarism the race has found itself

related to itself, and has moved together, that it has moved at all.

This being the lesson of history along whatever line one reads it to the present time, how shall we apply it to to-day's need? What shall be the practical result of this Congress? When five years shall have rolled by, and the time for the next quinquennial session of the International Council of Women shall have arrived, is the same vast amount of unnecessary work to be done in order to bring the women of the world together, or shall we respect the dignity of continuity? Shall we be willing in this development of organized effort to recognize our ancestry? Shall we be willing to see the origin of this great Congress in the little meeting held in Seneca Falls? in a more remote little meeting held in Boston by a number of women organized to secure liberty for the blacks of the South? Shall we then recognize that every one of the organizations represented in this Congress was necessary to the making such a Congress possible? The International Council of 1888 was the first conscious step toward this Congress, all the steps that preceded it having been necessary for that, but not consciously having been taken toward that goal. The Universal Congress of Women, convened in Paris in 1889, was the second conscious, intentional step on the same road. The first triennial session of the National Council of our own country, in 1891, was the third step toward this Congress, and this may be but a fourth step toward an assembly as much surpassing this in numbers, in objects, in organization, in effort, in accomplishment, as this surpasses the first puny band of women ever organized. It is only necessary that the continuity of the work shall be respected. If each one of us insists in moving along in a series of unrelated spasms, never will the world of women be organized.

This morning, at a meeting of the foreign delegates with the regularly elected delegates of organizations belonging to councils in our own country, in France, and in Belgium, where national councils are already firmly organized, and

in Canada,* Finland, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, where they are partially organized, it was determined to appoint some woman in every nation represented in this great Congress of Representative Women to stand in her country for the national and international council idea. The council idea means the grouping of organizations into an organization in which individual membership shall be unknown: wherein every organization which is national in its character or in its scope shall be represented. Thus the council will be a republic of ideas. That is what a world's council of women should be — a republic of ideas.

The national council is a republic composed of national organizations, each standing for a separate purpose. The international council is a republic composed of national councils. We who believe in this national and international council idea see as its ultimate incarnation a PERMANENT INTERNATIONAL PARLIAMENT OF WOMEN, with its meetings at regularly appointed intervals, where not only the questions which are supposed peculiarly to concern womankind shall be discussed, but where all the great questions that concern humanity shall be discussed from the woman's point of view. Such an INTERNATIONAL PARLIAMENT OF WOMEN is the logical outcome, the necessary evolution of such a meeting as we have held during the past week. The hearts of all the greatest women of all the nations represented here are fired with this conception. They will be lured on by this ideal until this ideal shall have been realized, and the next ideal to captivate the imaginations and compel the activities of the true leaders of society will be the INTERNATIONAL PARLIAMENT OF MEN AND WOMEN, WHEREIN WILL BE LEGISLATED THE QUESTIONS THAT CONCERN THE WORLD.

* The organization in Canada has been completed since May, with the Countess of Aberdeen as its president.

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL,
Chairman Committee on Organization for the World's Congress of Representative Women.

CHAPTER II.—PREPARATIONS.

INCEPTION OF THE IDEA OF THE CONGRESS — APPOINTMENT OF THE COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS — CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PRESIDENT BONNEY, OF THE WORLD'S CONGRESS AUXILIARY, AND MRS. SEWALL, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS, SHOWING THE GRADUAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE PLAN — THE CHAIRMAN'S WORK ABROAD — THE PRELIMINARY ADDRESS — THE FULL PROGRAMME.

THE World's Congress of Representative Women was convened in the city of Chicago on the 15th day of May, 1893, under the auspices and the control of the World's Congress Auxiliary of the World's Columbian Exposition. The organization and the work of the World's Congress Auxiliary are so well known that they do not need detailed statement in this volume. The following paragraphs are taken from the official publications of the Auxiliary:

The World's Congress Auxiliary is not only the accredited representative of the World's Columbian Exposition, but also of the Government of the United States, for the following purposes:

The general object of the Auxiliary is to convene in the city of Chicago, during the Exposition season of 1893, a series of world's congresses in every department of thought. Its official announcement has been sent to foreign countries by the President of the United States, and the various governments have been invited by the Department of State to appoint delegates, in addition to those who will attend as the representatives of institutions and societies.

The chief purpose of the Auxiliary is to procure the maturest thought of the world on all the great questions of the age in a form best adapted to universal publication. Unprepared discussion or miscellaneous debate will not be desirable, but instead thereof the time at disposal after the delivery of a discourse will be given to the most eminent persons present, who will speak on the call of the presiding officer and to whom such previous notice as may be practicable will be given. The summaries of progress to be presented and the problems of the age to be stated will not be submitted to the vote of those present, but will be published for subsequent deliberate

examination by the enlightened minds of all countries; for unrestricted discussion in the forum, the pulpit, and the public press; and, finally, for the impartial judgment of that exalted public opinion which expresses the consensus of such minds.

The work of the Auxiliary has been divided into nineteen great departments, with more than one hundred divisions in which congresses are to be held. Each division has its own local committee of arrangement, and each committee has its own advisory council, composed of eminent representatives, selected from different parts of the world, who are interested in the subject to which it pertains.

The officers of this body are as follows: President, Charles C. Bonney; vice-president, Thomas B. Bryan; treasurer, Lyman J. Gage; secretaries, Benjamin Butterworth and Clarence E. Young. The officers of the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary are Mrs. Potter Palmer, president, and Mrs. Charles Henrotin, vice-president.

The inception of the World's Congress of Representative Women may be traced back to February, 1891, when the National Council of Women of the United States, then in session in Washington, D. C., decided to recommend to the officers of the International Council of Women that the first quinquennial session of the International Council should be held in Chicago in the summer of 1893 instead of in London as originally intended. This decision was reinforced by the very cordial invitation of Mrs. Potter Palmer, who attended the sessions of the National Council as the delegate of the Board of Lady Managers, and as president of the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary. In her address before the Council Mrs. Palmer said: "The Board of Lady Managers most cordially and pressingly invites this Council to hold its international meeting in Chicago at the time of the Columbian Exposition, when it will place at the service of the ladies the Assembly Room in the Woman's Building, and, should that not prove large enough, through our Congress Auxiliary, the magnificent Auditorium can be secured for the meeting of the International Council of Women."*

* Printed transactions of the National Council of Women, page 317.

This invitation was supplemented by a similar one from Mrs. Charles Henrotin, vice-president of the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary, who also was in attendance at the Council sessions.

In pursuance of the plan thus initiated, the American officers of the International Council obtained the consent of the foreign officers to the proposed change from London to Chicago. The Executive Committee of the National Council of Women of the United States pledged the National Council to entertain free of expense all foreign delegates while in attendance upon the proposed meeting of the International Council.

The call for the meeting of the International Council in Chicago was promptly issued, accompanied by the pledge of entertainment above referred to, and both call and pledge were given wide publicity through the home and foreign press, and through private and official correspondence, in the early summer of 1891. The documents bear date May 31, 1891.

In due time, as the plan of the World's Congress Auxiliary developed, the officers of the National Council of Women of the United States entered into correspondence with the Hon. Charles C. Bonney, president of the World's Congress Auxiliary, requesting that the quinquennial meeting of the International Council of Women, announced for the summer of 1893, should be adopted as one of the series of congresses organized by the Auxiliary, with the understanding that its scope should be enlarged to the greatest possible extent; that it should take the name of "The World's Congress of Representative Women;" and that it should be subject to the same rules and enjoy the same privileges as the other congresses in the series.

This formal application from the officers of the National Council of Women of the United States was made by its president, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, of Indianapolis, under date of May 29, 1892. In reply President Bonney wrote as follows, under date of June 1, 1892: "To Mrs. May Wright

Sewall, president National Council of Women of the United States, Indianapolis, Ind. Dear Madam: The application of the National Council of Women of the United States for a World's Congress of Representative Women, in the series of congresses to be held at Chicago during the Exposition season of 1893, under the auspices of the World's Congress Auxiliary, is allowed, and, in accordance with your request, the week beginning May 15, 1893, is assigned for the proposed congress." Mr. Bonney, at the request of the officers of the Woman's Branch of the Auxiliary, at once appointed Mrs. May Wright Sewall chairman of the committee in charge of the preparations for this congress. Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, corresponding secretary of the National and International Councils of Women, was made the secretary of the committee. To these two ladies was thus committed the task of laying the plans, shaping the programme, and corresponding with leading organizations and individuals in all countries, with a view to securing their support and participation. The committee was completed by the addition of Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson, Dr. Julia Holmes Smith, Mrs. John C. Coonley, Miss Frances E. Willard, Mrs. Elizabeth Boynton Harbert, and Mrs. William Thayer Brown, all of Chicago. All the work of this committee was subject to the approval of the head of the Congress Auxiliary, Hon. Charles C. Bonney, of Chicago, and also to that of the president and the vice-president of the Woman's Branch of the Auxiliary, Mrs. Potter Palmer and Mrs. Charles Henrotin, both of Chicago.

The following extracts from the initial correspondence between President Bonney, of the Congress Auxiliary, and Mrs. May Wright Sewall, president of the National Council of Women, will show in clear detail the gradual development of the plan, from the mere holding of a session of the International Council of Women to the convening of a World's Congress of Representative Women.

There are unavoidable repetitions in the following letters and in the preliminary address, which it is hoped will be

pardoned in consideration of the importance of setting forth fully the preparatory steps of this great undertaking.

INDIANAPOLIS, May 19, 1892.

HON. CHARLES C. BONNEY, *President of the World's Congress Auxiliary of the World's Columbian Exposition.*

MY DEAR SIR: At the recent meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Council of Women of the United States, held in Chicago on May 9th and 10th, it was decided to make to the board which you represent certain requests.

May I preface these requests with a statement explanatory of the character of the International Council? In the year 1888, at the close of the International Council of Women, convened in Washington, D. C., two permanent organizations were effected — the National Council of Women of the United States and the International Council of Women, representing the world. It was decided that the International Council should be convened in five years, that is, in 1893, and it was then intended to convene it in London. However, when the Columbian Exposition was set for 1893, Chicago became the proper place for the meeting of the International Council. More than a year ago, at the first triennial meeting of the National Council of Women of the United States, Mrs. Potter Palmer of Chicago offered the National Council a room in the Woman's Building for its headquarters during the Columbian Exposition; and Mrs. Charles Henrotin, in speaking for the Congress Auxiliary, assured the Council that, in making preparations for convening the International Council in Chicago, reliance could be placed upon the board managing the Congress Auxiliary for help in securing ample announcements, halls for the sessions, printing, etc.

Supported by these voluntary pledges of Mrs. Palmer and Mrs. Henrotin, the National Council commenced its correspondence one year ago, issued its preliminary call, and undertook to entertain all foreign delegates during the time of the sessions of the International Council in Chicago. To give you a fuller comprehension of the scope of both International and National Councils, I shall send you herewith a copy of the report of the first sessions of each body.

With this preliminary statement, may I set forth our requests? First, we should be glad to have the International Council of Women convene prior to the World's Woman's Temperance Congress, because, as it does not exist for the promotion of any one object, but for the cultivation of a larger mutual sympathy and intelligence among the advocates of different objects, it seems proper that it should precede and introduce the other congresses. Second, if the first request cannot be granted, or in any case, we desire to be authorized to issue our call for an indefinite approximate date between May 15th and June 15th, 1893. Third, we wish to have fourteen public sessions of the Council, which will necessitate the Council's lasting one

week at the very least. Fourth, we desire to apply for one of the large auditoriums and for five of the smaller rooms in the Art Palace, during the sessions of the International Council.

From my conversation with you on last Saturday, I feel confident that you will be able to accede to our requests. It seems necessary to issue a preliminary call at once, because it is our intention to secure for our programme the strongest women in the world to represent the different departments of activity in which women are engaged.

Asking such an immediate reply as will warrant the officers of the National Council in assuring the officers of the International Council of their ability to redeem pledges already made, and to go forward with necessary correspondence and preparations, I have the honor to subscribe myself,

Yours with high esteem,
MAY WRIGHT SEWALL.

CHICAGO, U. S. A., May 26, 1892.

MRS. MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, *President National Council of Women of the United States, 343 N. Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis, Ind.*

DEAR MADAM: Your favor of the 19th inst., in which you request an assignment of dates for a congress of your organization, prior to the World's Temperance Congresses to be held during the first week in June, 1893; and, if that request can not be granted, an assignment of some date for such a congress between May 15th and June 15th of next year; and expressing a desire for meetings of your Council, extending through a week, including sessions in one of the large auditoriums of the World's Congress Art Palace, and special meetings in five smaller rooms, came duly to hand, and has received preliminary attention. The communication of the same date, in which Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, corresponding secretary of your Council, joins, has also been received.

While I can not, at this time, make a definite assignment of the Art Palace rooms for the use of your Council, I think it safe to say that arrangements can be made for a congress of your own and allied women's organizations, to be held within one or two weeks of the date fixed for the congresses of the Department of Temperance. I expect to be able to give definite dates for the various congresses by the 1st of July, next.

Should an application be made, as was suggested in your interview with me, for a general congress of women, under the leadership of your organization, to be held during the week commencing May 15, 1893, very much better facilities can be afforded than will be practicable at any later date.

* * * * * * * *

As expressed to you in the interview to which I have referred, it seems to me peculiarly appropriate that in this century, so highly distinguished by the advancement of women in nearly all the departments of human progress, aside from the particular congresses in which her work will, more or less, be set forth, an occasion should be arranged in which a graphic pres-

entation of the whole scope of woman's advancement may be made under the most auspicious circumstances.

Cordially inviting all and any such further suggestions as you may be pleased to make, and awaiting with special interest the decision whether an application for such a woman's congress will be made, I am, my dear Mrs. Sewall,

Very sincerely yours,
CHARLES C. BONNEY,
President World's Congress Auxiliary.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., May 28, 1892.

HON. CHARLES C. BONNEY, *President of the World's Congress Auxiliary, Chicago, Ill.*

MY DEAR SIR: Yours of May 26th, in reply to mine of the 19th inst., has been duly received and carefully read. I fear that my request was less definitely and carefully made than I intended it to be. I intended it to be framed in strict accordance with the general understanding reached in our interview. What the officers of the National Council really desire is this—that a general congress of women shall be convened under the leadership of the National Council of Women of the United States.

We wish it to be prefatory to all other meetings of women, and the only reason that I did not specify the week beginning May 15th was because I understood that you preferred the request as to date to be more general. If you can at once grant permission to convene this congress at this date, our organization will gladly avail itself of this time.

We expect to be subject to the general rules and regulations of the World's Congress Auxiliary, and feel that our own work will be dignified by this association. * * *

If I receive a favorable reply, as from the tone of your letter and of our interview I anticipate, I shall at once issue the preliminary address in conjunction with the president of the International Council for this general congress of women. I have the honor to remain,

Yours very sincerely,
MAY WRIGHT SEWALL,
President of National Council of Women of the United States.

CHICAGO, U. S. A., June 1, 1892.

MRS. MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, *President National Council of Women of the United States, Indianapolis, Ind.*

DEAR MADAM: Your favor of May 28th was duly received, and has had attention. The application of the National Council of Women of the United States for a World's Congress of Representative Women, in the series of congresses to be held in Chicago during the Exposition season of 1893, under the auspices of the World's Congress Auxiliary, is allowed, and

in accordance with your request the week beginning May 15, 1893, is assigned for the proposed congress. * * *

As in all the other cases, the general sessions of the congress will be under the direction of the World's Congress Auxiliary, and, as in other cases of congresses of women, under the special supervision of the officers of the Woman's Branch of the Auxiliary; but, of course, in those general sessions your own and other general organizations of women will be most conspicuously represented. The sessions of the congress of your own organization will, of course, be held under your own officers; and the same rule will apply to any other organization, like the Federation of Women's Clubs.

To secure the necessary unity and completeness of the programme for the entire Congress of Women, the programmes for the various sessions, both general and special, will be arranged in a conference with representatives of the important interests involved.

All to whom I have mentioned the matter believe that the proposed congress of representative women of the world may be made a brilliant and imposing success. * * *

I have the honor to remain,

Very sincerely yours,
CHARLES C. BONNEY,
President World's Congress Auxiliary.

SOMERTON, PHILADELPHIA, PA., June 13, 1892.

HON. CHARLES C. BONNEY, *President of the World's Congress Auxiliary.*

MY DEAR SIR: Your two letters of June 1st and June 4th, together containing very full replies to mine of May 28th, have been carefully re-read with Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, the corresponding secretary of the National Council of Women, with whom I have conferred upon every point.

We thank you for the ample information your letters afford concerning the general plan of the World's Congress Auxiliary, and the requirements with which all associations must comply which seek to hold meetings under its auspices in Chicago, in 1893. As we understand them, we find all of these requirements not only reasonable, but helpful. That we may be guarded against any possible misconception, and be able to prosecute our work energetically during the summer, will you permit me to recapitulate the situation at some length?

First. All announcements of this General International Council of Women must bear on their title page the names of the officers of the World's Congress Auxiliary, and of the different officers of the Woman's Branch of said Auxiliary; but may be signed by the names of the Local Committee of Arrangements and of the Advisory Councils.

Second. The chairmanship of the Local Committee of Arrangements is offered to me. This I accept, and pledge myself to come to Chicago as frequently, prior to the meetings, as may be necessary to perform the duties implied by the position. * * *

Third. In our subsequent calls and programmes we shall wish, besides our local committee, to provide for two Advisory Councils — one American and one foreign. * * *

In respect to these Advisory Councils, we ask these privileges: We ask to have the summer to correspond with leaders, at home and abroad, within and outside of organizations. In this way we shall prepare representative lists – representative both of diverse ideas and also of widely separated territory, home and foreign. Before publishing these lists they will be submitted to you for amendment, both by excision and by addition. Our organization includes so many different groups that we believe this is the best possible means of securing truly representative names on our two Advisory Councils.

Fourth. We accept May 15th as the date of this international congress, knowing that it may be shifted a few days later, but understanding that it shall not be set earlier than that date. * * *

Fifth. Our desire about the programme is your own. We wish every line of progress along which woman has advanced to be represented on the programme by its ablest exponent. We wish to avoid repetition within our own programme, and also to avoid duplicating in our programme the papers to be presented in subsequent congresses. Therefore, we shall gladly submit to you every name and topic, and shall expect the aid of your counsel at every step.

Sixth. The correspondence involved in the foregoing statements will be largely in the hands of Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, who is corresponding secretary of the International as well as the National Council of Women, though I shall also give my time to coöperating with her and with Mrs. Fawcett to secure the success of this gigantic undertaking.

You understand that the work of the National Council to this end was begun one year ago, on May 30, 1891, when its Executive Committee passed a resolution to entertain all foreign delegates who should attend the International Council of Women to be convened in Chicago during the Columbian Exposition of 1893. This resolution was sent at that time to the leaders of all organized effort in foreign countries, and for the past year such leaders have been working with this meeting in view; National Councils have been formed in France, Scandinavia, and Finland similar to our own, while in other countries leaders have been working toward such a consummation.

You will see from this that we are now prepared for public steps.

Seventh. The first public step is the second preliminary address, the first having been issued through women's papers at home and abroad nearly a year ago.

We suppose that it will be your desire to have this address printed in a style uniform with the preliminary addresses of other congresses and issued from your office. I mail you herewith the copy of the address that seems appropriate to us. We, of course, wish this congress to have the prestige which can come from showing its relation to former International Councils

of Women. Should you wish to revise the address in any way, will you kindly communicate with Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery? And in any case will you send her a proof of the address before it is published? I am myself going abroad for a few weeks, my main purpose being to arouse the women of Germany and of other countries where there is less public activity among women than there is in England and France, to a sense of what this General Congress of Women will be to all who participate or who are represented in it. So soon as this preliminary address is issued, will you kindly send me a hundred copies to distribute abroad? I shall also see that it is translated and published in progressive foreign papers. * * *

Eighth. Your plan of presenting as many different celebrities as possible to the audience, and of "distributing honors and dignities," is in entire accord with the fundamental ideas upon which the International and National Councils are based. I assure you we do not wish to exclude, but to include, as many different lines of work, as many different exponents of progressive thought, and as many distinguished women as can be convened, by the continual, harmonious effort of all of us, in the International Council of 1893, which will, I suppose, be known as the General World's Congress of Women.

We do, of course, wish to recognize the continuity of effort which makes this congress, in its magnitude and representative character, possible. This is clearly indicated in our preliminary address and call.

Copies of this letter and of the manuscript of the address will be sent to Mrs. Palmer and Mrs. Henrotin, that they may have a clear conception of our view of the plan and the manner in which it is to be executed.

I thank you, dear Mr. Bonney, in advance for the patience which you will exercise in reading this long letter, and beg to assure you that I am profoundly grateful for the cordial sympathy which you have thus far given us, and which I am certain you will continue to extend to us until our plans are accomplished. I have the honor to remain,

Yours with high esteem,

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL,

President of National Council of Women of the United States.

With the letter of June 13th, above given, was sent the manuscript copy of the Preliminary Address, copies being forwarded also to the president and the vice-president of the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary. Immediately after the dispatch of these documents the chairman of the Committee of Arrangements sailed for Europe, leaving further correspondence in charge of the secretary, who received from Mr. Bonney, under date of June 27th, the following communication, approving the draft of the Pre-

liminary Address and the various propositions offered by the chairman in her letter of June 13th.

CHICAGO, U. S. A., June 27, 1893.

MRS. RACHEL FOSTER AVERY, *Corresponding Secretary of the National Council of Women, United States, Somerton, Pa.*

DEAR MADAM: Please accept my thanks for your recent favors. Your note of the 17th inst., inclosing a copy of the constitution of the National Council of Women, and a copy of the constitution of the International Council, came duly to hand; and the communication of your president, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, accompanied by a draft of the Preliminary Address of the Committee on a World's Congress of Representative Women, had previously been received. I have taken time to reconsider carefully the whole subject of the proposed congress, and I take pleasure in saying that I am strongly confirmed in the conviction expressed to you, Mrs. Sewall, and others, that this congress may be one of the most brilliant and useful in the entire series proposed by the World's Congress Auxiliary. I am also glad to say that the proposed Preliminary Address, and the views expressed by Mrs. Sewall in her communication, have my hearty approval; and while I will reserve the liberty to make any suggestions for which there may seem to be cause hereafter, I do not now see occasion to advise any change in the plans thus far outlined.

* * * I propose that the Woman's Congress shall have a department of its own, to be called the "Department of Woman's Progress." This will be better than assigning such a congress either to the Department of Moral and Social Reform, or to the General Department. Any suggestions in relation to the title of the new department will be cordially received.

Please have the kindness to convey to Mrs. Sewall, with the foregoing information, my high regard and my congratulations on the auspicious outlook for the Congress of Representative Women.

With the like respect and congratulations for yourself, I remain, my dear Mrs. Avery,

Very sincerely yours,
CHARLES C. BONNEY,
President World's Congress Auxiliary.

The Executive Committee of the National Council of Women, at a meeting held in Chicago on May 9th and 10th, had authorized the President of the Council, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, to represent the interests of the Council in Europe during the summer of 1892, with a view to increase foreign interest in the proposed meeting of the International Council of Women in Chicago in May, 1893.

After this proposed meeting of the International Council of Women had been merged into the greater project of a World's Congress of Representative Women under the auspices of the World's Congress Auxiliary, Mrs. Sewall naturally devoted herself, during the three months spent in Germany, Belgium, and France, in the ensuing summer, to awakening among the prominent women with whom she came in contact an interest in the proposed World's Congress of Representative Women. While invested with no official authority to represent the Auxiliary, Mrs. Sewall was greatly aided in her efforts by her position as chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, and by her connection with the National and International Councils of Women, the essential features of which were already well known abroad, and served to divest the idea of a World's Congress of Women of much of the strangeness it would otherwise have assumed in the minds of foreign women.

The main objects to be accomplished in this foreign work were as follows: First, to make clear the distinction between the World's Columbian Exposition, the Board of Lady Managers, the World's Congress Auxiliary, with its Woman's Branch, and the National and International Councils of Women, these bodies being naturally confounded continually, and almost hopelessly, by those who heard of them only through the vague paragraphs of the foreign press; second, to impart a clear understanding of the magnitude of the proposed congress, both as a whole and in its infinite details and subdivisions; third, to show the exact nature of the papers and reports desired from European delegates, and the character of the subjects to be treated; fourth, to stimulate the foreign women to appoint delegates from organizations already existing, and to form new organizations to be represented in like manner; fifth, to encourage individuals to come to Chicago whether connected with organized bodies or not; sixth, to endeavor to reach the general European public through reports, interviews, and articles published in the European press; and, seventh, to

combat unceasingly not only the general apathy in regard to a project so remote in time and place, but also the specific objections everywhere encountered, based upon the date chosen for the congress, which did not fall within the foreign vacation period, upon the length, hazard, and cost of the journey, and upon the grossly exaggerated reports of the expense of living in Chicago, and the heat of Chicago summers.

In Berlin Mrs. Sewall devoted a month to personal interviews with ladies prominent in philanthropy and education, and to informal conferences with groups of ladies representing, among other organizations, the following: The *Scheppeler-Lette Verein*, the *Frauenwohl*, the *Jugendschutz*, the *Vaterländische Frauen-Verein*, the *Edelweiss Verein*, the *Victoria Haus*, the *Victoria Lyceum*, the *Pestalozzi Froebel-Verein*, the *Künstlerinnen- und Schriftstellerinnen-Verein*, the *Mädchen Realschule-Verein*, and the *Volksküchen*. Many of these enjoy the protection of the Empress Frederick.

Among the ladies who were most responsive to her appeals and most influential in spreading a knowledge of the movement among a wider circle were Frau Henriette Schrader, Frau Von Helmholtz, Frau Hedwig Heyl, Frau Elisabet Kaselowsky, Frau Lina Morgenstern, Fräulein Helene Lange, Fräulein Lucie Crain, Frau Dr. Tiburtius-Hirschfeld, Frau Direktor Iessen, Frau Claere Schubert-Feder, Ph. D.; Frau Ulrike Henschke, Fräulein von Hobe, and Frau Hanna Bieber-Boehm.

Mrs. Sewall supplemented her work in Berlin by a visit to Homburg, where she was granted an extended interview with the Empress Frederick, who showed herself deeply interested in the plan of the proposed congress, and declared herself ready to aid by every means in her power in securing an adequate representation of German women in its deliberations.

In Brussels Mrs. Sewall addressed the Belgian Woman's Rights League, an influential organization, whose leaders are Mlle. Marie Popelin, docteur en droit, and M. Louis

Frank, avocat. Mlle. Popelin and M. Frank, by their learning, their high position, their indefatigable labors, and their eloquence with tongue and pen, have powerfully advanced the cause of women in Belgium.

In Paris Mrs. Sewall spoke in the Hall of the Mairie St. Sulpice to a large audience, and devoted the following fourteen days to conferences with the leaders among the women of Paris, singly and in groups. Among the many women of the French capital who deserve mention for their sympathetic interest in this and other causes involving the higher interests of their sex are the following: Mlle. Maria Deraismes, présidente de la *Société du Droit des Femmes;* Mme. Isabelle Bogelot, directrice de *l'Œuvre des Libérées de St. Lazare*, and ex-treasurer of the *International Council of Women;* Mme. Emilie de Morsier; Mme. Maria Martin, directrice du *Journal des Femmes;* Mme. Clémence Royer; Mme. Raymond Pognon; Mme. Nelly Lieutier, of the *Société des Gens de Lettres;* Mme. Térésa Vielé; Mme. Ernesta Urban, présidente de *l'Union Internationale des Sciences et des Arts;* Mme. Griess-Traut, of the *Fédération Féministe de la Paix;* Mlle. Myrtile Rengnet; Mlle. Pauline de Grandpré; Mlle. Ollier, of the *Patronage des Jeunes Filles;* Mme. Marya Chéliga-Loévy; Mme. Aline Valette, of the *Fédération Française des Sociétés Féministes;* Mme. Blanche Edwards-Pilliet, docteur en médicine; Mme. René Marcil, directrice de *l'Esprit de la Femme;* Mlle. Marie Maugeret, directrice de *l'Echo Littéraire de France;* Mme. Eugénie Potonié Pierre, secrétaire *du Groupe de la Solidarité des Femmes.*

In addition to the interest aroused in these influential groups of German, Belgian, and French women by the visit and personal solicitations of the chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, wide publicity was given to her addresses by the press of France, Russia, Belgium, England, and Italy, and thus the scope of the great congress was made known to many thousands of European women of influence in their respective localities.

Mrs. Sewall returned to this country early in September.

Meanwhile Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, in her office at Somerton, Pa., was planning and carrying out a voluminous and searching correspondence with prominent individuals in this and other countries, and especially with the executive officers of every national body of women at home and abroad, preparing the way for the selection and appointment of prominent women from every nation on the Advisory Councils, for the selection of persons to prepare papers for the General Congress and reports for the Report Congresses, and for the formal enrollment of all national organizations of women as members of the World's Congress of Representative Women, entitled to send delegates thereto and to hold department congresses in connection therewith. The responses to the appeals thus made by the secretary were so prompt and so generally sympathetic that it became immediately evident that a wide-spread interest was aroused, and that the success of the congress was assured. Every precaution was taken to place the movement on the broadest possible plane, and thus to allay any apprehensions of unfair treatment that might arise on the part of weaker or younger organizations.

After the simple facts regarding the inception of the plan had been stated, all organizations were placed upon exactly the same level, and all official documents issued reiterated in appropriate terms the assurance that all organizations, whether large or small in membership and influence, stood upon an equal footing in the opportunities granted to each by the committee charged with the preparations for the programme of the great congress. The spirit of fairness was so manifest in all the preliminary work of the committee that organization after organization gave in its formal adhesion to the congress, until scarcely a national woman's organization in the United States or in Europe stood aloof.

The various blanks and forms used by the secretary of the committee in this arduous correspondence may be found in the appendix to this volume, together with documents issued from time to time from the Chicago office.* The

* It has not been thought necessary to reproduce all of these in the appendix; for a partial statement see Appendix "A."

Preliminary Address, issued in September, 1892, the manuscript of which had been sent to the officers of the Woman's Branch of the Auxiliary by the chairman of the committee on June 13th as before related, is of such importance, as being the first general statement given to the world by the committee, and as outlining clearly the history of the movement, its condition in September, 1892, and the committee's plans for the final development and execution of the great project in hand, that it is here given in full, instead of being relegated with other documents to the appendix. Of all the documents issued by the committee it was the most important. It was distributed in French and in English versions by tens of thousands—not at random, but to carefully selected addresses in every civilized country. It was reprinted from time to time substantially without change, either alone or as a part of more comprehensive statements, as the needs of the work required, the latest edition bearing date April 12, 1893, about four weeks before the convening of the congress.

Not Things, but Men.

President, Charles C. Bonney. Treasurer, Lyman J. Gage.
Vice-president, Thomas B. Bryan. Secretary, Benjamin Butterworth.

THE WORLD'S CONGRESS AUXILIARY OF THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.

Not Matter, but Mind.

THE WOMAN'S BRANCH OF THE AUXILIARY.—Mrs. Potter Palmer, president; Mrs. Charles Henrotin, vice-president.

DEPARTMENT OF WOMAN'S PROGRESS.—Preliminary Address of the Committee on a World's Congress of Representative Women at Chicago, in 1893.

This congress is proposed, not for the purpose of advocating any one cause, of promoting any one doctrine, or of advancing any special propaganda, but for the purpose of bringing together the representatives of all worthy organizations of women, whatever their nationality or their specific object.

In June of 1887 the National Woman Suffrage Association issued a call to the women of the world, stating that on March 25, 1888, an International Council of Women would be convened in Washington, D. C., to celebrate

RACHEL FOSTER AVERY,
Secretary Committee on Organization, World's Congress of Representative Women.

the fortieth anniversary of "the first organized demand for equal educational, industrial, professional, and political rights for women, which was made in a convention held at Seneca Falls, N. Y. (U. S. A.), in the year 1848."

The International Council convened in Washington on the appointed day, and continued its sessions through eight days, adjourning April 1, 1888. Fifty-one national organizations of women and seven different countries were represented in this meeting.

The Council seemed too important to the women participating in its deliberations to permit of its being adjourned and dissolved without taking measures toward a permanent organization of the national and international movements represented in it. Accordingly, on the 31st of March, 1888, the National Council of Women of the United States and the International Council of Women were both formally organized, under the form of constitution hereto appended.* The International Council of Women was officered as follows:

† President, Millicent Garrett Fawcett, England.
Vice-president, Clara Barton, United States.
Corresponding secretary, Rachel Foster Avery, United States.
Recording secretary, Kirstine Frederiksen, Denmark.
Treasurer, Isabelle Bogelot, France.

By the terms of the constitution, meetings of the International Council were to be held quinquennially, and the first was set for five years from its organization, viz., the spring of 1893. It was informally agreed that the first meeting of the International Council should be convened in London, unless, prior to the date fixed for it, circumstances should render it advisable to convene it elsewhere.

In July, 1889, in response to an invitation of the progressive women of France, an International Congress of Women was convened in Paris, under the auspices of the French Government.

The French leaders were generous in repeatedly ascribing the courageous impulse under which they had acted to the council held in Washington the preceding year. Before its adjournment, that congress, composed of delegates representing over one hundred societies and twenty-six different nationalities, by a unanimous vote passed a resolution ‡ approving the permanent International Council of Women, the organization of which had been effected in Washington the preceding year, and pledging its members to work for the establishment of National Councils in their respective countries, and for the dissemination of information concerning the International Council and its objects.

So soon as the United States Government had, through Congress, made provision for celebrating the discovery of America by the World's Columbian Exposition, and had fixed the time and place for such Exposition,

* It is not considered necessary to reproduce these constitutions here.

† Mrs. Fawcett resigned her position as president in June, 1892.

‡ See Appendix for the text of this resolution.

the American officers of the International Council at once conceived it to be appropriate, inasmuch as the year fixed for its first meeting coincided with the year for the Exposition, that the International Council should be convened in Chicago during the Exposition season of 1893, the exact date to be hereafter announced. Through correspondence concerning this plan the cordial concurrence of the foreign officers was received. The organization of the World's Congress Auxiliary, under the authority and with the support of the World's Columbian Exposition, and with the recognition and approval of the Government of the United States, affords to the officers of the International Council of Women an unanticipated ally in securing a meeting of the character they desire, viz., a general world's congress of the representative women of the world.

It is desired to convene in this congress not only the delegates of organizations of women, but also women not affiliated with others in any organic relation, who have attained distinction in any line of worthy activity.

It is believed that such a congress of women will be able to present the history of woman's development and progress, and her present status as an acknowledged factor in the worlds of Art, Science, and Industry, and as a potent influence in civil as well as in social and domestic life.

In May, 1891, the National Council of Women of the United States, through its Executive Committee, passed a resolution pledging itself to entertain, during the congress, all delegates attending it from foreign countries.

This was announced to organizations of women wherever known, and in many countries, notably in England, France, Canada, Scandinavia, and Finland, and more recently in Italy, Switzerland, and Germany, the organized activity of women has been quickened by it. Many women in all these countries are planning to attend this congress.

Home and Foreign Advisory Councils will be formed to coöperate by correspondence with the Local Committee of Arrangements, to the end that this congress may be conducted to the distinguished success which the conditions demand. All officers of the International Council will be made members of the Foreign Advisory Council; all officers of the National Council will be made members of the Home Advisory Council.

Women in all parts of the world, interested in any department of intellectual activity, in philanthropy or reform, are solicited to correspond with the chairman of the local committee, or with the secretary of the International Council of Women, and freely suggest topics for discussion in this congress, the names of women who should be invited to present papers or to participate in the discussions of the congress, and also the names of women who should be included in either of the two Advisory Councils.

Every living question pertaining to the education or the employment of women may be discussed in this congress. In its sessions the woman's view upon every issue affecting humanity — upon the Home, the Church, the State, and her own function in these institutions — may be presented. What such a congress may do for the uplifting of humanity if the women

of the world avail themselves of its unique advantages for stating their views of the present condition of the race, of its struggles, its possibilities, its hopes, is incalculable. The aid which such a congress will give to the solution of the hundreds of problems included in what is massed under the phrase, "The Woman Question," is equally beyond measure. Humanity may well entertain eager anxiety regarding the manner in which women will respond to this matchless opportunity.

In issuing this edition of the Preliminary Address, the committee is able to announce the general themes which will be discussed in this congress. Practically these themes will divide the congress into the following general divisions: *First*, education; *second*, industry; *third*, art; *fourth*, philanthropy and charity; *fifth*, moral and social reform; *sixth*, religion; *seventh*, civil law; *eighth*, government.

It must be borne in mind that while congresses in each of the above divisions are provided for in the great scheme of congresses under the management of the World's Congress Auxiliary, these congresses will not take the place of, nor duplicate the work of, the Woman's Congress in the general subjects above given.

In each of the separate congresses, to convene in Chicago during the summer of 1893, women will participate in the degree in which they have taken part in the interest or activity indicated by the title of the congress, and they will discuss the themes presented in such congress accordingly.

In the General World's Congress of Representative Women, however, these great subjects will be viewed from a different standpoint, the object of this congress being to discuss, not the subject *per se*, but the relation of the women of the world to the subject. For example, in the papers and addresses to be presented in the World's Congress of Representative Women, on titles that will come under the general subject of education, it is not desired that Pedagogy, as a science, shall be discussed, but papers of two kinds upon this general theme will be demanded by the character and objects of this particular congress.

First. Papers that may, with propriety, be called reports from each country represented in the congress, showing the history of woman's progress in that country in respect to education, and setting forth her present educational opportunities, and the agencies through which these opportunities have been received; and also the objects now sought in each country by its educational leaders.

The object of these reports, which is to ascertain the historical progress and the present status of woman's education in each country, will determine the character of the reports, in which accuracy and statistical detail will be required — qualities which will make these reports invaluable to the student of Pedagogics and of Sociology, but which will in a large degree deprive them of that warmth and eloquence required in addresses that please the ear and stimulate the enthusiasm of such large popular audiences as it is hoped the Congress of Representative Women will convene. Hence the necessity for papers of the second kind, namely: Addresses

upon themes bearing upon the general subject of women in education, under which title many topics can be suggested which would give free play for wit, pathos, illustration, aspiration, and all of the elements of oratory.

What has been above said and suggested concerning the manner in which the subject of education will be treated in this congress, is equally applicable to all of the eight departments under which its work will fall.

According to the present plan, no other congress will be convened during the time of the World's Congress of Representative Women. Therefore, all of the rooms necessary for the meeting of committees, or of groups particularly interested in the same question, will be at the command of the committee having the congress in charge.

What is now necessary is that every society of women into the hands of whose officers this address may come shall immediately send to the chairman or to the secretary of the local committee the names of women for the Advisory Council, the names of women best fitted to prepare reports upon the subjects included under the titles above given, and the names of women able to make the addresses to be delivered before the public sessions of the entire congress.

Every one to whom this Preliminary Address is sent is further solicited to send suggestions as to subjects, titles of papers, etc., suitable for the programme of this congress. The results of the correspondence carried on by the committee during the last four months are an assurance that the plan of the congress has commended itself to the judgment of women everywhere, has aroused enthusiasm and stirred new hopes. Only six months now remain in which to complete the preparations for this congress, and, therefore, prompt response is solicited to every inquiry, whether made directly, or suggested in this appeal.

May Wright Sewall, *Chairman*,
343 N. Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
Rachel Foster Avery, *Secretary*,
Somerton, Philadelphia Co., Pa.

Sarah Hackett Stevenson,
Frances E. Willard,
Julia Holmes Smith,
Elizabeth Boynton Harbert,
Mrs. Wm. T. Brown,
Mrs. Jno. C. Coonley,
} Chicago.

Committee of the World's Congress Auxiliary on a Congress of Representative Women.

World's Congress Headquarters, Chicago, December, 1892.*

* This second edition of the Preliminary Address contains everything of importance in the first, and brings the statement down to the above date.

From the time of the return of the chairman of the committee from abroad, in September, 1892, until the opening of the congress, on May 15, 1893, an uninterrupted correspondence was carried on between the chairman of the committee, in Indianapolis, and the secretary of the committee, in Philadelphia; and between these officers and the executive officers of the Auxiliary, in Chicago. This correspondence was summarized and tabulated from time to time, and the results submitted to the Committee of Arrangements, which held meetings in Chicago upon the call of the Woman's Branch of the Auxiliary. Four such meetings, including eight sessions, were held between October 1st and May 15th, and all matters of importance were passed upon after deliberation in full committee. The reports submitted to these meetings by the chairman and the secretary show that from their offices alone there were issued 7,198 sealed letters, home and foreign, and 55,000 printed documents. The records of the Chicago office of the Auxiliary would largely increase these totals.

This correspondence, a considerable portion of which was in foreign languages, occupied the entire time of the chairman of the committee and her secretary, and of the secretary of the committee, with from two to eight clerks in her office, for the nine months ending May 15, 1893.

The greater part of the enormous load was carried by the secretary of the committee, Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, to whose familiarity with business methods, accuracy in detail, intelligence in plan, skill in execution, comprehensive grasp of multifarious lines of work, and unfailing industry, unstinted praise is due. Without her efficient aid success on the scale actually achieved would have been impossible.

The other ladies included in the Committee of Arrangements, Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson, Dr. Julia Holmes Smith, Mrs. Elizabeth Boynton Harbert, Mrs. William Thayer Brown, Mrs. John C. Coonley, and Mrs. Matilda B. Carse (whom upon her own departure for Europe Miss

Frances E. Willard nominated as her substitute), rendered invaluable assistance by the weight of their names, by regular attendance upon the meetings of the committee, and by intelligent and sympathetic discussion and decision of the many delicate and puzzling questions that came before them.

Unfailing courtesy, sympathy, and sound advice was expected and received from President Bonney, to whose generous devotion to the great cause intrusted to him was largely due the signal success of the long series of world's congresses of 1893.

Mrs. Potter Palmer manifested toward those engaged in this arduous labor the same fairness of temper, quickness of perception, fertility of resource, soundness of judgment, and unfailing tact that have distinguished her in such marked degree since she entered upon her high position as president of the Board of Lady Managers. Although her exacting duties in other lines did not permit her to attend to the details of the work of this committee, she was frequently present at its meetings, and, whether present or absent, was always felt as a power upon which the committee could rely in every difficulty.

Mrs. Charles Henrotin, as nominal vice-president, and acting president of the Woman's Branch of the Auxiliary, devoted herself with untiring assiduity to the supervision of the countless details involved in organizing the woman's side of the various congresses; and by interviews, correspondence, and personal direction, as presiding officer of the deliberations of the committee, was a potent factor in the preliminary work of the World's Congress of Representative Women.

Recognition should also be made of the unfailing courtesy and cordial coöperation of the secretary of the Auxiliary, Mr. Clarence E. Young.

The preliminary labors outlined above resulted in the completion in good season of the following programme, of which seven editions of 10,000 copies each were distributed

among the audiences that thronged the Art Institute during the memorable week of May 15th to 22d. Every name appearing on this programme was placed there by formal consent of its owner, after adequate correspondence. Each address, discussion, or report for the multitudinous meetings of the congress was pledged in advance. The programme was carried out almost intact; and this fact, combined with careful attention to detail in all matters devolving upon the Committee of Arrangements, contributed very largely to the unprecedented success of the congress, in spite of the many serious inconveniences arising from the use of a temporary structure, in which the workmen were still busy. The building, moreover, was at first devoid of many simple conveniences which the experience of this first congress suggested for the comfort of those that followed it.

PROGRAMME OF THE WORLD'S CONGRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE WOMEN, MAY 15TH TO 21ST, INCLUSIVE, 1893. MEMORIAL ART PALACE, MICHIGAN AVENUE, FOOT OF ADAMS STREET, CHICAGO.

THE WORLD'S CONGRESS AUXILIARY OF THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION OF 1893.

President, Charles C. Bonney; vice-president, Thomas B. Bryan; treasurer, Lyman J. Gage; secretaries, Benjamin Butterworth, Clarence E. Young.

THE WOMAN'S BRANCH OF THE AUXILIARY.—President, Mrs. Potter Palmer; vice-president, Mrs. Charles Henrotin.

DEPARTMENT OF WOMAN'S PROGRESS.

COMMITTEE ON A WORLD'S CONGRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE WOMEN.—May Wright Sewall, chairman, Indianapolis, Ind.; Rachel Foster Avery, secretary, Somerton, Philadelphia, Pa.; Sarah Hackett Stevenson, M. D.; Julia Holmes Smith, M. D.; Mrs. John C. Coonley, Frances E. Willard, Elizabeth Boynton Harbert, Mrs. William Thayer Brown.

MONDAY, MAY 15, 1893. HALL OF WASHINGTON. GENERAL CONGRESS.

MORNING SESSION, 11 O'CLOCK. FORMAL OPENING OF THE CONGRESS.—Addresses of welcome, Mrs. Potter Palmer, president Woman's Branch of

World's Congress Auxiliary; Mrs. Charles Henrotin, vice-president Woman's Branch of World's Congress Auxiliary. Ode, "Columbia's Emblem" (*Edna Dean Proctor*), Mrs. Albert Barker, England. Address, "The World's Congress of Representative Women," May Wright Sewall. Introduction of foreign representatives and responses on behalf of their respective countries: Dr. Emily Howard Stowe, Mrs. John Harvie, Mrs. Dr. Todd, Mrs. Elizabeth M. Tilley, and other representatives from Canada; Jane Cobden Unwin, Florence Fenwick Miller, Marie Fischer Lette, Laura Ormiston Chant, and other representatives from England; Isabelle Bogelot, Ernesta Urban, Cecile Renooz, France; Mme. Quesada, South America; Sigrid E. Magnüsson, Iceland; Marie Stromberg, Russia.

Evening Session, 7.45 o'clock.—Introduction of foreign representatives, continued: Elisabet Kaselowsky, Hanna Bieber-Boehm, Augusta Foerster, Kaethe Schirmacher, Agnes Burchard, Annette Hamminck Schepel, Germany; Kirstine Frederiksen, Nico Beck Meyer, Frederikke Olesen, Denmark; Countess of Aberdeen, Scotland; Baroness Thorborg Rappe, Hulda Lundin, Sigrid Storckenfeldt, Sweden; Tauthe Vignier, Emilie Kempin, Switzerland; Margaret Windeyer, Australia; Meri Toppelius, Ebba Nordqvist, Finland; Callirrhoe Parren, Greece; Señorita Catalina de Alcala, Spain; Josefa Humpal Zeman, Sleona Karla Machova, Bohemia; Marie Marshall, Paris; Martha Sesselberg, Brazil.

Tuesday, May 16, 1893. Hall of Washington. General Congress.

Morning Session, 10 o'clock.—Honorary foreign president, ———; honorary American president, Charlotte Emerson Brown. Introduction of foreign representatives by Mrs. Potter Palmer and Mrs. Charles Henrotin, with responses on behalf of their respective countries, continued. "The Civil and Social Evolution of Woman," Elizabeth Cady Stanton, New York. Discussion: Margaret Parker, Scotland; M. Louise Thomas, representative of the Woman's Centenary Association; Dr. Emily Howard Stowe, president of the Woman's Enfranchisement Association of Canada; Dr. Jennie de la M. Lozier, president of Sorosis. "The Evolution of the Russian Woman," Marie Stromberg, Russia.

Evening Session, 7.45 o'clock.—Honorary American president, Mrs. J. N. Crouse. "The Moral Initiative as Related to Woman," Julia Ward Howe, Massachusetts. Discussion: Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, New Jersey; Mrs. John F. Unger, representative of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Reformed Church in the United States; Elizabeth McGregor Burt,* president of the National Association of the Loyal Women of American Liberty; Josephine C. Locke, Illinois. "The Ethical Influence of Woman in Education," Kate Tupper Galpin, California. Discussion: Mrs. W. D. Cabell, representative of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution; Anna Byford Leonard, Illinois; Frances Stewart Mosher, representative of the National Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society.

*Mrs. Burt died a few days before the congress opened.

TUESDAY, MAY 16, 1893. HALL OF COLUMBUS. GENERAL CONGRESS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.— Honorary foreign president, ———; honorary American president, Laura S. Wilkinson. "Woman in Municipal Government," paper by Mrs. Jacob Bright, read by Jane Cobden Unwin, representative of the Woman's Franchise League of England. Discussion: Ida A. Harper, Indiana; Margaret Ray Wickins, president of the Woman's National Relief Corps. "Woman as an Actual Force in Politics," Countess of Aberdeen, representative of the Woman's Liberal Federation of England. Discussion: Lillie Devereux Blake, New York. "The Position and Influence of Woman in Civil Law," Martha Strickland, Michigan.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.— "Woman in Science," Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi, New York. Discussion: Dr. Julia Holmes Smith, Illinois; Prof. Rachel Lloyd, University of Nebraska; Dr. Mary A. D. Jones; Louise Reed Stowell, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Leander Stone. "Woman as a Physician" (paper), Dr. Garrett Anderson; read by Constance Elder, England. "Woman the New Factor in Industrial Economics," Augusta Cooper Bristol, New Jersey. Discussion: Lina Morgenstern (by a paper), Germany; Virginia C. Meredith, Indiana; Ellen J. Phinney, president Non-Partisan N. W. C. T. U.; Agnes Burchard, representative of Frauenbildung-Reform Verein, of Germany; Augusta Foerster, Elisabet Kaselowsky, representatives of the Comite für die Deutsche Frauenabtheilung bei der Weltausstellung; Juana A. Neal, California.

TUESDAY, MAY 16, 1893. HALL VI. REPORT CONGRESS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.— Presiding officer, Julia Ward Howe. L'Union des Femmes, Tauthe Vignier, Switzerland. Verein Jugendschutz, Hanna Bieber-Boehm, Germany. Women's Progressive Society, Mrs. Warner Snoad, president; read by Clara Bewick Colby, Nebraska. La Solidarité des Femmes; read by Clara Bewick Colby, Nebraska. Association for the Advancement of Women, Julia Ward Howe, Massachusetts. Sigrid E. Magnüsson, Iceland. Anti-Vivisection Society, Mrs. Fairchild Allen, Illinois.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.— Presiding officer, Mary McDonell. Woman's Anti-Opium Urgency Committee, Laura Ormiston Chant, England. Sociologic Society of America, Imogene C. Fales, New York. Dominion Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Mary McDonell, Canada. Moral Reform Union, Marie Fischer-Lette, England. British Section of the World's Christian Temperance Union, Laura Ormiston Chant, England.

TUESDAY, MAY 16, 1893. HALL XXIX. REPORT CONGRESS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.— Presiding officer, Mary Frost Ormsby. International Board of Women's Christian Associations, Mrs. William O. Gould, California. Women's Franchise League, Jane Cobden Unwin, England. Women's Auxiliary Keeley Leagues, Mrs. J. A. Stafford-Wood, Illinois. Writer's Club (England), report sent by Mrs. Henrietta E. V. Stannard (John Strange Winter). National Democratic Influence Clubs,

Mary Frost Ormsby, New York. Women's Trades Union League (of England), report sent by Florence Routledge.

Evening Session, 7.45 o'clock.— Pacific Coast Woman's Press Association, Mrs. Lindon W. Bates, Illinois. New England Women's Press Association, Belle Grant Armstrong, Massachusetts. Working Women's Society, Harriette A. Keyser, New York. De Samlede Kvindeforeningen, Nico Beck Meyer, Denmark. Kvindelig Fremskridtsforeningen, Frederikke Olesen, Denmark.

Tuesday, May 16, 1893. Hall III. Department Congress of the National Council of Women of the United States.

Morning Session, 10 o'clock.— Welcome by the president, May Wright Sewall. "Reminiscences of Early Dress Reform," Lucy Stone. Sketch of the work of the Society for the Promotion of Physical Culture and Correct Dress, Frances M. Steele. Report of the work of the committee, Frances E. Russell, chairman National Council's Committee on Dress. "Line and Color in Costume—How Beauty Makes Reform Possible," Henrietta Russell. "Fashion versus Law in Dress," Helen Gilbert Ecob. "The Influence of Dress upon Development," Frank Stuart Parker. "The Essentials and Non-Essentials of Dress," Annie Jenness Miller. "Obstacles to Improved Dress," Octavia W. Bates. "Physical Culture — a Necessary Preparation for Correct Dressing," Frances W. Leiter.

Evening Session, 7.45 o'clock.— Addresses of the presidents of the members of the Council. National-American Woman Suffrage Association, Susan B. Anthony. Woman's Centenary Association of the Universalist Church, Cordelia A. Quinby. National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Matilda B. Carse (representing Frances E. Willard). National Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society, Laura A. De Merritte (representing Mary A. Davis). Illinois Industrial Reform School for Girls (National Charter), Mrs. M. R. M. Wallace. National Woman's Relief Society, Mrs. Zina D. H. Young. Wimodaughsis, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw. Sorosis, Dr. Jennie de la M. Lozier. Young Ladies' National Mutual Improvement Association, Elmina S. Taylor. National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity, Elizabeth B. Grannis. Universal Peace Union, Rev. Amanda Deyo. International Kindergarten Union, Sarah B. Cooper. Woman's Republican Association of the United States, J. Ellen Foster. National Association of Loyal Women of American Liberty, E. McGregor Burt. Closing address by the president, "The Idea of the National Council," May Wright Sewall.

Tuesday, May 16, 1893. Hall VII. Department Congress of the Order of the Eastern Star.

Morning Session, 10 o'clock.— Mrs. Lorraine J. Pitkin will call the meeting to order, and introduce Mrs. Mary C. Snedden, Most Worthy Grand Matron. Prayer. Singing. Greeting, "The Dawn," Mrs. Elizabeth But-

ler, Chicago, Most Worthy Grand Matron, 1878 to 1880. "Illinois and the Eastern Star," Mrs. Jane M. Ricketts, Illinois, Grand Matron, 1892 to 1893. Reading, Miss Bessie Waterbury, Chicago. William G. Bartels, Grand Patron of Illinois, 1892 to 1893. Miscellaneous greetings. Vocal selection, Mrs. Brinkerhoff, Chicago. "The Eastern Star and Its Ceremonials, as Based upon Bible History," Rev. H. A. Guild, Past Grand Patron of Nebraska. "Masonic Homes," Mrs. Jennie A. Walker, Illinois, Grand Matron, 1885 to 1887.

AFTERNOON SESSION, RECEPTION 2 O'CLOCK.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.— Miscellaneous greetings. Quartette. "Order of the Eastern Star—Its Origin, Progress, and Development," Mrs. Mary C. Snedden, Missouri, Most Worthy Grand Matron. Violin duet. "Eastern Star Literature," Mrs. Nettie Ransford, Indianapolis, Ind., Most Worthy Grand Matron, 1889 to 1892. Miscellaneous. Selection, vocal, Lorraine J. Decker, Chicago. "The Value of the Eastern Star as a Factor in Giving Women a Knowledge of Legislative Matters," Mrs. Mary A. Flint, California, Most Worthy Grand Matron, 1886 to 1889. Reading. "Relation of the Eastern Star to Masonry, and Its Importance," A. B. Ashley, Illinois, Grand Patron, 1886 to 1889. "Masonry and Its Eastern Star," Mrs. Theresa Jacobs, Pennsylvania. "Iowa and the Eastern Star," Mrs. Jennie E. Matthews, Iowa, Most Worthy Grand Matron, 1883 to 1886. "Eastern Star and the Benefit it Has Been to Women as an Educational Organization," Mrs. Harriet A. Ercenbrack, Iowa, Right Worthy Grand Treasurer, 1889 to 1895. "Indiana and the Eastern Star," Mrs. E. M. Hollinger, Indiana, Grand Matron, 1892 to 1895.

TUESDAY, MAY 16, 1893. HALL VIII. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.—Mrs. J. V. Farwell, Jr., chairman International Committee Young Women's Christian Associations, presiding. Hymn. Devotional exercises. "The Association Working with the Church." "The Strength of the Young Women's Christian Association," Miss Nettie Dunn, Michigan. Music. "The Highest Education," Mrs. Charles Kendall Adams, Wisconsin.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.— Mrs. J. V. Farwell, Jr., chairman International Committee Young Women's Christian Associations, presiding. Hymn. Scripture. Prayer. "The Young Women's Christian Association — Its Methods and Aims," Mrs. William Boyd, Missouri. Music. "The Responsibility of the College Woman to Christian Work," Mrs. Jane Bancroft Robinson, Michigan. "What the Association Does for Young Women," Mrs. John Harvie, Canada.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 17, 1893. HALL OF WASHINGTON. GENERAL CONGRESS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.— Honorary foreign president, Catalina de Alcala, Spain; honorary American president, Isabella Charles Davis.

"The Solidarity of Human Interests," Isabelle Bogelot, France; Callirrhoe Parren, Greece; Tauthe Vignier, Switzerland. "Woman in Spain for the Last Four Hundred Years," Catalina de Alcala, Spain. "Woman's Position in the South American States," Mme. Quesada, Peru; Baroness Wilson, Spain. "The Evolution of the Russian Woman," Marie Stromberg, Russia.

Evening Session, 7.45 o'clock.— Honorary foreign president, Ernesta Urban, France; honorary American president, May Wright Sewall. "Woman's Place in the Legitimate Drama," Mme. Janauschek. "The Endowed Theater," Helena Modjeska. "The Stage and Its Women," Georgia Cayvan. "Woman in the Emotional Drama," Clara Morris. "The Stage and Its Women," Mlle. Rhea, Julia Marlowe.

Wednesday, May 17, 1893. Hall of Columbus. General Congress.

Morning Session, 10 o'clock. — Honorary foreign president, Kirstine Frederiksen, Denmark; honorary American president, Mary C. Snedden. "The Progress of Women in England" (paper), Helen Blackburn. "Our Debt to Zurich," Dr. Emilie Kempin, Switzerland. Discussion: Prof. Helen Webster. "The Position of Women in Bohemia," Sleona Karla Machova, Bohemia. "The Struggle of Woman in Belgium to Enter Public Employments and the Professions" (paper), Dr. Marie Popelin, Belgium. "A Century of Progress for Women in Canada," Mary McDonell, A. M. Blakely, representatives of the Dominion W. C. T. U.; Dr. Augusta Stowe Gullen, representative of the Woman's Enfranchisement Association of Canada; Mrs. John Harvie, representative of the Young Women's Christian Associations of Canada; Nellie Spence, B. A., Canada; Emily Cummings, Canada; Alice Fenton Freeman (Faith Fenton), Canada.

Evening Session, 7.45 o'clock. — Honorary foreign president, Josefa Humpal Zeman, Bohemia; honorary American president, Mrs. W. D. Cabell. "The Effect of Modern Changes in Industrial and Social Life on Woman's Marriage Prospects," Kaethe Schirmacher, Germany. Discussion: Mary F. Eastman, Massachusetts; Alice Timmons Toomy, California; Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Pennsylvania; Emily Marshall Wadsworth. "The Moral Responsibility of Woman in Heredity," Helen H. Gardener, New York.

Wednesday, May 17, 1893. Hall VI. Report Congress.

Morning Session, 10 o'clock. — Presiding officer, Lillie Devereux Blake. The Dublin Woman Suffrage Committee. Womanhood Suffrage League of New South Wales, Margaret Windeyer, Australia. The Society for Promoting the Return of Women to all Local Governing Bodies, Countess of Aberdeen, Scotland. Gift Qvinnas Eganderoett, Baroness Thorborg Rappe, Sweden. The Women's Liberal Federation, Jane Cobden Unwin, England. The Women's Liberal Federation of Scotland, Countess of Aberdeen, Scotland.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK. — Central National Society for Women's Suffrage, Laura Ormiston Chant, England. Women's Enfranchisement Association of Canada, Sarah A. Curzon, Canada. Kvindestemmeretsforeningen of Norway (report to be read). Women's Republican Association of the United States, J. Ellen Foster, Washington, D. C.; Adelle Hazlett, Michigan.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 17, 1893. HALL XXIX. REPORT CONGRESS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.—Presiding officer, Ida M. Weaver. Œuvre des Libérées de St. Lazare, Isabelle Bogelot, France. Supreme Temple of Pythian Sisters of the World, Ida M. Weaver, Iowa. Patronage Laique des Jeunes Filles Apprenties et Ouvrières du VI. Arrondissement, Isabelle Bogelot, France. Alice-Frauenverein für die Krankenpflege, Œuvre des Jeunes Apprenties-Servantes (Le Foyer Chrétien), Marie Marshall, France. Royal British Nurses' Association, Mrs. Bedford Fenwick, Josephine De Pledge.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK. — Presiding officer, Mrs. John Harvie. London Young Women's Christian Association, Hon. Mrs. Waller, England. Young Women's Christian Association of Canada, Mrs. John Harvie, Canada. Young Women's Christian Association of Sweden, Sigrid Storckenfeldt, Sweden. Canadian Branch of the International Order of King's Daughters and Sons, Elizabeth M. Tilley, Canada. Onward and Upward Association, Invalid Children's Aid Association, Countess of Aberdeen, Scotland.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 17, 1893. HALL III. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL CHRISTIAN LEAGUE FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL PURITY.

SESSIONS AT 10 A. M. AND 7.45 P. M.—Delegates from the Christian League to the Women's Congress: Mrs. E. B. Grannis, president; Mrs. M. Louise Thomas, corresponding secretary; Dr. Nancy M. Miller, treasurer; Mrs. Arthur Smith, Mrs. C. M. Sawyer, Dr. J. M. Lozier.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.—Elizabeth B. Grannis, "Object and Aims of the Society." Mrs. M. Louise Thomas, "Social Purity." Dr. Jennie de la M. Lozier, "Educational Training." Rev. Conrad Haney. Mrs. Caroline B. Buell. Mrs. Arthur Smith, "High Living—One Cause of Impurity." Helen H. Gardener, "Heredity."

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK. — Rev. John P. Hale. Mrs. Virginia T. Smith, "Child Culture." Genevieve Stebbins (paper), "The Sacredness of the Marriage Relation."

WEDNESDAY, MAY 17, 1893. HALL IV. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.—Reading of Scripture. Prayer. Music. Address, Mary T. Lathrap, Michigan. Address, Mary McDowell, Illinois.

Music. Address, Josephine R. Nichols, Indiana. Woman's Lecture Bureau, Lucy E. Anthony, manager. Prayer.

Evening Session, 7.45 o'clock.—Music, "America." Reading of Scripture. Prayer. Music. Address, Mary H. Hunt, Massachusetts. Address, Ida Clothier, Colorado. Music. Address, Frances W. Leiter, Ohio. Address, Clara C. Hoffman, Missouri. Music. Benediction.

Wednesday, May 17, 1893. Hall VII. Department Congress of the International Kindergarten Union.

Officers.—President, Mrs. Sarah B. Cooper, San Francisco; first vice-president, Miss Sarah A. Stewart, Philadelphia; second vice-president, Miss Laliah B. Pingree, Boston; treasurer, Miss Eva B. Whitmore, Chicago; recording secretary, Miss Mary C. McCulloch, St. Louis; corresponding secretary, Miss Caroline T. Haven, New York.

Morning Session, 10 o'clock.—President's address, Mrs. Sarah B. Cooper, San Francisco; subject, "Obstacles to Kindergarten Progress in Large Cities." Discussion (limited to five minutes): Miss Laliah B. Pingree, Boston; Miss Caroline T. Haven, New York; Miss Mary C. McCulloch, St. Louis; Mrs. Mary B. Page, Chicago; Mrs. Eliza A. Blaker, Indianapolis. Subject, "The International Kindergarten Union," Miss Sarah A. Stewart. Discussion: Mrs. Emily L. Ward, England; Mrs. Ada Mareau Hughes, Canada; Miss Annette H. Schepel, Germany; Miss Elise Von Calear, Holland; Miss Annie Laws, Ohio. Subject, "The Dangers of Public Exhibits of Young Children," Mrs. Alice H. Putnam. Discussion: Mrs. Eudora L. Hailman, Miss Emma Marwedel, Miss Eleanor Heerwart.

Afternoon Session, 2 o'clock.—Round-table conferences. Social reunion. A committee will be in attendance to introduce members and visitors. Reports will be presented at each session, so far as time will permit.

Evening Session, 7.45 o'clock.—Subject, "Kindergarten Literature," Mrs. Louis H. Allen, Mrs. Lucretia W. Treat, Miss Virginia E. Graeff, Miss Angeline Brooks, Miss Laura Fisher, Miss Harriet Henderson. Subject, "The Kindergarten an Organic Part of the Public-School System." General discussion. Subject, "The Shoemaker's Barefooted Children," Miss Emily Poulsson. Reading, Mrs. Kate Douglas Wiggin.

Wednesday, May 17, 1893. Hall VIII. Department Congress of the Women's National Indian Association.

Evening Session, 8 o'clock.—Presiding officer, Mrs. Amelia S. Quinton. Singing by Indian school of Albuquerque, N. M. Opening services by Rev. Dr. C. R. Henderson, University of Chicago; Rev. Dr. Noble. Singing by the Indians. Opening remarks, Hon. C. C. Bonney. Singing. "A Sketch of the Legislative Work of the Association," Mrs. William L. Burke, secretary Brooklyn Auxiliary. A sketch, "The Home-Building

Work of Seven Years," Mrs. Sara T. Kinney, vice-president of the association. Paper, "An Educational Field Illustration," Miss Mary E. Dewey. Address, "The Association's Missionary Work," Mrs. Amelia S. Quinton, president of the association. Music. Address, "The Indian Yesterday and To-day," Miss Alice C. Fletcher, Fellow of Harvard University. Address, "The Indian's Outlook," Gen. Thomas J. Morgan, late U. S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Address, "From the Indian Standpoint," Capt. Chauncey Yellow Robe, a Sioux. Singing by the Indians. Benediction.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 17, 1893. HALL XXXIII. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LOYAL WOMEN OF AMERICAN LIBERTY.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK. — Scripture reading. Prayer. Opening address, Elizabeth McGregor Burt, national president, Waltham, Mass. Address, Rev. I. W. Martin, Troy, N. Y. Address, Abbie A. C. Peaslee, Auburn, Maine, member Board of Managers of L. W. A. L.; subject, "The Relation of Woman to our Present Political Problem." Address, J. D. Fulton, D. D., Chicago, Ill.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.— Scripture reading. Prayer. Address, Rev. Dr. Gray, rector of Reformed Episcopal Church, Boston, Mass. Address, Mrs. E. C. Martin, president of the Troy Branch. Address, Rev. James King, D. D., New York City; subject, "A Movement for the Protection of American Institutions."

THURSDAY, MAY 18, 1893. HALL OF WASHINGTON. GENERAL CONGRESS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK. — Honorary foreign president, Isabelle Bogelot; honorary American president, Ellen J. Phinney. "Woman as a Religious Teacher," Ursula N. Gestefeld, New York. Discussion: Cordelia A. Quinby, president of the Woman's Centenary Association; Alice May Scudder, representative of the United Society of Christian Endeavor; Sarah B. Cooper, president of the International Kindergarten Union; Miss Lois A. White, representative of the Christian Woman's Board of Missions; Zina D. H. Young, president of the National Woman's Relief Society; Mrs. J. Macallum; Elizabeth B. Grannis, president of the National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity; Fanny M. Harley, Illinois; May L. Gibbs, representative of the Dominion Branch of the International Order of King's Daughters and Sons; Hattie A. Robinson, Supreme Chief of Pythian Sisters. "The Modern Deaconess Movement," Jane Bancroft Robinson, Michigan.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.— "Woman in the Pulpit," Rev. Florence E. Kollock, California. Discussion: Rev. Eugenia St. John, Kansas; Rev. Caroline J. Bartlett, Michigan; Rev. Augusta J. Chapin, Illinois; Rev. Mary L. Moreland, Illinois. "The Intellectual Progress of the Colored Women of the United States Since the Emancipation Proclamation," Fannie

Barrier Williams. Discussion: Mrs. A. J. Cooper, Fannie Jackson Coppin, Florence Lewis.

THURSDAY, MAY 18, 1893. HALL OF COLUMBUS. GENERAL CONGRESS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.—Honorary American president, Sarah A. Stewart. "Woman's Place in Hebrew Thought," Minnie D. Louis. Discussion: Emily Marshall Wadsworth, Mrs. John F. Unger, representative of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Reformed Church of the United States. "The Light in the East," Eliva Anne Thayer. Discussion: Ella Dietz Clymer, New York.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.—Honorary American president, Clara C. Hoffman. "Woman as a Minister of Religion," Rev. Mary A. Safford, Iowa. Discussion: Rev. Mary L. Moreland, Amelia S. Quinton, president of the Woman's National Indian Association. "Laws Affecting the Interests of Wives and Mothers," Florence Fenwick Miller, England.

THURSDAY, MAY 18, 1893. HALL VI. REPORT CONGRESS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.—Presiding officer, Harriet Taylor Upton. "Pestalozzi-Froebel House," Annette Hamminck Schepel, Germany. Swedish Ladies' Committee, Hulda Lundin, Sweden. "Wimodaughsis," Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Pennsylvania. "American Library Association," Annie Godfrey Dewey, New York; Marie Stromberg, Russia. "Lette Verein," Elisabet Kaselowsky, Germany. New Somerville Club (London), Florence Fenwick Miller, England. General German Association of Women, Society for Education of the Working Classes, Federation of German Associations of Lady Teachers, Augusta Foerster, Germany.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.—Presiding officer, Meri Toppelius. "Ladies' Physiological Institute," Sarah A. Bryant, Massachusetts. "Woman's First Dental Association of the United States," Dr. Mary H. Stilwell, Pennsylvania. "Dansk Kvindesamfund," Laura Kieler, Denmark. "Finsk Qvinnoforening," Meri Toppelius, Finland. "Qvinnoforeninges Unionen i Finland," Ebba Nordqvist, Finland. "Frederika-Bremer-Forbundet," Baroness Thorborg Rappe, Sweden. Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Mrs E. S. Strachan, Canada.

THURSDAY, MAY 18, 1893. HALL III. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL-AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.—Opening address by the president, Susan B. Anthony. "Woman as an Annex," Helen H. Gardener. "The Progress of Woman," Lucy Stone. "The Evolution of Woman Suffrage," Carrie Lane Chapman.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.—Opening address, Elizabeth Cady Stanton. "Woman and the Municipality," Laura M. Johns. "Wyoming," Clara Bewick Colby. "Wives and Mothers—their Civil Duties," Florence Fenwick Miller of England.

Mrs. Wm. Thayer Brown. Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson.
Elizabeth Boynton Harbert.
Dr. Julia Holmes Smith. Mrs. John C. Coonley.
Members of Committee on Organization World's Congress
of Representative Women.

THURSDAY, MAY 18, 1893. HALL IV. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE WOMEN'S BAPTIST HOME MISSION SOCIETY.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.— Opening service, conducted by Mrs. J. N. Crouse, president. Music. 10.30. — Topic, "The Women's Baptist Home Mission Society": *a*, "Its Inception," Mrs. J. S. Dickerson, first chairman of the Executive Board; *b*, "Its Development," Mrs. W. M. Lawrence, present chairman of the Executive Board; *c*, "Its Pioneer Missionary," Sister Joanna P. Moore; *d*, "Its Finances," Mrs. R. R. Donnelley, first treasurer, Mrs. A. H. Barber, present treasurer. Music. "Its Training School," Mrs. C. D. Morris, preceptress. "Representative Students," Miss M. Virginia Ashton, seniors; Miss Frances J. Ketman, juniors. "A Graduate," Miss Ella F. Brainard, class of '81. 12.— Music. "Christ on the Avenues," Mrs. William E. Isaacs, president of the New York City Branch. "The Church in the Slums," Mrs. C. Swift, first corresponding secretary W. B. H. M. S. 12.30.—Adjournment.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.— Devotional service, conducted by the president. 8.15.—"Our Home Heathen," Miss Mary G. Burdette, corresponding secretary. 8.45.—"God's Call to Women — the Plea and the Promise," Mrs. M. A. Ehlers, principal of Missionary Training Department, Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C. Mrs. S. A. Northrup of Fort Wayne, Ind., will conduct the singing. There will be on exhibition a unique piece of work executed by pupils in Miss Lydia Lawrence's Industrial School for Colored Girls, in Tampa, Fla., and perhaps some other specimens of work done in similar schools at other stations.

THURSDAY, MAY 18, 1893. HALL VII. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.—Federation Council, only members of federated clubs invited. Brief reports from Board of Directors. Discussion of, *a*, "State Federation"; *b*, "The Philadelphia Biennial"; *c*, "The Federation Organ."

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.—Symposium, "Results of Club Life Among Women": *a*, "Upon the Home," Mrs. J. T. Larned, St. Louis, Mo.; *b*, "Upon Society," Maud Howe Elliott, Boston, Mass.; *c*, "In Public Life," Mary A. Livermore, Melrose, Mass.; *d*, "As a Means of Intellectual Growth," Celia Parker Woolley, Chicago; *e*, "Dangerous Tendencies in Club Life," Kate Tupper Galpin, Los Angeles, Cal.; *f*, "In Relation to the Sense of Individual Responsibility," Mary F. Lewis Gannett, Rochester, N. Y. Mrs. Frances Lester of Grand Rapids, Mich., and Miss Ada Sweet of Chicago.

THURSDAY, MAY 18, 1893. HALL VIII. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE AMERICAN PROTECTIVE SOCIETY OF AUTHORS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.—Invocation, Clara Barton. Address, Mrs. M. D. Lincoln (Bessie Beech), Washington, D. C. "Commercial Value of

Literary Work — a Statement of Facts," Mrs. Sara J. Lippincott (Grace Greenwood). Paper, "Reasons Why Authors Should be Protected," Mrs. Katharine Hodges, Brooklyn, N. Y. Paper, "Values of Interest in Literature," Mrs. C. M. Spofford, Tennessee. Paper, "How Shall Authors Secure Protection?" Mrs. Lelia P. Roby, Chicago.

Evening Session, 7.45 o'clock. — Paper, "Between Two Fires — Publisher and Plagiarist," Mrs. E. D. E. N. Southworth. Address, "Inadequate Protection of the International Copyright Law," Emily Thornton Charles (Emily Hawthorn). Paper, Mrs. James B. Tanner, Washington, D. C. Paper, "Insurance Against Piracy of Brains," Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood. Paper, "Imperfections in Copyright Law," Mrs. Virginia S. Patterson, Kokomo, Ind. "Experiences in Publishing," Mrs. Henry Ward Beecher. "The Inalienable Rights of Authors," Mrs. Lucy Page Stelle, St. Louis, Mo., and others.

Thursday, May 18, 1893. Hall XXIV. Department Congress of the Woman's Centenary Association.

Morning Session, 11 o'clock.— 1. Opening address by the president, Mrs. C. A. Quinby. 2. Reading of the Scriptures, Rev. A. J. Chapin. 3. Prayer, Rev. Ada C. Bowles. 4. Hymn, Rev. Florence E. Kollock. "Come, Thou Almighty King." 5. Address, Mrs. M. Louise Thomas, past president; topic, "A History of the Woman's Centenary Association." 6. Address, Mrs. J. L. Patterson, president W. U. M. Society of Massachusetts; topic, "Our Missions in Massachusetts." 7. Hymn, "Hail to the Lord's Anointed." 8. Address, Rev. Florence E. Kollock; topic, "How All Our Women Can Help." 9. Address, Mrs. M. R. M. Wallace, president Illinois U. W. A.; topic, "Illinois Universalist Woman's Association." 10. Address, Rev. Lorenza Haynes; topic, "The Relation of the Young Women to this Work." 11. Address, Rev. Henrietta G. Moore; topic, "Woman's Mission as Minister and Missionary in the Church." Benediction, Rev. Florence E. Kollock.

Evening Session, 8 o'clock.— Mrs. C. A. Quinby, presiding. Singing, "All Hail the Power of Jesus' Name." 1. Address, Rev. Augusta J. Chapin, chairman of Woman's General Committee on Religious Congresses; topic, "What These Things Mean." 2. Address, Rev. Abbie E. Danforth, president W. M. Alliance of Ohio; topic, "Home Missions." 3. Address, Mrs. M. A. Adams, first vice-president of W. C. A.; topic, "What Missions Have Done for Women and What Women Have Done for Missions." 4. Address, Mrs. H. B. Manford, vice-president of W. C. A. for California; topic, "The Need of Missions in California." 5. Hymn, "From Greenland's Icy Mountains." 6. Address, Mrs. Mary A. Livermore; topic, "What Missions Have Done for the World." 7. Address, Mrs. M. R. Libbey; topic, "The Field is the World." 8. Address, Rev. Phebe A. Hanaford; topic, "A Woman's Reason Why." 9. Address, Rev. Ada C. Bowles; topic, "In Union there is Strength." 10. Address, Rev. Olympia

Brown Willis; topic, "The Mothers of the Church." 11. Address, Rev. Myra Kingbury; topic, "What is the Message Universalism has for Missions?" Benediction, Mary A. Livermore.

THURSDAY, MAY 18, 1893. HALL XXVI. CATHOLIC WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT CONGRESS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.— Presiding officer, Alice Timmons Toomy. Introductory Address, Alice Timmons Toomy. "Elevation of Womanhood Through the Veneration of the Blessed Virgin," Emma Cary. "Women to Whom Churches were Dedicated," Ellen A. Ford. Harp solo, Miss Sullivan. Poem, Eleanor C. Donnelly. "The Intellectual Woman of the Early Church," Frances Costigan. Vocal solo, Miss Reilly. "Catholic Woman the Inspirer of Noble Deeds," Lily Alice Toomy.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.—Harp and piano, Misses Cudahy and Dennison. "The Catholic Woman in Philanthropy," Mary Josephine Onahan. "The Catholic Woman in Temperance," Sarah Moore. Poem, Margaret M. Halvey. Vocal solo, Miss Wilson. "The Catholic Woman as Educator," M. A. B. Maher. "Two Types of Progressive Catholic Women," Janet E. Richards.

THURSDAY, MAY, 18, 1893. HALL XXXIII. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE WOMAN'S NATIONAL RELIEF CORPS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.— Music. Address of Welcome, Miss Emma R. Wallace, Department President of Illinois. Response, Mrs. M. R. Wickins, National President Woman's Relief Corps. Solo, Mrs. Belle C. Harris, Past Department President, Emporia, Kan. "What Women Have Done," Mrs. Flo Miller, National Inspector, Monticello, Ill. Address, Mrs. Sara L. Rothrock, Past Department President of Iowa. "The Women of the War," Mrs. Ida W. Moore, National Instituting and Installing Officer, Abilene, Kan. Remarks, Mrs. John A. Logan, Washington, D. C.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.— Address, Commander-in-Chief A. G. Weissert. Paper, Mrs. Emma B. Lowd, Past Department President of Massachusetts. Solo, Mrs. Robb, Emporia, Kan. Recitation, "We Keep Memorial Day," Elizabeth Mansfield Irving, Toledo, Ohio. Remarks, Mrs. Lucy Jones, Past Department President, Norton, Kan. Music, Major T. J. Anderson, Topeka, Kan. Remarks, Adjutant-General Grey, G. A. R. Remarks, Mrs. Kate B. Sherwood, Past National President, Canton, Ohio. Recitation, Mrs. Maude Gerow, Atchison, Kan.

FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1893. HALL OF WASHINGTON. GENERAL CONGRESS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.— Honorary American president, M. Louise Thomas. "Woman's Contribution to the Applied Arts," Florence Elizabeth

Corey, New York. Discussion: Emily Sartain, Philadelphia. "The Trades and Professions Underlying the Home," Mrs. Ernest Hart, England; Helena T. Goessmann, Massachusetts; Laura S. Wilkinson, president of the National Columbian Household Economic Association; Mary H. Hull, Illinois. "Pottery in the Household" (paper), M. Louise McLaughlin, Ohio. "Art in Ceramics," Luetta E. Braumuller, New York. "The Influence of Women in Ceramic Art," Miss M. B. Alling, Rochester.

Evening Session, 7.45 o'clock.— Honorary American president, Fannie Barrier Williams. "The Kindergarten System and the Public Schools," Sarah B. Cooper, California. Discussion: Rev. Mila Frances Tupper, Michigan; Caroline M. Severance, California. "The Popular Inculcation of Economy," Sara Louise Vickers Oberholtzer, Pennsylvania. "The Organized Efforts of Colored Women in the South to Improve their Condition," Sarah J. Early, Tennessee. Discussion, Hallie Q. Brown, Alabama.

Friday, May 19, 1893. Hall of Columbus. General Congress.

Morning Session, 10 o'clock.— Honorary American president, Minnie D. Louis. "Woman's Work in Greece," Callirrhoe Parren. "Woman's War for Peace," Nico Beck Meyer, Denmark; Rev. Amanda Deyo, Pennsylvania. Discussion, Lizzie Kirkpatrick, Canada. "Woman as an Explorer," Mrs. M. French-Sheldon. "The Organized Work of Catholic Women," Lily Alice Toomy, California.

Evening Session, 7.45 o'clock.— Honorary American president, Mary Lowe Dickinson. "Woman as a Social Leader," Josefa Humpal Zeman, Bohemia. "Organized Development of Polish Women," Helena Modjeska. "Woman as a Political Leader," J. Ellen Foster, Washington, D. C. Discussion: Eugenia B. St. John, Kansas; Mary Frost Ormsby, New York. "Woman's Participation in Municipal Government," Laura M. Johns, Kansas. Discussion: Sarah C. Hall, Kansas.

Friday, May 19, 1893. Hall VI. Report Congress.

Morning Session, 10 o'clock.—Presiding officer, Alice May Scudder. Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Reformed Church of the United States, Mrs. John F. Unger, Pennsylvania. Union Maternal Association, Louise A. Chapman, Massachusetts. Christian Woman's Board of Missions, Mrs. O. A. Burgess, Indiana. Order of Melchisedek, E. A. Thayer, New York. Woman's Ministerial Conference, Julia Ward Howe, Massachusetts. United Society of Christian Endeavor, Alice May Scudder, New Jersey.

Evening Session, 7.45 o'clock.—Presiding officer, Frances Stewart Mosher. Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the M. E. Church, Mrs. F. P. Crandon, Illinois. National Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society, Frances Stewart Mosher, Michigan. Woman's Missionary Society of the Evangelical Association, Mrs. E. Krecker, Pennsylvania. International Order of King's Daughters and Sons, Mary Lowe Dickinson, New York.

Needlework Guild of America, Mrs. John Wood Stewart, New Jersey. "National Association of Women Physicians," Dr. Mary Weeks Burnett.

FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1893. HALL III. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF UNITARIAN AND OTHER LIBERAL CHRISTIAN WOMEN, WOMEN'S WESTERN UNITARIAN CONFERENCE, AND WOMEN'S UNITARIAN CONFERENCE OF THE PACIFIC COAST.

COMMITTEE.—Mrs. Thomas F. Gane, Mrs. B. Ward Dix, Mrs. S. K. Lothrop, Mrs. Kate Gannett Wells, Rev. Ida C. Hultin, Mrs. Emily A. Fifield, Mrs. Marion H. Perkins, Mrs. Horace Davis.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.—Rev. Ida C. Hultin, presiding officer, president Women's Western Unitarian Conference. Address of welcome, Rev. Ida C. Hultin, Moline. Response, Mrs. B. Ward Dix, Brooklyn. Report of National Alliance of Unitarian and Other Liberal Christian Women, Mrs. Emily A. Fifield, Boston. Report of Women's Western Unitarian Conference, Mrs. Marion H. Perkins, Chicago. Report of Women's Unitarian Conference of the Pacific Coast, Mrs. Elizabeth B. Eastman, San Francisco; read by Mrs. Horace Davis. Essay, "Post Office Mission Work" Mrs. Jenkyn Lloyd Jones, Chicago. Address, Mrs. Kate Tupper Galpin.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.—Presiding officer, Mrs. B. Ward Dix, president of the National Alliance of Unitarian Women. "A Woman's Religion," Mrs. R. H. Davis, New York City. Address, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Boston. "Religion of the Twentieth Century," Mrs. John C. Learned, St. Louis. Addresses, Mrs. Celia Parker Woolley, Chicago; Rev. Mary A. Safford, Sioux City.

FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1893. HALL IV. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE NON-PARTISAN NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.—"Power of Womanliness in Wrestling with Stern Problems," Mrs. Florence C. Porter, Winthrop, Maine. Address, Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, Washington, D. C.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.—"Scientific Study for Temperance Work," Mrs. A. D. Davidson, Oberlin, Ohio, president National Woman's Science Club. "Woman as a Law-Giver," Mrs. Mary J. Aldrich, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1893. HALL VII. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S RELIEF SOCIETY.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.—Music, voluntary, Miss Kate Romney. Congregational hymn, "O My Father, Thou that Dwellest." Prayer, Mrs. Sarah M. Kimball. Opening address, Mrs. Zina D. H. Young. Relief Society, Mrs. Jane S. Richards. "Women in Medicine," Mrs. Ellis R. Shipp, M. D. "Pioneer Women of Utah, 1847-48," Mrs. M.

Isabella Horne. "The Children," Mrs. Zina Y. Card. Song, Mrs. Cornelia H. Clayton. "Amusements of the Early Days" (paper), Mrs. Nellie Little. "Western Women, Authors and Journalists" (Grain Saving by Women), Mrs. Emmeline B. Wells. "Types of Women," M. Hughes Cannon, M. D. Impromptu, Emily Shurtliffe. "Industrial Women," Electa Bullock. Doxology and benediction.

OFFICERS.—Zina D. H. Young, president; Jane S. Richards, first vice-president; Bathsheba W. Smith, second vice-president; Sarah M. Kimball, third vice-president; Emmeline B. Wells, secretary; Mary Isabella Horne, treasurer.

FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1893. HALL VII. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE YOUNG LADIES' NATIONAL MUTUAL IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.— Music, voluntary, Miss Kate Romney. Congregational hymn, "My Country, 'Tis of Thee." Invocation, Mrs. Ardella Eardley. Quartette (ladies' voices), Mrs. May Talmage, Miss Mary Romney, Mrs. Minnie J. Snow, Miss May Preston. Introductory remarks, President Elmina S. Taylor. Address, "Literature and Art," Mrs. May Talmage. Recitation, "The Ultimatum of Human Life," Miss Laura Hyde. Address, "Legal and Political Status of Utah Women," Mrs. Emily S. Richards. Address, "Motherhood," Mrs. Martha H. Tingey. Soprano solo, Miss Mary Romney. Y. L. M. I. A. report, Mrs. Maria Y. Dougall. Address, "Our Girls," Mrs. Minnie J. Snow. Address, "Education of Women," Miss Julia Farnsworth. Benediction. Voluntary, Miss Kate Romney.

OFFICERS.— Elmina S. Taylor, president; Maria Y. Dougall, first vice-president; Martha H. Tingey, second vice-president; Ann M. Cannon, secretary and treasurer; Mae Taylor, corresponding secretary.

FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1893. HALL VIII. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL SOCIETY OF THE DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.— Presiding officer, Mrs. Letitia Green Stevenson, president general. Prayer, the chaplain general. Address of welcome, Mrs. Shepard, Chicago. Response, Mrs. William D. Cabell, president general, presiding. Paper. The Continental Hall. Paper.

AFTERNOON SESSION, 2.30 O'CLOCK.— The University of the United States. The National Hymn. The Liberty Bell.

FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1893. HALL XXIV. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.—Session for the transaction of business. Election of officers.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.—Addresses on the "Value of the International Idea," by Kirstine Frederiksen, Denmark; Margaret V. Parker, Scotland; Isabelle Bogelot, France; Hanna Bieber-Boehm, Germany; Callirrhoe Parren, Greece; and May Wright Sewall, America.

FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1893. HALL XXVI. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF WOMEN'S TRADES UNIONS.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK. — "Women's Trades Unions in the American Federation of Labor," Mary E. Kenny, organizer American Federation of Labor. "Trades Unions — the Old Ideal and the New," Florence Kelley, Chicago, expert W. S. Department of Labor. "Women's Trades Unions — Their Limitations," Susan B. Anthony, New York. Discussion: Mrs. A. P. Stevens, Corinne S. Brown.

FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1893. HALL XXVI. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL COLUMBIAN HOUSEHOLD ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION.

COMMITTEE.—Mrs. Laura S. Wilkinson, Mrs. Sarah F. Gane, Mrs. Isadore P. Taylor, Mrs. Frances E. Owens, Mrs. Ellen M. Henrotin, Mrs. Lavinia Hargis, Mrs. Phœbe Butler, Mrs. Ella Hill, Mrs. Elizabeth B. Harbert, Mrs. Mary Hinman Abel, Mrs. Susan Look Avery, Mrs. L. M. Mendenhall, Mrs. Kate Watson, Mrs. Mary W. McKittrick, Miss Mary F. Eastman, Mrs. E. D. Jordan.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.—Address of welcome, Helen Ekin Starrett. Report of the work accomplished by the Columbian Association of Housekeepers, and plans for the work in the new organization, Laura S. Wilkinson. Discussion, Elizabeth Boynton Harbert. "Domestic Service and the Family Claim," Miss Jane Addams. Discussion, Mary Hinman Abel.

AFTERNOON SESSION, 2 O'CLOCK.—"Bread-making as an Art Practically Illustrated," Mrs. Emma P. Ewing. Discussion, Mary J. Lincoln. "Co-operative Housekeeping," Mrs. Mary Coleman Stuckart. Discussion of Mrs. Stuckart's plan.

FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1893. HALL XXXIII. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGIATE ALUMNÆ.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.—Address of greeting. "The History, Aims, and Methods of the Association," Miss Marion Talbot. "Fellowships — Account of the Work of the Committee on Fellowships, with Letters from the Association Fellows," Mrs. Bessie Bradwell Helmer. "The Bureau of Occupations," Miss Eva M. Tappan. "On the Endowment of Colleges," report of the committee, Miss Alla W. Foster. "The Wage Question," partial report of the committee on the study of this subject, prepared by Miss Eleanor Lord. "On the Study of the Development of Children," report of the committee, prepared by Mrs. Annie Howes Barus and read by Mrs. Whitney Chapin. "On Education Progress," report of the committee, Mrs. Martha Foote Crow. Other addresses.

OFFICERS OF THE ASSOCIATION.—President, Mrs. Annie Howes Barus, Vassar College. Vice-presidents: Mrs. Martha Foote Crow, Syracuse University; Mrs. Julia Latimer Munger, Boston University; Mrs. Helen

Hiscock Backus, Vassar College; Miss Anna R. Haire, Smith College; Mrs. Josephine Sarles Simpson, Wisconsin University; Miss Clara Brewster Potwin, Wellesley College. Secretary, Miss Marion Talbot, Boston University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Treasurer, Mrs. Mary Roberts Smith, Cornell University.

SATURDAY, MAY 20, 1893. HALL OF WASHINGTON. GENERAL CONGRESS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.—Honorary American president, Mrs. B. Ward Dix. "The Ethics of Dress," Alice Timmons Toomy, California. Discussion: Margaret Windeyer, representative Womanhood Suffrage League of New South Wales; Antoinette Brown Blackwell, New Jersey; Julia Ward Howe, president of the Women's Ministerial Conference and of the Association for the Advancement of Women; Laura Ormiston Chant, representative of the Central National Society for Woman's Suffrage, the British Section of the World's W. C. T. U., and of the Woman's Anti-Opium Urgency Committee; Octavia Williams Bates, Michigan; Laura A. De Merritte, representative of the National Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society; Elizabeth Krecker. "Woman's Place in the Republic of Letters," Annie Nathan Meyer, New York; Alice Wellington Rollins, New York. Discussion: Cécile Renooz, France; Louise E. Francis, California.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.—Honorary American president, Mrs. Wm. Thayer Brown. Organization Among Women as an Instrument in Promoting the Interests of (*a*) Industry, Harrietta A. Keyser; (*b*) Philanthropy, Mary E. Richmond; (*c*) Moral Reform, Kate Bond, New York; (*d*) Education, Alice Freeman Palmer, Massachusetts; (*e*) Religion, Mary Lowe Dickinson, New York; (*f*) Literary Culture, Charlotte Emerson Brown, New Jersey; (*g*) Political Liberty, Susan B. Anthony, Rochester, N. Y. "The Economy of Woman's Forces through Organization," Rachel Foster Avery, Pennsylvania.

SATURDAY, MAY 20, 1893. HALL OF COLUMBUS. GENERAL CONGRESS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.—Honorary American president, Emmeline B. Wells. "Woman's Dress from the Standpoint of Sociology," Prof. Ellen D. Hayes, Massachusetts. Discussion: Dr. Lelia A. Davis, Canada; Prof. Helen L. Webster, Massachusetts. "Dress Reform and Its Necessity" (paper), Viscountess Harberton, England. "Woman's Political Future" (paper), Marie Deraismes, France; Frances E. W. Harper, Pennsylvania. Discussion, Margaret Windeyer, Australia. "The Amazon Land," Martha Sesselberg.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.—Honorary American president, Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson. Organization Among Women as an Instrument in Promoting the Interests of (*a*) Industry, Jane Addams, Illinois; Kate Bond, New York. (*b*) Philanthropy, Clara C. Hoffman, Missouri. (*c*) Moral Reform, Maud Ballington Booth. (*d*) Education. (*e*) Religion,

Rev. Ida C. Hultin, Illinois. (*f*) Literary Culture, Mrs. Lindon W. Bates, Illinois. (*g*) Political Liberty, Lillie Devereux Blake, New York. "The Economy of Woman's Forces through Organization," May Wright Sewall.

SUNDAY, MAY 21, 1893. HALL OF WASHINGTON.

MORNING SESSION, 10.45 O'CLOCK.— Religious services conducted entirely by women ordained as ministers, every denomination which has admitted women to the ministry being represented. Presiding minister, Rev. Caroline J. Bartlett. Voluntary, Clara Schumann. Organist, Miss Gertrude Smith. Invocation, Rev. Jeannette Olmstead. Hymn — "Rise Up! Rise Up! O Woman," written for the Congress by Rev. Ada C. Bowles, read by Rev. Emily Gordon.

Tune — Missionary Hymn.

Rise up! rise up! O Woman,
No longer sit at ease,
The banner of thy freedom
Is lifting to the breeze.
Be ready for the morning
That breaks thy long, dark night
Of Ignorance and Bondage,
And hail the coming light.

Rise up! the bridegroom cometh
In grace and majesty;
Go joyfully to meet him —
His name is Liberty.
His face is as the daybreak,
His heart is true and strong,
His hand is brave and mighty
Against the sceptred wrong.

The keys of thy reft kingdom
He bringeth as a gift;
O, Woman! wronged and fettered,
Thy face to greet him lift.
'Tis God, o'er all and in all,
'Tis Christ who bids thee rise.
Thy night is quickly passing,
Thy morning gilds the skies.

REV. ADA C. BOWLES.

Prayer, Rev. Florence E. Kollock. Scripture Lesson, Rev. Anna H. Shaw. Trio — "Blessed are the Pure in Heart," (Faustina Hasse Hodges), The Misses Root, St. John, and Hawley. Sermon, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw. Hymn, read by Rev. Mary L. Moreland.

Music—Berlin.

I can not find thee. Even when most adoring,
Before thy shrine I bend in lowliest prayer;
Beyond these bounds of thought, my thought upsoaring,
From furtherest quest comes back: thou art not there.

Yet high above the limits of my seeing,
And folded far within the inmost heart,
And deep below the deeps of conscious being,
Thy splendor shineth: there, O God! thou art.

I can not lose thee. Still in thee abiding,
The end is clear, how wide soe'er I roam;
The law that holds the worlds my steps is guiding,
And I must rest at last in thee, my home.

ELIZA SCUDDER.

Benediction, Rev. Mary Safford.

SUNDAY, MAY 21, 1893. HALL OF COLUMBUS.

EVENING SESSION, 8 O'CLOCK.— Organ — Polonaise Heroique (Julia Rive-King; arranged by Harrison M. Wild), Miss Esther S. Deal. Chorus— Magnificat (Mrs. J. T. Draper). Piano solos — Gavotte in E minor; The Ripple (Nellie Bangs Skelton), Mrs. Skelton. Songs—*a*, Lov'st Thou for Beauty? (Clara Schumann); *b*, What the Chimney Sang (Gertrude Griswold), Mrs. Katharine L. Fisk. Violin and piano — Sonata (Helen Hopekirk), Miss Currie Duke, Mrs. Fannie Bloomfield Zeisler. Double trios — *a*, Hail, Evening Bright (Marie Antoinette); *b*, Evening Prayer in Brittany (Mme. Chaminade). Intermission. Harps — Marche Triomphale (arranged by Mme. Josephine Chatterton), Harp Orchestra, led by Mme. Chatterton. Harp Orchestra*— Mme. Josephine Chatterton, director, Chicago; Mrs. McDermott; Mrs. George W. Clark, Syracuse, N. Y.; Miss Bertha Becker, Syracuse, N. Y.; Miss Cecile Le Gierse, New York City; Miss Marie Therese Dillon, Chenoa, Ill.; Miss Josephine Albert, Fort Wayne, Ind.; Miss Helen Rose Mackay, Duluth, Minn.; Miss Cecilia Cudahy, Chicago; Miss Emmeline Farrar, Chicago; Miss Charlotte Tarrant, Chicago; Miss Minnie Campbell, Chicago. Chorus.— Miss Helen W. Root, Miss Grace W. Root, Miss Esther St. John, Mrs. Kittie Wallace Davis, Mrs. Annie Rommeiss Thacker, Mrs. Pauline Rommeiss Bremner, Mrs. Mina Rommeiss Summy, Miss Jessie F. Root, Miss Jessie Hawley, Mr. Frank K. Root, Mr. Walter R. Root, Mr. George F. Root, 2d, Mr. Charles Crankshaw, Mr. W. A. Derrick, Doctor Williams, Mr. W. Stanley Peck, Mr. Harry C. Waters. Quartettes (selected), Mrs. Davis and the Rommeiss Sisters. Piano solos (selected), Mrs. Zeisler. Violin solo (selected), Miss Duke. Solo and chorus — Wedding Music (words by Kate Starr Kellogg; music by Eleanor Smith), Miss Helen Root and chorus.

WORDS FOR WEDDING MUSIC — KATE STARR KELLOGG.

PRELUDE.

Hark to the song that softly steals
From tender green of waking fields.
List to the bird-notes in the air,
And murmurs, murmurs everywhere.
What hides the vale in pearly mist?
What breathes in buds the spring hath kissed?
What trembles through the dreamy air
And showers its blessings everywhere?

CHORUS.

'Tis a tide that pours from glad realms above
To the earth below, and its song is love.
O joy, when its glad music rolls
Through human hearts, through mated souls.
O joy, when to its happy beat
And music swift of coming feet,
We welcome sing in joyous tone,
For Love, dear Love hath claimed his own.

*No large harp orchestra has before been assembled in America.

MARCH.

Herald her coming !
Hearts throb to meet her,
Flowers spring to bloom 'neath her feet.
Soft airs of springtime
Breathe soft upon her;
Comes she in mystery
Love's face to meet.
Herald his coming,
Hearts throb to meet him,
Strong in the strength of his love,
Arm to defend her,
Soul true and tender.
Crown them with blessings
Ye Powers from above.

Home of childhood, dreams of girlhood,
Maiden longings, all are done.
Through the portals widely swinging
Love hath entered, life begun !
Now the flow'ret softly sheltered
In the home-heart blooms apace,
To her lover perfume breathing,
Gives her sweetness, gives her grace.
Heart of mother, strength of brother,
Yield the maiden of your pride.
Joy hath found her,
Love hath crowned her,
Mark where she cometh in beauty, a bride.
Joy hath found her,
For Love hath crowned her,
And now she cometh a beauteous bride.
Hail! Hail! Hail! Hail!

Herald their coming,
Hearts throb to meet them,
Glad in their love and their youth,
Hearts one forever,
Life, love together,
Vows solemn pledge they in faith and in truth.
Herald their coming !
Peal forth sweet music !
Let the deep harmonies roll !
Hearts one forever,
Life, love together,
Naught, naught can sever
When soul blends with soul.
Bless them, ah ! bless them,
Ye Powers from above.
Peace soft enfolding,
Love's rapture holding.
Bend low, dear Father, love
And bless from above.

The programme, from Monday to Saturday inclusive, was issued in pamphlet form, and was supplemented by fifteen closely printed pages giving general information, specific information, diagrams of the halls, information concerning conferences, conference committees, and general reports, and a full list of the members of the Foreign and the Home Advisory Councils. This supplementary matter will be found in the appendix. The Sunday programmes were issued separately. The fine musical programme for the Sunday evening service was arranged by Mrs. John C. Coonley.

CHAPTER III — EDUCATION.

Introductory Paragraphs by the Editor — Copious Extracts from Addresses Delivered in the General Congress by Mrs. Sarah B. Cooper, Mrs. Caroline M. Severance, Rev. Mila Frances Tupper, Miss N. Cropsey, Mrs. Kate Tupper Galpin, Mrs. W. D. Cabell, Mrs. Anna Byford Leonard, Mrs. Frances Stewart Mosher, and Mrs. Sarah Louise Vickers Oberholtzer — Extracts from Address Delivered in the Department Congress of the National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity by Dr. Jennie de la M. Lozier — Extracts from Address Delivered in the Department Congress of the International Committee of Young Women's Christian Associations by Mrs. C. K. Adams—Extracts from Address Delivered in the Catholic Woman's Department Congress by Mary A. B. Maher.

IN the following chapter on the general subject of education is presented a discussion of particular phases of what are popularly known as "The New Education" and "The Higher Education" by women most of whom are specialists of widely recognized attainment and power in the particular field which their respective discussions cover. Other papers and discussions on the same general theme, from numerous and varied points of view, will be presented in subsequent chapters, which record the work of department, report, and conference congresses; but it has seemed best to include in this chapter extracts from some of the papers presented in department congresses, since thus only could be shown the scope of the utterances of the congress as a whole upon this most important subject. As already stated in the introduction, the limits of this work make it impossible to publish any paper or discussion in its entirety. Justice to the participants in the congress, as well as to the reader, demands that the manner and degree of the abbreviation of the papers be indicated.

The papers are abridged to from one-fourth to two-thirds of their original compass. The following notes indicate the character of the matter omitted from each of the papers in this chapter in all cases where the omission has altered the character and scope of the paper: From Mrs. Cooper's paper is omitted a portion of her plea for industrial training in our schools. The introduction to Mrs. Severance's discussion is omitted; this applied the myths of Medusa, Perseus, and Andromeda to the present age, and showed how they illustrate the doctrine that woman represents the soul or intuitional principle, and man the mind or intellectual principle. From Mrs. Cabell's address is omitted the introduction, which deprecated an undervaluation of woman's service in the past and a too sudden change in her position. From Mrs. Mosher's paper that portion has been omitted which discussed the beneficial influence of women teachers upon the spirit and discipline of the school. From Mrs. Oberholtzer's paper, the closing pages, which treat of the subject of economy in its more general bearings, have been omitted. From Doctor Lozier's paper have been dropped those pages which contained a consideration of social impurity as it is affected by the pecuniary independence of man and the pecuniary dependence of woman. Mrs. Adams' address contained illustrations drawn from the life of Mary Brigham, and from literature, not reproduced here. The introductory portion of Mrs. Maher's address was general in its scope; this, with her exhaustive enumeration and description of the Catholic benevolent orders, has been omitted.—[THE EDITOR.]

The Kindergarten as an Educational Agency and the Relation of the Kindergarten to Manual Training — Address Delivered by Mrs. Sarah B. Cooper of San Francisco, President of the International Kindergarten Union.

"We learn through doing;" that is the foundation principle on which the kindergarten rests. The highest type of humanity which education can produce is reached by the equal and simultaneous growth of every faculty; hence the kindergarten provides for the nourishment of every faculty in its earliest stage, on the ground that all are essential to a perfect growth. The epochs of educational growth follow the divinely ordained epochs of vegetable growth; there is the root-life, the stem-life, and the blossom-life. That the blossom will depend very largely upon the care and nurture given to the root no one will deny. So, then, the germs of every faculty must have their appropriate nourishment at the earliest possible point of time, and there must be also simultaneous growth. True growth is the equal and constantly increasing development of every faculty. That is not genuine growth which is developed only on one side — that is only a bulging and misshapen condition. In order to proper growth there must be freedom, coupled with obedience to the innate laws of life and being, exactly as it is in the vegetable kingdom. The child must learn to use his mental powers, as he has learned to use his bodily powers, by patient, persistent training and effort. He must use his faculties as he does his limbs; he must learn to climb the stairs of mental and moral difficulty as he learns to climb the household stairs. The art of training precedes the art of teaching. The pressing curriculum of daily school life leaves scanty time for this gradual development of all the faculties of a little child.

The kindergarten concerns itself more with the development of faculty than with the mere imparting of knowledge.

It recognizes the fact that all education is learning transformed to faculty. It does not ask so much, "What does the child know?" as, "Has the child learned how to learn?" It looks less to mere acquirements than to the capacity to acquire. It is teaching the little child to teach himself. It is controlling the little child that he may learn the art of self-control. It is the aim of the kindergarten to make men and women who will be self-governing, and thus be a law unto themselves — the sovereign of their own faculties, the pope of their own senses; men and women who will succeed by their own skill and industry.

"What shall we do with our boys and girls?" is a cry that is constantly heard from the laboring classes. In fact the cry comes up from every quarter. There is to-day a fair, white star rising above the horizon of the educational world that is destined to do much toward the illumination of this knotty problem, "What shall we do with our boys and girls?" I refer to the pronounced and increasing tendency toward technical education for the young, which has its foundation in the kindergarten. The feeling is abroad, it is in the common air, that the education of the future must develop the industrial capacity of the masses, thus leading to virtue, prosperity, and peace. What shall be done with our boys and girls? Educate them for work, for action, for industry; cultivate their powers for creating and organizing; and then the desire for *doing* and *accomplishing* will take the place of the desire for *having* and *getting*. How is this education to be accomplished? Let the president of a late national teachers' association make reply. He says: "Our public-school system can not be regarded as complete until the department of manual labor is added. State education must teach the children of the people to work, without which they can never become good citizens. The many must live by labor, and the school must help them so to live; there must be schools where they can learn to be workers."

Wendell Phillips goes straight to the heart of the matter

where he says: "Seven out of ten who come out of our public schools will be obliged to make their living by the work of their hands. Hundreds leave school at fifteen years of age wholly unable to do anything for which any one would be willing or could afford to give them a dollar. The boy who is going to the university has two or three more years of education given him to fit him for his future. Why should not the city extend to the children who prefer some mechanical trade equal favors, parallel advantages, the same amount of training for their future that the university boy has for his? The discrimination against those who prefer to work with their hands is very unjust. Education should fit a boy for the life of labor which is to be his life. The vast bulk of mankind must depend upon labor. There is no degradation in labor. If performed with moral qualities, it exalts the character. Labor is honorable."

We contend that the kindergarten is the only true foundation for industrial education. In the first place, the kindergarten looks vigilantly after the physical life; this is the substratum, the soil, out of which all other life must spring. Physical integrity is the very first condition of success and happiness. "On the broad and firm foundation of health alone can the loftiest and most enduring structure of life be reared." One definition of a man is, "An intelligence served by organs"; and to serve him well, these organs must be in good repair. A sound body is the best handmaid to a sound intellect. In the consentaneous cultivation of the physical, the mental, and the moral the highest perfection is to be found. There must be a balanced progress in which no part profits or is fostered to the injury of the rest. Herbert Spencer insists that to develop the physical, play is better than gymnastics. The kindergarten, in its work with little children, has been called "organized play." Frederick Froebel saw that this universal instinct for play in little children had a deep meaning, and he set himself to discover and utilize this mighty enginery of power and purpose.

MRS. ADLAI E. STEVENSON.

The kindergarten is the best agency for setting in motion the physical, mental, and moral machinery of the little child, that it may do its own work in its own way. It is the rain, and dew, and sun that evoke the sleeping germ and bring it into self-activity and growth. It is teaching the little child to teach himself. The kindergarten devotes itself more to ideas than to words; more to things than to books. Children are taught words too much, while they fail to catch ideas. Give a child ideas. The world does not need fine rhetoric, valuable as that is, half so much as it needs practical, useful ideas. A famous inventor's counsel to a young man was: "Study to have ideas, my boy; study to have ideas. I have always found that if I had an idea I could express it on a shingle with a piece of chalk and let a draughtsman work it out handsomely and according to rule. I generally had ideas enough to keep three or four draughtsmen busy. You can always hire draughtsmen, but you can not hire ideas. Study to have ideas, my boy." The man should be the master, not the slave, of his learning, and whether he is the one or the other depends very largely on the way his knowledge has been gained. It is better to be the master of a little knowledge, with the capacity to use it creatively, than to be the unproductive carrier of all the learning in the libraries. Study to have ideas; life will give no end of opportunities for using them. That is exactly the aim of the kindergarten—to make the mind creative, to stimulate thought, to beget ideas. Habits of observation are cultivated. Observing is more than seeing. The child in the kindergarten is taught to observe—that is, to notice with attention, to see truly. What he learns in the school-room is calculated to make him keep his eyes wide open to the world about him. He is taught to think, and that is the primary thing. The kindergarten makes the knowledge of ideas wait upon the knowledge of facts, just as it subordinates the cultivation of the memory to the development of faculty.

The senses are sharpened, the hands are trained, and the

body is made lithe and active. The gifts and occupations represent every kind of technical activity. The children must work for what they get. They learn through doing. They thus develop patience, perseverance, skill, and will-power. They are encouraged by every fresh achievement. What they know they must know thoroughly and accurately. Every element of knowledge is transformed into an element of creation. The mind assimilates what it receives, just as a healthy organism assimilates its food and is nourished thereby. In his occupations in the kindergarten the child is required to handle, reconstruct, combine, and create. "Let the very playthings of your children have a bearing upon the life and work of the coming man," said Aristotle; "it is early training that makes the master." This universal instinct of play in the child means something. It should be turned to good account. It should be made constructive in its outcome, instead of destructive. This restless activity of the child is the foundation of the indefatigable enterprise of the man. This habit of work must be formed early in life, if we would have it a pleasure. Activity is the law of healthful childhood. Turn it to good account. The perceptive faculties in a well-endowed child are far in excess of the reflective faculties. He sees everything; he wants to know about everything. He will find out if he can. Sensible mothers understand this fact, and keep their household gods well out of the way of the young "heir apparent." Just as old Dolly Winthrop said, in "Silas Marner": "If you can't bring your mind to frighten the child off touching things, you must do what you can to keep 'em out of the way. That's what I do wi' the pups as the lads are allays a-rearing. They will worry and gnaw, worry and gnaw they will, if it was one's Sunday cap as hung anywhere so as they could drag it. They know no difference, God help 'em; it's the pushing o' the teeth as sets 'em on, that's what it is." That's exactly what it is with the restless child. It's the pushing of the teeth, the intellectual

molars and bicuspids, so to speak. They are getting ready to masticate their mental food.

Bodily vigor, mental activity, and moral activity are indispensable to a perfected life. All these are cherished and developed in the true kindergarten; all these make the man, and prepare him for efficient work in every department of life. Every child should have the privilege of making the most of himself by unfolding all that is in him. As one of the most noted among the disciples of the great Froebel, Miss Emily Sherriff, of London, says: "The poor man suffers wrong when his education is so defective that he can not use his faculties aright, when his senses are blunted, his observation and judgment insecure. This wrong to the poor may be avoided by early methodical training in the kindergarten, thus fitting them for industrial pursuits. As it is now," she goes on, "when boys and girls leave school to go to some trade, they go with hands and eyes absolutely uncultivated; they begin with clumsy fingers, with that untrue habit of vision which belongs to those who have never learned the difference between accurate and inaccurate impressions." Suppose these children had been first trained in the kindergarten taught there to observe resemblances and differences of forms and colors, to reproduce accurately what they have observed accurately, to have acquired a certain sureness and delicacy of handling, which would be further cultivated by drawing at school — then these boys and girls would enter an industrial apprenticeship, or any technical school, in a very different condition; they would be able to grapple at once with ordinary difficulties, instead of beginning the education of their hands and senses, and would in consequence reach much sooner the degree of proficiency that insures payment for work. When we withhold this cultivation of the senses and of manual dexterity, we actually maim children in the use of some of the most important faculties; we rob them of what nature designed for them. It is a fact that too little

thought is given to boys and girls who upon leaving school will enter industrial ranks. Too large a share of training is paid to mere intellectual development; too little to practical morality and manual training. It is charged by some that our public schools tend to unfit our boys and girls for good, honest work. Is the charge true? I do not believe it is. It ought not to be so. But a thoughtful observer and educator wisely says that four years of study without labor, wholly removed from sympathy with the laboring world, during the period of life when tastes and habits are rapidly formed, will almost inevitably produce disinclination, if not inability, to perform the work and duties of the shop or farm. There must be something wrong where such a feeling exists. That notable nation from which we have derived more good sense and more examples worthy of imitation than from all others, the Jewish nation, stands preëminent in this, that it has always honored labor. Every child was taught some manual craft, so that if his resources failed there should be no Jewish child who should not be able to do something, or make something. It is not necessary to be a drudge in order to be a workman. The kindergarten ennobles toil. It teaches the little child to work with his hand, but to control his work with his head. Let this purpose and spirit pervade industrial education until the child reaches manhood's estate, and his labor will be full, not only of manly quality, but of moral quality as well. The coördination of the work-shop and the school-house would be the emancipation of labor from present prejudices.

There is another point full of suggestive sadness in regard to the lack of industrial training. What has been found in regard to several thousand prison convicts in two of the largest penitentiaries of the East? The great, salient, flaming fact is not that they can not read and write, not that they had not been to Sunday school, not that they were intemperate; but the most common, the most generic fact is that these convicts know no trade, most of them being entirely ignorant of all trade knowledge. Few, if any, of

our large cities have ever expended a dollar to teach a boy a trade. How much does it cost for criminals?

Then, again, it has been carefully estimated that seven-tenths of the convicted criminals of the United States are persons who have never learned a trade, or followed any industrial pursuit. And a very large proportion of these criminals are under twenty-five years of age. What a suggestive fact! Does not public economy demand that something be done to provide facilities for teaching young men industrial pursuits? They can not become mechanics without the opportunities of learning a trade. Idleness is the devil's workshop. Demolish this workshop with the batteries of industry. The prevention of crime is the duty of society. Society has no right to punish crime at one end if it does nothing to prevent it at the other end. Society's chief concern should be to remove the causes from which crime springs. We may be very eloquent in pleading that punishments shall be quick, sharp, and decisive, that the gallows shall have every victim that it claims by law, and that eternal vigilance shall be kept on evil-doers. But all this will not avail. Ruskin says truly: "Crime can not be hindered by punishment. It will always find some shape and outlet unpunishable and unclosed." Crime can only be truly hindered by letting no boy grow up to be a criminal, by taking away the will to commit sin, not by the mere punishment of its commission. Formation, not reformation, should be the watchword. Crime, small and great, can only be stayed by formation, education; not the education of the intellect merely, but the education of the head, heart, and hand, which is the education of the whole man.

Better, far better, to plant kindergartens, and organize industrial schools, and educate the young for work, than to let them grow up in such a manner as to be good for nothing else than to form Jacobin clubs and revolutionary brigades which will be the beginning of the end of our greatness and prosperity, and of the republic itself. We may make laws and constitutions on paper, but character is

a growth, and to all growth belongs the element of time. We must call the little children from the very earliest years, and prepare them for useful and honorable citizenship. I have tried to outline the plan. Let me briefly summarize. Take the very little child into the kindergarten and there begin the work of physical, mental, and moral training. Put the child in possession of his powers; develop his faculties; unfold his moral nature; cultivate mechanical skill in the use of the hands; give him a sense of symmetry and harmony, a quick judgment of number, measure, and size; stimulate his inventive faculties; make him familiar with the customs and usages of well-ordered lives; teach him to be kind, courteous, helpful, and unselfish; inspire him to love whatsoever things are true, and pure, and right, and kind, and noble; and thus equipped, physically, mentally, and morally, send him forth to the wider range of study, which should include within its scope some sort of industrial training. This training should put the boy or girl into the possession of the tools for technical employment, or for the cultivation of the arts of drawing and kindred employments; still further on the boy and girl should have a completed trade. Thus will they be prepared to solve the rugged problem of existence by earning their own living through honest, faithful work. Throw open the kindergarten and the schools for industrial and art training to every child, and, with the heart pure, the head clear, the hand skillful and ready, we shall hear no more of the mutterings of mob violence and internecine strife. Our fair land shall take its place in the very front ranks of nations distinguished for their industrial achievements. There must be more of genuine human sympathy between the top and the bottom of society. The prosperous and the happy must join hand and heart with the toilers and strugglers. The living, loving self is wanted. The heart must be the missionary. The life must be the sermon. All mankind must be brethren. The children must be taught these great principles, and aided in putting them into practice.

DISCUSSION OF MRS. COOPER'S PAPER BY MRS. CAROLINE M. SEVERANCE OF CALIFORNIA.

I have but a few words to say, but they are very practical. Having accepted the value of the kindergarten, as you do to-night by being present, the next questions are: "Why should we try to make the kindergarten a part of the public-school system, and how shall we do it?" The public-school system now is arranged only for the very poor or for the very rich, for those who can pay high prices or for those who will send their children to the free kindergarten; but our hope is to get the kindergartens into the public schools, in order that all classes — and who need them more than the poorer classes? — can be sent there, and that the children may be kept entirely free from dogmatic theology and know only the Heavenly Father, and rejoice in his sunshine and air, and in his blessings, and later there will be time enough to learn of the miserable theology that we have.

DISCUSSION OF MRS. COOPER'S PAPER BY REV. MILA FRANCES TUPPER OF MICHIGAN.

About the time that America was arousing to its sense of new responsibility toward its individual people, evinced by the battle of Bunker Hill and the following battles, a man of unique personality in Germany was trying a series of strangely unsuccessful experiments in dealing with little children. The era of Pestalozzi and that of our American Revolution cover about the same period. I have always been glad that this was true; it seems to me that unless this developing human race learns how to develop itself by the very best means in the world, that experiment inaugurated a century ago would necessarily be a failure. You know the reason humanity is so very much better than other forms of evolving life is that it has reached the stage where it can look back over its progress

and find the means whereby it has developed; it uses the laws that are found in that development; it takes the younger, weaker portions of the race in its arms and lifts them according to the same laws whereby men find that they themselves have been elevated. In other words, humanity's evolution now is deliberate consciousness, and that is all that the science and philosophy of education means — finding out its laws, making the most of them, and helping those who have not so far had the best help. We hear people ask: "Do we believe in the kindergarten?" I wonder sometimes whether we might not just as well ask: "Do we believe in trying to develop the little human beings that come into the world, and do we believe in education or cultivation at all?" The kindergarten system is not anything that is hide-bound, nothing that is settled into stereotyped forms, at all. It is simply the name now given to the best means that have been discovered so far for the systematic development of the little members of the human race, those who are beginning life. One hundred years from now the system may have developed vastly different methods; its spirit may have become more enlightened; its vision cleared so that we may scarcely recognize the method; but it will be the same system, because, starting with the careful observation of individuals, it found the laws of development among children.

Well-nigh every town and every school board will claim economy as the motive for keeping kindergartens out of the public school. I would urge that they be placed in the public schools because of their economy. We waste in this broad land of ours the most valuable years of the children's lives. Two or three years prior to the time when a child usually enters the public schools could be used to vastly greater advantage than any of the later years. In the boat races at colleges, months before they begin to drill on the lake they begin to drill in the gymnasium, getting the muscles in trim and getting the general system in order; and so the kindergarten would get the whole system and

nature of the child into good condition, so that when the alphabet and the number lessons came the children would be ready for them, developed in eye and ear and other faculties.

We now scarcely realize what an obstruction these studies are to the children. The teacher is burdened by undisciplined children, so that things that ought to be learned in a few months take years, so that the science has to be left for the high school, and things that might easily come with the readiness of a child's memory have to be put away off where the period of generalization comes. We could have years more, as far as actual results are concerned, if we would begin at an earlier time. And this does not mean that the child is to be overtrained — that is, its mind developed too rapidly. It is done in a natural fashion, so that the child is always better for it.

Now, in regard to the industrial problem, I was glad of what was said in the original paper in regard to the need of equalizing the advantages. Oh, it is pitiful in this world of ours that so many people never know what it is to enjoy the beauties of life, the finer, softer, and more finished things — the things that really give the reasons for life — and if we could in this way take these little hobblers off the street and put into their souls a love of the beautiful, it would never depart from them. Do you think of any insanity greater than to leave on our city streets children of the ages from three to six utterly without training, when the same amount of time, from thirteen to sixteen, has to be put into the shop? Most children have to leave school at the early age of twelve, thirteen, and fourteen. If we could only utilize these years that they have lost in this earlier part of their life, how much more just would it be!

There is another phase that always attracts me more than the kindergarten itself, and that is the training school that must inevitably go with the kindergarten. I believe the time will come when it will be considered a great lack in the education of every girl not to have had a training in

the principles of child-development and child-culture. The time will come when it will be equally necessary that every man should have the same training, that every human being that has any kind of relationship with little children in the world should have systematic and careful training for that relationship. If in every school in the city there was a kindergarten there would necessarily be in the high school a training school for kindergartners. This training school would send out into the world every year young women who were trained—young women who for many months had had their attention directed to the fundamental laws of psychology, and all the various things that have to do with the development of tender, tiny child-life. If any one of you has given any thought to this matter, or been associated with many mothers, have you not seen them violate at almost every turn some fundamental law, not only of psychology, but of morals?

In a thousand instances we lose the higher and more delicate distinctions of morality in dealing with children, and such violations could scarcely be if for even three months in the high school a girl's thought had been directed in these channels.

The kindergarten must be eventually in our public schools, because every year of our life must be used to the best advantage; we can not let grow up to weeds those precious years, most precious of all in the home. It is needed in the public school because it will inevitably bring about that cycle of training whereby the mothers will be trained as well as the children. It will help to prepare us for that day, which I hope another generation at least will see, when every one will have leisure enough in some way to live really as a human being. So it will help on the reign that is to come when our industrial system is in a little better shape, and so we shall have developed human beings as well as grinding labor-machines. It will, more than all, tend to give throughout all humanity that sense of rever-

ence for human life, that reverence for the little blossoming buds of the world, which if once in our souls will make us reverence every human being; and it will fit us for the coming of that day "wherein reigneth righteousness."

The Kindergarten and the Primary School—Address by Miss N. Cropsey, Superintendent of Primary Instruction in the Indianapolis Public Schools.

A system of education is inspired by the philosophical and moral ideas of the time. More than one man must give consent to its general fundamental notions before doctrines can grow into systems of practice. A system of education is the consequence of all that we believe. It forms the present, and is formed by our ideals of what man should be.

The doctrines taught by Froebel have universal application. The primary school and all education of our time, kindergarten and university, should be based upon Froebel's theory of the education of man, because it is a comprehensive philosophy of human life. It does not differ from the thought of other great philosophers. Rosmini, Froebel's great contemporary in Italy, applies to education the same doctrines. We receive them now because we are coming to realize unity. The individual does not stand unrelated to the whole; nor is he to be broken and unrelated to himself, but whole and efficient.

It is impossible in a short discussion to trace the development of educational thought. We may only repeat a few of the great names which have made the kindergarten and the primary school of our time possible: Plato, Plutarch, Luther. To the Greek thought of harmonious development we must return. Greece has given us typical forms in art, in deeds, in thought — ideals which must produce different results, under new conditions, it is true. With the name of Luther the primary school begins.

Rousseau, in 1778, was the protestant against the mean-

ingless forms imposed upon children in the name of education, who preached the return to nature, but did not know how rightly to relate nature to human nature, and, crying in the wilderness, prepared the way for Pestalozzi.

Pestalozzi first definitely applied the idea of organic growth to education, which was more clearly and consistently applied by Froebel. Froebel created a world for the child which, by its conditions, made right action and spontaneous action one. The right impulse now results in right deed.

Froebel saw that man's need was unity of development, or perfect evolution in accordance with the laws of his being — such evolution as science discovers in the other organisms of nature. Throughout life he was always seeking for the underlying unity in all things. Man and nature proceed from the same source, and must be governed by the same laws. Nature he saw as one expression of the mind of God.

Froebel's effort was to give men to themselves. "Man's destiny is harmonious growth through self-activity. It is treason to human nature to consider man essentially bad. Man thereby denies God in humanity, and hence the ways and means of truly knowing God."

The psychology of infancy is beginning to be fairly well understood. We are at least awakened to its importance. The primary school has been reformed by the kindergarten idea, and some kindergartens need to be reformed by the Froebelian idea. Heroic, self-sacrificing work has been done, yet so far are we from successful education that we can scarcely pause a moment for self-congratulation.

Froebel's work, like that of Rosmini, was only a fragment. In the man at every stage of life there is something of the child; there is a new development going on within him, which requires to be guided until he is able to educate himself. In notes left by Rosmini he proposed to treat of the period of development from the seventh to the fourteenth year, especially with reference to the conscious

knowledge of moral obligation and law. It is thought that he would have given a clear demonstration of what he more than once said, that upon this period principally depends the character of the man for good or evil. It is to this period of development that the whole educational world needs now to direct its attention.

A new civilization is upon us for which no adequate provision has been made. A century ago the child was on the old farm, in contact with real things, the real delights of nature, the real joys and responsibilities of the family, for whose comfort and success he was, in part, responsible. Adam Bede goes to work with his father when he is only a little lad. Our child lives in a crowded city, in a flat. He has no direct contact with nature — nothing to do after school hours but to wander in the streets. He sees his father once or twice a week.

Intelligence on a low plane offers greater temptations to the bad than have ever been devised before. The schools are not adequate to the needs of our time. We must have help — the help of intelligent criticism on the part of the public. There must be some comprehension of the immense work we have to do with half an army of teachers on half pay. We have neither teachers nor a curriculum to meet the demands which the present generation is making by its increasing mind activity, which is negative and for bad unless directed.

The word development is most familiar in modern thought and modern education. It means a change from simplicity to complexity of structure, greater power, and skill in all directions, yet in perfect harmony with the nature of the individual. Development does not mean merely an increase in knowledge or muscle, though it may include these. Only such exercise as is proportioned to the strength of the being, produces development. Is this process in the human being easy to understand and direct?

Instinct is good as far as it goes; it does not go far. We have learned something by experience when it is too

late to save the life. Only the thoughtful, the clear, pure mind sees the future in the present germ. Is it possible that we in this republic, in this nineteenth century, are trusting fifty little children to the care of one young woman, expecting her to return them to us harmoniously growing in body, mind, and spirit? Women are wonderful — they can perform miracles — but this is asking too much.

It has been well said recently that the "new education" lies in the spirit of the teacher, rather than in the subject taught. A child ten years old can master the subjects taught in a primary school, or the sequence of exercises given in a kindergarten. But a child, or a childish man or woman, can not use these exercises in such a way as to develop a human being to successful living. It is only the mature, highly organized, spiritual mind that can direct mind. The mature person may have lived many years or few; it matters not.

There must be an inner connection between the mind of the teacher and the mind of the child, between the mind of the child and the subject upon which the mind is exercised. The quality of mind which classifies by externals, by appearance, can not see this inner movement of spirit. Reform must come —

First. By requiring a higher quality of mind to direct and form the soul of the child. A high order of mind can influence fifty children, and help them to educate each other. A lower order of mind can not influence one child. "The young, whom they should be guiding upward, stay idling at the foot of the hill, or the nobler spirits, pressing forward unguided, fall exhausted and shattered on the cliffs."

Second. By a better course of study, in which we must include art education and industrial training, not for the sake of the product, but for the sake of the human being, moral and physical.

Third. The number of children intrusted to one person must be reduced.

We of this generation have only one duty to perform —

that is to prepare the next generation to live on a higher plane than that on which we are living; to prepare them to take possession of themselves and of the world. There is one question which each generation asks, and which each must answer — the same old question — what must we do to be saved? There is only one answer for us — the new education of the home, the school, and the church.

Will the people themselves support this new education? Whatever the plans brought before this congress for the improvement of humanity, whether in art, industries, charities, temperance, or religion, each speaker, at the last, has laid the responsibility of reform upon the education of the children. This is both hopeful and discouraging; hopeful in that we have all come to agree upon this fundamental necessity; discouraging in that the way has not been provided. There are not ten superintendents of schools in the United States of America who would dare appoint good teachers, even if sufficient money were provided to induce capable people to undertake the work. The public school ought to be the sacred institution of the republic.

We need the influence of women as directors of education, on school boards, and as superintendents, who, acting with men of moral courage, shall use the school for the child, and not for selfish personal and political ends.

The Ethical Influence of Woman in Education — Address by Mrs. Kate Tupper Galpin of California.

The "school ma'am" is a distinctive feature of American civilization. No other woman wage-earner in the world receives as great compensation for her work; no woman-worker is more highly respected. In many communities she is the leader of the social and intellectual life, and is so quoted, regarded, and bowed down before that many a lady of the manor might envy the influence accorded to her. "Teacher said so" is the argument that admits of no reply

in the disputes of most well-regulated families, and one that the small boy and the big girl alike have learned to use effectively.

Not only when engaged in the active work of the school-room are teachers a power in the community. Many marry, many enter other occupations, but whatever they do, wherever they go, they are still leaders of thought, directors of the great ethical movements of the day, organizers of clubs, classes, societies, and church activities. The self-reliance, self-control, and ability to control others developed in the school-room make the teacher a power in whatever she undertakes, whether with her children, in the home, or in community enterprises. Drop from the list of names of prominent women in our country all who have taught, and the remaining list will be small indeed, and teaching offers so fine a preparation for motherhood that it is a short-sighted view of life that regrets the brief term of the teacher's work.

But not because of the teacher's enviable individual position as legislator, judge, and executive while in the school-room, nor because of the power she possesses in the community after leaving the school-room, is she so distinctive and so vital a part of our national life. The reason is deeper. Public schools are not charitable institutions; they are institutions on which the safety and perpetuity of our national life depend. Our Government has established public schools not to give every poor boy an opportunity for an education, as is so often thoughtlessly stated, but to provide for itself worthy citizens; for an educated people, and for such only, is the republican form of government the best in the world. "We must educate," is the cry of an imperiled republic. Few children pass beyond the elementary schools. Through their superior fitness for the work the past fifty years has seen the elementary schools pass into the hands of women; therefore all the training for citizenship that most natives of the United States receive at school they receive at the hands of women. A strange anomaly, that women should

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have proven themselves the fittest trainers for citizens and yet be found unworthy of citizenship! This anomaly defies logic.

Not facts, but power to generalize and apply facts to specific life, is now the great thing needful. The distinctive office of the school is to train the mind and to furnish it with knowledge on which to exercise its power, but the highest demand made upon the school is the upbuilding of character. If it fails in this it fails in all. The charge is continually made that it is failing; still worse, the absolute immorality of the public school is urged by religious bigots, and they are echoed by many of whom we have a right to expect clear thinking. This ignorance of the influence at work in the modern school is culpable. The church is itself second to the public school as an ethical agent in our country, and I doubt if now the home is surpassed by it. In the first place, the intellectual can not be separated from the moral. Every student of ethics agrees with Socrates that knowledge is virtue. The dull brain is the one to be feared as well as to be deplored in all the relations of life. In the words of a teacher: "It is where obtuseness is, where ignorance is, where the thick head is, that there is doggedness, and narrowness, and opinionativeness, and bigotry, and self-conceit, and sulkiness, and soil for whatever is unhealthy, unsocial, immoral and a hindrance among men." Wherever the teacher arouses the stupid mind, or gives an edge to dull thought, she is doing work having eminent moral value. She is doing, perhaps, the most that can be done in the real elevation of character. Truth is one and universal. What is good for the mind is good for the morals. The opposite holds also — what is bad for the mind is bad for the morals. Slovenly habits of thought are absolutely immoral in their effects. But it is not alone in the development of true thought that the school is a moral power — the revolution in discipline has been complete in the years that have seen women make the rules in the schoolroom. The idea of the moral necessity for flagellation had

been so instilled in the minds of the rulers of children, and was so supported by most sound authority and custom, that the first objection, and the most persistent, to be urged against a woman teacher was that "she couldn't thrash the boys."

The most advanced never dreamed that a school could be controlled without blows, and that through woman's very inability to give them effectively would come a more excellent way. Women brought to the school the two greatest characteristics needed in child-care — patience, the out-growth of years of limitations, and sympathy with childhood, the out-growth of the natural instinct.

They brought, too, the great housekeeping characteristics — love of neatness and order, attention to detail, and thoroughness in the doing of little things. As a result we have had an entire change in school management, which makes it the great ethical agent it is to-day.

There is that in the mere mechanism of a well-regulated modern school which trains the secondary virtues as no other influence can. Punctuality, regularity, cleanliness, order, courtesy of manner, all so essential to success in business life, are inculcated in all schools worthy the name.

We hear much said of the importance of manual training being introduced into our schools, and its importance can not be overestimated, but, grave as is the need for trained workmen, the employer urges the graver need for men who are faithful to duty, who are dependable, who are true to the small fidelities. The schools best subserve the good of the country in this respect by cultivating the sense of responsibility in the child. I believe it is important that a child be taught to drive nails, but it is of infinitely greater importance that he be taught to drive every nail that it is his duty to drive after he has learned to drive nails. Attention, industry, promptitude, and dispatch are much more difficult things to teach than Sloyd, and Sloyd of itself will never teach them. It matters not so much what is taught as how it is taught. The characteristics enumerated

are developed by thorough work in any line, manual or intellectual, and when once developed manifest themselves in whatever work comes to hand. The school where the child knows that the lesson must be learned in the time allotted, and learned perfectly; the school where tardiness and irregularity are not tolerated, and to which the child is sent in spite of headache, or base-ball, or visits, or circus, thus making it the business of his life, will give at last these fundamentals of steadfast strength and sturdiness of purpose that will make him a power in any work.

Respect for authority and for the character of others, thoughtfulness of the rights of others, and faithfulness to obligations, all so essential in community life, are of necessity developed by the school relations.

The higher morals — truthfulness, honesty, justice, honor — are taught either through incidents of school life or through discussions of lessons; or through private admonitions which violations of good conduct call forth. Doctor Harris places kindness at the head of all the school-room virtues, and it is certain that all the virtues spring to life at its bidding. There is scarcely a virtue that the public school does not possess, and there is no virtue that it may not possess, if the teacher is true to her calling, and is animated by the proper spirit; for, underlying all, permeating all, paramount to all other influence of the school, is the character of the teacher. Each in her own little realm may truthfully say, and solemnly, "I am the school." All moral excellence is contagious, and all the laws governing physical contagion obtain. The germs of a virtue can not be planted at will in the character of another. No process of spiritual inoculation of special virtues has as yet been discovered. If the teacher would teach honesty she must be honest; if she would teach love of truth she must be true, through and through. All methodizing fails here, but a teacher who stands before her school the embodiment of conscientious duty-doing, and of scrupulous truth and honesty, can no more fail to teach duty-doing, truth, and hon-

esty than the sun can fail to warm when its rays fall. She who is doing her best without stint, and with every unconscious suggestion of solicitude and self-sacrifice, is giving off virtue from her very garment's hem, and is teaching morals whether she is hearing a class in arithmetic or marshaling her children in line in the school-yard. If we are right in believing that the foundation of the state is the public school, and that the influence of each individual school, for weal or woe, is entirely dependent upon the character of the woman at its head, then by cultivating the character of the teaching force of our country we give our nation's future a sure and mighty uplift, and no duty is more imperative on the nation than the thorough training of its teaching force. The young woman who is to become a teacher should be surrounded with all the ennobling and broadening influences possible. The narrow financial policy of most States in the treatment of their normal schools necessarily equips them with teachers inferior in talent and acquirements to those of the richly endowed universities, and limits opportunity for culture in all directions. No expense is spared to educate young men for the nation's defense in the naval and military academies. After carefully selecting them, because of superior intellectual, physical, and moral fitness, we make them the charges of the nation until thoroughly fitted for their work. And yet that will be to guard the nation against dangers from without alone. The young women whose work it will be to guard the nation from the graver, more imminent dangers from within, the dangers of unworthy citizenship, have poor opportunities for preparation, and they must avail themselves of these opportunities as best they can, often weighted with poverty and natural unfitness for the work.

The hours of a teacher's work cover those of the day that other women use for interchange of thought, and the evening finds her so exhausted of nerve-force that she is tempted to rest and solitude, unless uncompleted tasks claim her and exhaust her further.

To breathe over and over again the same atmosphere is as harmful to the mind and spirit as to the body. A teacher needs to inhale fresh spiritual breaths with each day's advent. To be truly the angel of the school she must oftentimes use her wings and rise above the school into aerial heights, whose draughts shall refresh and vivify, and from which new, and broad, and inspiring views may be obtained.

Our nation's future suffers much because of the limited outlook of the teachers. The four walls of the school-room mark the horizon of the majority of the so-called earnest workers, and the pity of it is that this narrowness is lauded as virtue, is praised as devotion to the work, is proclaimed as the ideal of duty-doing. When to be more of a teacher demands to be less of a woman, it is time to cry halt and prepare for defense, for an enemy of childhood advances. What childhood needs for its full development is contact with fully developed womanhood. This is God's law.

We have known mothers whose time and strength were so given to the cares of the household that all thought of self was lost, and mind, heart, and body were weakened, shriveled, and dwarfed until nothing but a caricature or a pitiable distortion of womanhood remained. The self-surrender was complete and the sacrifice heroic, but it was a suicidal self-surrender and a mistaken sacrifice. The true teacher's measure is the true mother's measure — not the painful pursuing to senseless nicety of the petty details of child-care, but a steady nerve and measureless sympathy, a strong, wise thought, uninfluenced by weak feeling, but able to distinguish essentials from non-essentials.

A wise conservation of energy must precede a liberal expenditure of energy. She who saves herself that she may wisely give herself is most generous, for it is she who can give full measure, pressed down and running over, when the true time for giving comes. Again I emphasize the grave need for the most careful training, the broadest culture, the development of the complete womanhood of those into whose hands the state intrusts its children. A stream

can rise no higher than its source, and the source of the mightiest influences flowing through the school-room is the teacher.

DISCUSSION OF MRS. GALPIN'S PAPER BY MRS. W. D. CABELL OF WASHINGTON, D. C., REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NATIONAL SOCIETY OF THE DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

Without change in her relations to man and to society, woman's work partakes of the general extension and evolution in which she has taken part. She needs, in my opinion, no additional powers or privileges — simply the opportunity, daily widening, to exert her manifold endowments. However great her intellectual gifts, however broad her culture, her supreme function, now as ever, is to bring forth children; her overwhelming responsibility is to bring them up. Maternity is her mission, education her work, the home at once her kingdom and her sphere.

Society is based upon the assumption that men and women come together in congeniality and love; that they work together for the progeny they are responsible for bringing into the world, and that their highest duty, their best service, is to make these children happier and better than themselves.

It is with the woman's share of this labor that we are dealing to-day. Upon the vantage ground of her motherhood she stands, clasping to her bosom the tiny creature to which she has given life, and upon whose soft and complex soul she must stamp an image for good or evil to endure throughout eternity. Who dares say, in contemplating a marvel like this, that woman occupies or has ever occupied a subordinate position to man; that her powers are withered for want of use; that her scope is small, and that she needs for her full development to share more of the prerogatives of man? If it be true that education is the mighty interest of mankind, the Archimedean lever by which the world

must be moved; if preachers and public-school teachers are right in proclaiming that, before a child can read, the essential qualities of its character are formed, then is woman the arbiter of the world; her physical soundness, her mental strength, her moral perfection are more important elements in the salvation of the race than any of the boasted attributes of man. And these great claims the poets and philosophers concede. "Earth's noblest thing," they write, "is woman perfected."

Even in the darkest hour of moral degradation in France, the greatest mocking skeptics could proclaim: "All the reasonings of men are not worth one sentiment of women."

If she is true to her responsibilities, and equal to her opportunities, woman in the holy empire of the home begins the great work of education, and anticipates the ethics of the schools. No easy task is hers to rear the brood which nestle under her protecting love; to provide for physical wants and secure the full development of limbs and muscles, of nerves and brain, to make her little animals sound and strong and pure, that they may become the founders and directors of a yet better generation. Nor is the further work of training the young minds and guiding the strong wills an easier one, for these beings bring with them potent and inherited individuality, with which she must grapple, while it is yet unrevealed and unconscious, if it is to receive any permanent impressions whatever.

Woman's ethical influence in the great scheme of education is based, therefore, upon the grand central truth of love. Her work is preëminently great in that it is concerned with the beginnings of things, in that she lays the foundation upon which the whole superstructure rests. When the boy or girl enters the mimic world of the schoolroom the character should be essentially formed. The experience, often painful, of teachers testifies that it is formed. We are prone to underestimate the intelligence, or at least the apprehension, of a child. Wise people are misled by the unformed manners, the babyish voice, the

delicate beauty of a little boy or girl whose bright intelligence grasps a situation at once and appreciates perfectly the difference between right and wrong, the proper and the unseemly, truth and falsehood. These perceptive and discriminating faculties of the child must be early trained to grasp the good and reject the evil, if the fruits of subsequent instruction are to be other than ashes and bitterness, apples of Sodom and Gomorrah.

While woman has this early training of the child, and does it with her might, she is a queen. She has scope in it for the employment of every conceivable faculty of the mind and soul. Education can not set her above this work. Talents of the loftiest order can not exempt her from it if she has assumed the duties of maternity. Anything else she attempts or performs must be subsidiary to it. Awful would be any changes in her social status compelling or permitting her to delegate her high office to any other hands. No conceivable advantage to woman can compensate her for the loss of the inner life of that holiest of holies — her home. It would profit her little, although she gained the whole world of fortune and fame, if she could not reply worthily, with the approval of her soul, to the searching summons:

"Where is the flock that I have given thee, the beautiful flock?"

DISCUSSION OF MRS. GALPIN'S PAPER BY MRS. ANNA BYFORD LEONARD OF ILLINOIS.

Starting from the standpoint that evolution proceeds at the same time along three lines, the physical, mental, and spiritual, and that education is the attempt to aid development along these lines, it is evident that the spiritual is the most important, from the fact that it embraces the moral and higher nature, and that it is the only one of the three carrying over from life to life, or beyond this life.

It is self-evident, then, that the unfolding of the spiritual nature, the inner man, is the most necessary factor in evolution. That woman by her very constitution is best fitted to aid in this education is certain. Born with a moral bias, the ability to discern the infinite in the finite, and that subtle intuition which enables spirit to come in contact with spirit, she has the power to discern the truth or interior nature of things, and thus to receive divine illumination.

It is this divine illumination which will enable her to lead and guide the coming race of humanity upward in its evolution toward God and a perfected humanity. That she possesses the innate force to accomplish this work is evident from the moral qualities which have characterized her for many generations.

Faithfulness, devotion, long-suffering, and altruism have been gradually preparing her for the work which the hour demands. That she is ready, this large congress of women, assembled from all parts of the world, amply testifies; that she will insist upon the rights of her convictions none will deny who are familiar with her faithfulness to her duty and her ability to suffer.

Hoping everything and fearing nothing, she sends out the searching ray into the darkest recesses of the night of human ignorance and superstition, exposing the fallacies of the age, and by her moral force and her regenerate thought uplifts the masses of humanity and restores to them their divine birthright.

DISCUSSION OF MRS. GALPIN'S PAPER BY FRANCES STEWART MOSHER OF MICHIGAN, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NATIONAL FREEWILL BAPTIST WOMAN'S MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

It would be interesting to find a country of highly cultured educators who were all men, and compare its ethical status with another of equal literary merit whose instructors were both men and women. That we can not do; for,

as the fabled Eastern bird, endowed with only one wing, remains earth-bound until, joined to its mate, on double pinions they soar aloft, so men and women rise together in culture and refinement.

What are the essential elements that women especially contribute to the formation of character and the education of inquiring minds? Most truly those which they possess themselves.

We should like to ascribe to womanhood the virtues with which the chivalrous middle ages endowed her and the practical abilities which the present concedes to her. Will the circumstances justify such ascription? Are the schools better and is the moral condition of a community higher when many of its instructors are women? In the United States there is an average of over 70 per cent of women teachers, while twelve large cities report the employment of women only in all grades. There is not a department of letters or the sciences which women have not entered as instructors.

The influence on the women themselves has been invaluable. To teach is to learn twice. The lessons of self-control, patience, tact, keenness of perception, and discrimination in judging of human nature have fitted them for other duties of life.

I have sometimes wondered how many of those who compose the bodies forming the National Council have been teachers, either in seminaries, in public or private schools, or in evening or Sunday schools. I wonder how many of our public speakers have learned to move and control audiences through study of their pupils. The list of such is certainly long and honorable, and well sustains a point in favor of the moral influence of woman in education.

Tracing her influence more objectively, we seek the results of her work as a teacher. Mount Holyoke, Smith, Vassar, and a host of other institutions, where both men and women are members of the faculty, come before us as illustrations, and silence controversy.

Hundreds in this and foreign lands attest to the profound ethical influence, direct and indirect, exerted by Emma Willard, Catherine Beecher, and Mary Lyon.

Nor is this praise given to woman as a teacher of her own sex alone. The state has recognized her adaptability to the primary and grammar school, not merely because she will work for small wages, but also because in her very nature lies the motherly instinct that comprehends the child-thought; the patient waiting and watching as the mind gropes amid world mysteries; the faith that holds the little pilgrim moored to the eternal, though lured and baffled by the perplexing unknown, and exults as the child-mind matures with training and experience. Napoleon said that the one who educates the children will control the masses.

The boy as he leaves the school-room remembers still his teacher. Her influence, her principles, are still the ruling powers of his life, and many an idea that develops later, surprising even to himself, will be the result of her teaching. She has directed the shaft, though it falls far from its aim. In this influence lies a potent power, whose results years hence will reap.

The Popular Inculcation of Economy — Address by Sara Louise Vickers Oberholtzer of Pennsylvania.

An easy, acceptable, and effectual way to inculcate economy and develop individual thrift is through the school savings-bank. This teaching fits the need, and has already proven that its general establishment in the schools of the United States will decrease vastly our criminals and paupers.

Public and private waste are closely allied; the whole is but an aggregate of units, the public but the chorus of the privates. While the children come up to manhood and

womanhood without any practical and economic knowledge of the capabilities of money, we can not reasonably expect them to be thoughtful financiers, or to know the distinction between generosity and extravagance, between justly earned dollars and the catch-up and scatter-about moneys which ruin more especially our young men of to-day. Give them the school savings-banks training, which teaches every depositor how pennies accumulate to dollars and the benefits of the interest system, and they will be able to meet more fully and understandingly the common requirements of life and of the nation.

This method of inculcating thrift is not wholly new. It was in use in a single school in France in 1834. In 1866 it had sectional establishment in Belgium. Professor Laurent of the University of Ghent took up the idea, and introduced it into several institutions. The teaching met much favor and has been quietly working its way over Europe since. The school children of France have now over 12,000,000 francs to their credit in the banks of the republic. Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Russia, Holland, and England have this teaching in some schools, sometimes administered by private associations or individuals, often through the postal savings bank, which is less satisfactory as an instructor.

Several different methods for collecting pennies and inspiring children to industry are employed.

It is of the work in this country that I would more particularly speak. Owing to our rapid growth and a financial success that often exceeds our wisdom, we are perhaps in the greatest need. Abundance begets extravagance; extravagance breeds vice and discontent. As an uplifting and leveling measure, as well as an educational safeguard, we need this teaching in the public schools.

The application of the savings system as in use in North Dakota is so simple, so effective and entertaining that it requires but acquaintance to insure its popularity. We have it operating now in 325 public schools and some pri-

vate institutions. Our school children have $175,000 to their credit in banks. This money stands in the names of the individual depositors, who number about 33,000.

When the system is to be instituted the teacher explains to the scholars the end and aim of the school savings-bank — that it is to teach them the practical value of money, how it grows by attention, the benefits of industry, the delight of giving and spending wisely, and the advantages of thrift.

The roll is called every Monday morning for the collection of the children's savings. This occupies a very short time, even on the morning when the work is instituted. Each child who is a depositor has the little copyright savings-bank card, on the face of which is his name, with that of the school and that of the teacher. On the back are the regulations. The card is folded, and on the inside is the date for each Monday in the school-year, with space opposite for amount of deposit. When the names are called by the teacher each pupil who desires to deposit steps up with his card and money, handing them quickly to the teacher, saying, "Yes, 5 cents," or whatever sum it may be. She, with a figure, credits the amount on the child's card and on her roll-book, passing the card back to the child, who keeps it always in hand as a memorandum and receipt. The first collection in the school is deposited in the bank as a general school fund. When a scholar has deposited 50 cents or $1, as the bank authorities may agree, he is given a bank-book, and the money is placed to his personal credit by the bank; when he has $3, an interest of 3 per cent is allowed him by the bank, and he has the privileges of an adult depositor acting through school facilities. A special teacher's roll-book is arranged with spaces to record most conveniently weekly deposits. The other forms used in connection with the system are simple and calculated to minimize the work. The money collected by each teacher is placed in an envelope, which is so printed as to require at her hand but the number of the school or class and amount of contents. A deposit slip is used in forwarding all collec-

tions by the teacher to the principal, and by the principal to the bank. The envelopes in which teachers send the collection to the principal are sealed, and the total amount is recorded on the deposit slip, previously mentioned, which accompanies the envelope. The envelopes are sent together, thus labeled, to the bank, where the bank authorities open, count, verify, and credit at leisure. With the last collection of each month a monthly record of the scholar's individual deposits is sent by each teacher to the principal of the school, and by him to the bank with the children's bank-books, that credits may be properly made. These lists are returned by the bank to the principal with the scholars' bank-books during the week. The bank-books are given to the children to take to their homes the last Friday of each month, to be returned with the following Monday morning deposits. The principal keeps a record of the weekly collections of the teachers. A check with which pupils withdraw their money requires the signature of parent, or guardian, and principal. The principal uses the general-fund bank-book, received when the first school deposit is made. It is always sent with the weekly deposits and returned to him by messenger, with full amount of credit. This frees him from responsibility, and the arrangement is such that any error can be at once traced to its source.

The bank-books taken into the homes once a month arouse family interest, and parents have often been induced to curtail needless expenses by the practical lesson in the accumulation of small savings thus given them. The teachers become much interested in the growing amounts of their pupils' deposits. In some instances those who have not before had bank deposits have themselves opened accounts and felt the reflex benefit of their own teaching. The practical acquaintance this exercise gives both pupils and teachers with the initial forms of business law — familiarity with the check, deposit-slip, and bank-book — is in itself of value.

It is not the intention of the promoters of the school

savings-bank system that it should be in any sense a Jay Gould hoarding scheme. The idea is to teach the true and best uses of money as a comfort factor — to give the child individuality and a sense of responsibility, knowledge of his every-day needs, and a training that will fit him in a measure to cope understandingly with them. The children of the rich, who are often given money to waste, need this training quite as much as the children of the poor; and to the great middle class, the bone and sinew of our commonwealth, it is a fine supplement to what they have been taught at home. The boy and the girl using these school facilities wisely have each in their individual right, when they leave school, a snug little sum, from one to two hundred dollars in bank; and more, they have approved knowledge that they can by caring properly for the pennies be ever above physical need. They see they have equal right to possess and earn; that above all outward law there is an innate independence which entitles each one to personal possession, responsibility, and citizenship. They are a living argument against socialism, anarchy, drunkenness, and crime.

I do not say all the youth thus taught economy in the schools will be valuable, law-abiding people, but I do assert that, other things being equal, three-fourths of them will; and that if this system, fostered by educators, was in force in all the schools of the United States, this Government would find the annual recruits to its half-million army of paupers vastly decreased. Is it not better to train our people to thrift and to the elements of self-support than to allow them to grow up like Mrs. Stowe's Topsy, or roadside weeds, and then line the way with poor-houses and prisons in which to settle them? Hon. W. T. Harris, commissioner of education, recognizes and willingly forwards this new feature in the school curriculum. He has given us encouragement in the work accomplished; he has on display, in the educational exhibit at the Columbian Exposition, our forms as used in the administration of school savings-

banks, the statistical table representing our progress, and some literature on the subject. The presidents and professors of many of the colleges and universities have written me unsolicited, during the past two years, inquiring into the every-day working of the system, and expressing their approbation and interest. President Fetterolf of Girard College, Philadelphia, asked for particulars of the school savings-banks, last autumn, and writes that he has established from it a savings system which is used with success in Girard College. We Pennsylvanians think it particularly appropriate that the college which owes its existence to the eminently thrifty and economic Stephen Girard should thus effectively commemorate him by teaching his every-day principles practically to the orphan boys for whom his munificence provided. Some of the mission schools use our system acceptably. Among the very poor, the little outcasts of society, this teaching of economy is recognized as a great force against the flagrant socialism born of poverty, envy, and discontent. After all it is perhaps down in the missions that we need most to put in circulation pure air, pure money, and practical thoughts; and we are most heartily glad to reach even a few of them with a tide of reform.

In some of the Indian industrial schools this practical method of training is used. Of the thirty-six public schools into which it has been my privilege to be personally instrumental in placing the school savings-bank teaching during the past year I should like to speak separately, but time will not allow. I refer you to the printed statistical tables here for distribution, to which, with other literature on the subject, I would direct your attention.

A public school in Beloit, Wis., was the first in the United States to use this teaching, and used it from 1876 to 1881 with much local approval, but had little or no following. In 1885 Mr. J. H. Thiry, with a simple system adapted from the French, had the work taken up in Long Island City, N. Y. It continues to operate acceptably there. Of

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the 6,500 scholars on the public-school register, 2,166 are depositors, having over $14,000 to their credit.

My acquaintance with it dates from a convention of Economists in 1888. Passing mention was there made of the school savings-bank, and I immediately made myself familiar with the best methods in use, and gave the scheme newspaper vent. We took it up in my own borough, Norristown, and the adjacent one of Pottstown, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, simultaneously in the winter of 1889. To-day school savings-banks are in acceptable use in 114 schools of Pennsylvania, fifty of them in my own county.

We may be a little old-fogyish in William Penn's staid settlement, from a Western point of view, but we are imbued with the thrift of our Quaker and German ancestry, and are anxious to hand it down the line of coming generations.

About 200 schools in thirteen other States have adopted this teaching, fifty of them in New York. So long as the work is one of private philanthropy it is rather difficult to get records and data of them all.

The deposits of the scholars are entirely voluntary, and on an average about 40 per cent of the pupils in a school are depositors. At Norristown the school children have to their credit $8,033.17, after having withdrawn over $10,000. Their entire collections, with interest accrued in the three and a half years the system has been in use, have been $18,375.17.

These withdrawals of school deposits do not necessarily indicate an expenditure of the money. As the pupils graduate or leave school they have their dealings directly with the banks, while the amounts are no longer listed as school deposits. I could also relate scores of instances where withdrawals have been made for family needs or crying necessities.

These school savings-banks are often established by the aid of bankers, they furnishing the printed forms and encouraging deposits, knowing that, even though it does not always pay from a business point of view to handle the

small savings of hundreds of school children, they are training customers; that children who have bank accounts will make men and women who are bank depositors. Intelligent school directors in most localities are easily interested in this teaching, and the propagation of it is both pleasant and popular.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union has taken up school savings-banks as a department of its work, giving me the superintendency of it in the World's and also in the National W. C. T. U.

The American Academy of Political and Social Science has extended us a helpful hand, publishing in a pamphlet form and giving broad circulation to an address it was my privilege to make before it in Philadelphia last May. Mrs. H. C. Ruth, well known as the Dakota farmer, is awakening interest in North Dakota. The Grangers, the American bankers, and several educational associations have adopted resolutions approving of this practical teaching of economy, and expressing their desire to spread it. The press of the country opens its columns to records of the work, giving it generous editorial mention. In most localities where we have school savings-banks the amount of the Monday deposits of the children are published weekly as items of news.

We are finding response this year in the West. The system was taken up in the public schools of Pueblo, Colo., January 9th; and up to April 30th 743 of the 1,900 pupils in the schools were depositors, and had to their credit as savings $2,099.69. The first school collection was taken in Trinidad, Colo., March 6th; the first in the schools of Wamego, Kan., March 26th. Casselton and Wahpeton, N. Dak., the points most recently taking up the system, made their first collections April 24th.

In order to disseminate this teaching fully it is desirable that as large a proportion of the pupils in a school become depositors as possible. Deposits of small amounts will teach this lesson quite as effectually as larger ones, and it is

the question how many depositors there are in a school, rather than how much have they deposited, that is of vital moment.

Educational Training in Its Bearing Upon the Promotion of Social Purity — Address by Jennie de la M. Lozier, M. D., Sc. D., of New York City.

It has been said that honor and fame from no condition rise, and equally true is it that sin and shame are found in every class of society and condition of life. Immorality, or violation of the law of purity, can be found as rampant and as gross under silk and velvet as under rags, in the palace and in the hovel, in the African kraal and in the American mansion. It is widespread because it is inherent in ignorance and weakness. It is due to the domination of man's animal nature over his intellectual and moral being. It is no new thing in the world's history, and it is neither more dreadful in quality nor more overwhelming in quantity than it has ever been. But our increasing cognizance of the factors of mental, moral, and physical disorders, due to the spread of scientific information and the use of the scientific method of investigation, enables us to diagnose the malady and to suggest the possible cure.

In moral disease, as in physical disease, we analyze the predisposing and the exciting causes; we differentiate it into sin, or willful wrong, and weakness, or irresponsible wrong. A mistaken diagnosis leads us into the pitfall of quackery, which endeavors by nostrums and patches to conceal the ravages of evil, instead of the true, radical treatment of the conscientious surgeon, who will amputate and ablate from the germ if possible, and thus save the whole organism from corruption and decay.

We have had many doctors in the realms of metaphysics and of physics. What we need to-day, imperatively and universally, is an enlightened motherhood which will have

the intellect to grasp the causes of immorality, and the mother-love and mother-courage to apply and inculcate the principles of individual and social purity with fearless fidelity.

Morality means the restraint and right direction of man's sensual and emotional nature. It is not an instinctive faculty. On the contrary, instinct is against it. It is the struggle between the soul and the body, and such a struggle can no more be expected to develop spontaneously into moral purity than an ear for music or a taste for poetry would be expected to lead to the production of a Paganini or a Tennyson.

It must be distinctly understood that this struggle is more terrible, more vital, more difficult than any mere struggle for physical existence upon the earth; that it is a fight between Saint George and the dragon, between Christian and Apollyon, between the angels of light and those of darkness, for the possession of the human soul. Poor little human soul! It is embarked upon life's troubled sea, like the flame in the lamps of paper floated out upon the Ganges by the Indian girls; it may be drowned by overwhelming waters, or may flare up in one wild spurt and destroy its frail vehicle.

The general heredity which the child shares with all the sons of men is the first handicap in the race, and the special heredity in the individual is the second, and may be the heavier weight. The education which does not recognize heredity — whether you call it original sin or tendencies — makes a mistake at the outset; the educational training of the young in morals and in purity must proceed largely upon the principle of derivation. In therapeutics this means to call off the too-abundant blood from one part of the body, where it is producing congestion and pain, and to carry it to some other spot, where its warmth is needed. To call attention to purity, to dwell upon impurity, will often direct the thought to the very evil we desire to avert, and this, I am sure, has been a common mistake when an

overzealous teacher or guardian has meddled too roughly with the delicate essence of modesty. But here again we are assisted by science, which lifts the subject out of the emotional realm, and puts it upon the calm basis of healthful normality; which clothes the facts of nature in clear-cut terms of purity. Again, from religion we derive the most efficacious prescription known yet upon the earth, and one which will stand the test of all time. It is "the expulsive power of a new affection"; it is the overcoming of evil with good. The angel comes, in answer to prayer, to strengthen even the little ones against evil thoughts and degrading desires, and helps to build up moral strength and renew spiritual vitality.

What should be the practical work of any society that hopes to bring us up to a higher ethical plane? Clearly there should be a recognition of and hearty coöperation with everything that tends to cleanliness, thrift, and cheerfulness in the homes of the poor and wretched, and with everything that will provide constant and agreeable occupation to childhood everywhere. We must also coöperate with every agency that will increase self-respect and honorable pride in the individual, and with every form of religious belief which will keep man in a right relation with his Creator and his fellow-man. And lastly, we must secure such legislation as will place men and women upon equal footing, and will maintain the reasonable independence of women in the business world.

Finally, every community is a composite of moral, social, civic, and economic forces. It is precisely what these forces make it.

The state must be educated to recognize its responsibility, from which it can never escape. We must be educated up to a recognition of the fact that the vicious and depraved in our midst have become such, in the main, through a false and pernicious order of things, too often founded and fostered in bad laws or due to the absence of good. In that sense and to that degree prostitution and crime are the cre-

ation and offspring of the state. Wise legislation, practical, large-hearted philanthropy, should everywhere provide asylums and retreats where the morally sick may become restored — may be quarantined, so to speak, for a time, and through loving sympathy, watchful care, and suitable occupation be gradually brought to a sense of self-respect and a desire to lead a new life.

The numerous moral reform and female guardian societies, midnight missions, and homes for the friendless, of our large cities, have done a noble work in rescuing myriads of women from the very mouth of the flaming pit. They have snatched them literally as brands from the burning, and enabled them to lead decent, respectable, and repentant lives. In the horrible dens from which many of these poor creatures have escaped, they have been kept, often for years, helpless, hopeless prisoners, robbed of their clothing and money, and obliged to drink with every loathsome patron of the place, thus sinking from vile depths to lower depths of infamy and shame, with no eye to pity, no hand to save. It takes time and useful occupation to recover from these lazar-house scenes and experiences, to restore the shattered nerves and moral tone.

Industrial farm-homes, where small-fruit and bee culture, or the raising of poultry or flowers, can be profitably followed by the beneficiaries, offer by far the best solution to this problem. Several States have already established such homes for fallen women, and blazed the way of reform for other communities to follow.

This great social ulcer — this cancer, eating into the vitals of every great city, and contaminating small towns and villages alike with its gangrenous touch — may thus be brought under the surgeon's knife and healthy sanitation.

The state cares for the destitute and the indigent sick; why should it not also care for its morally sick — the victims of a false social, civic, and industrial system — who, unless rescued and cared for by the state, will continue to drag down multitudes into a common ruin with themselves?

Philanthropy, religion, social science, and the state should unite in a supreme effort to rescue the perishing, provide for the weak, abolish vice, and elevate the moral tone of the entire community. To this task has the Society for the Promotion of Social Purity set its hands. Toward this goal — the elevation of the state and of humanity, through the rescue and elevation of woman and the purification of the home — are all the moral forces of the age pressing rapidly forward.

The Highest Education — Address by Mrs. Charles Kendall Adams of Wisconsin.

During the past twenty years perhaps no one thing has more assuredly marked the onward progress of our time than the interest, assumed and real, in the higher education of women. All over our country schools and colleges have multiplied, where careful training and much wise teaching are accomplished. Universities have opened their doors — many of them only half way, it is true, but a few certainly swing the gates wide — and in all directions the path, once very thorny, has been made smooth and pleasant.

More than at any other period in the world's history woman stands side by side with brother, father, friend — quite man's peer in power to acquire, and if her acquirements be of the right sort, his peer in power to use them. Askance he looks at her, perhaps, oftentimes strangely misunderstanding her. However he may regard her, let us not forget that whenever she *proves* herself a power, he, let him be stranger or friend, is ever first to admit it, ever first to welcome and approve. Let us not cease to remember that much of the advance has been made with his aid, and in many cases on his shoulders.

The onward march of women in what we term the higher education is a fact of very deep and absorbing

interest, marking, we must believe, an epoch in the world's history, assuring for all of us the step onward, creating a gift for the future not to be measured in its worth, measureless in its possibilities. We can not regard it with too much gratitude, too high reverence, too deep an appreciation; we can not aid it, even in a small way, without securing blessing to ourselves, and the surer consciousness of inestimable blessing not only to those about us, but to the generations to follow us.

But it is not of this higher education, profitable as is the theme, that I desire to speak at this time and on this occasion. There is given to each of us, and especially is it given to women, to attain not only a higher, but the *highest* education. And here let me call attention to a possibility already made too evident, that in attempting to attain the former there is danger of losing sight of the latter. It is, in a word, too often made plain that in educating the head we have made too little account of the heart. This need not be the case, yet it happens too often, and it is needless to say that where this is the case it were better the woman had never entered the school-room. Add to the higher education the highest, and you do well; but get the highest at any cost. That, and that alone, is the only education that can be of real and permanent worth to women.

Dear friends, you and I know from whom alone this highest education can proceed; we know there is but one Teacher, one school-room, one text-book; and you will say just here, perhaps: "Why repeat this? It is but platitude. We hear it constantly. What can it serve here and now?" Let us follow a step farther and find the something that it does serve; and that is worthy our consideration in a very peculiar sense at the present time, a time when the education of woman has a deeper import than ever before.

And, first, let us ask ourselves the real value of any education to its possessor. Is it not in the development that it brings to its owners and to those about them? But is it not also in truer sense the fitness it gives for the work they are to do?

As the athlete trains for the victory he hopes to win, as the professional student spends his energy in daily toil for the place he aims to fill, so is there in the training of a woman a profounder reason, a more eloquent plea, for that which will give to her the implement that is to make her of worth in the place where God's own voice calls her, for so long as the world lasts and time endures the large majority of women must find their place in the home. It is here as daughter, wife, mother that she must confront the widest horizon of usefulness and endeavor. In the varied phases here awaiting her with their perplexities and anxieties, their satisfactions and joys, she is called to meet daily experiences that must test her ability to the utmost, and which only the highest education can at all satisfy. You will surely admit that here certainly her value to herself, to those nearest her, and through them to society at large depends far more upon the qualities of heart she brings to her work than upon any mere intellectual acquirement. She must inspire, charm, elevate in proportion as she is suffused with Christian grace and Christian spirit, far more than by "the knowledge which puffeth up and edifieth not."

Recall the long list of women who have blest the world and left to it a deathless legacy, who knew nothing of a college training. The greatest minds among women, intellectually considered, in this great century, knew nothing of it. Names might be multiplied, they will come to you by the score, that were never recorded on college registers. And while, if these women were living to-day, they would be the very ones who would at any sacrifice attain such training, yet women like these know very well that at its best it can not give to any woman all that life needs. And in this phase is danger to the young woman entering upon it; if she believes that it will give her all of life, she is shutting out the greatest light, without which any college training is idle.

I would not seem, even by the smallest hint, to disparage the education of the college — on the contrary, I would

make it possible for every woman to secure it — but I must also repeat, with emphatic utterance, that so long as human nature is what it is, so long as human society exists, in the right development of the woman the education of the heart must ever be of superlative consequence, of far greater consequence than the education of the head. Let a woman's intellect be inspired and controlled by her heart, and not only is her own soul fed, but she becomes the fountain of nourishment to the souls of others — yes, even to souls unborn. Let her intellect be stimulated at the expense of the heart, and she is like a tree bearing unfruitful bloom at the top and dead at its center.

The Catholic Woman as an Educator — Address by Mary A. B. Maher.

The illustrious Bishop Spaulding says: "The great educational problem has been and now is how to give to the soul purity of intention, to the conscience steadfastness, to the mind force, pliability, and openness to light." In other words, how to bring philosophy and religion to the aid of the will, so that the better self shall prevail, and each generation introduce its successor to a higher plane of life. The value of culture is great, and the ideal it presents points in the right direction in bidding us build up the being which we are.

No finer, truer, better equipped agent could be found to send upon this mission than woman. Her inherent tender conscience makes religion a necessity, her philosophy of love her strongest argument, while her warm, large sympathy, her marvelous ingenuity, her ready tact make her quick to learn, speedy to devise, prompt to execute new plans or utilize the old in newer fields for the accomplishment of the greatest good. Her resources are hydra-headed; her courage dauntless. In whatever walk of life it be — religion, poetry, sculpture, painting, literature, science, or

the ruder treadmill of commercial ways — woman holds a front rank as inspirer, helper, instructor. History writes the names of no great men who have not had some female educator urging them.

"So long as there is any seriousness left," says Spaulding, "religion is man's first and deepest concern." What a potent argument to all men's creeds the pure living of the woman lends, while in material things as well how many mothers and how many sisters have labored to set the jewels in the tabernacle's door! God's priesthood, were they not educators and refiners? Would John Chrysostom have been "the golden mouthed" without his mother-educator? Left a widow in her twentieth year, she gave her life and labor for the culture of her boy. Augustine, too, was not indebted wholly to the "Hortensius" of Cicero for his searching after truth, nor to the pleadings of Saint Ambrose to renounce his sinful life. His sainted mother Monica's entreaties, supplementing his prayers, aroused his sluggish will at last, and through her brave, uplifting love her son was raised to the church's calendar of saints.

We owe the splendid "Genius of Christianity" to the mother of Chateaubriand. From her death-bed she sent a message begging him to return to the church he had abandoned. On receiving it "he wept and he believed," and proved his sincere atonement by consecrating to religion's defense all the talents he possessed.

Nano Nagle, the apostle of education in Ireland during the last decade of the eighteenth century, herself by stealth at first, and later by introducing the Ursulines, achieved wonders for education by the almost herculean feats she performed in the face of the law that made it felony for an Irish Catholic to teach, or even to learn.

The organized Sodalities of the church, with the societies of Saint Vincent de Paul, each in its peculiar mission, cast lessons of charity, patience, resignation, and purity of life broadcast upon the world. We have the reformatories and hospitals ministered to by the world-famed sisters of charity

and mercy, who, while deftly binding up the wounds of sin or accident, naïvely drop a seed of virtue and of faith by the wayside in the hearts of their charges. Who shall say woman is not an educator?

Having demonstrated that the Catholic woman is an educator by influence and inspiration, I come now to prove that she educates also by direct instruction. It is estimated there are nearly a million women teachers, properly called, in the world. There are the schools of church and state, schools for general learning and for technical branches, and schools for intellectual and physical culture. All have their complement of women educators.

The church asks a fullness of education that the state alone does not give, therefore we have sectarian schools, or "Nun's Schools." The Holy Church, as the spiritual mother, reaches out for the hearts of her children, maintaining that the moral is above the intellectual and that the heart must be trained by religious influence while the mind is being educated in the arts and sciences. Thus we have the parochial and the academic schools, for the elementary and the higher education, presided over by women who have consecrated their lives to the uplifting of the masses in mind and soul, filling the requirements of the church in the curriculum of their planning. Following in the footsteps of man's first educator, his mother, they are keen with the instinct of spiritualized maternal love, and imbued with a zeal for souls. Like their Divine Master they brighten and bless the world whose children they educate by example, by precept, and by conscientious training. Poverty of location, straitened means, and temporarily crippled powers they rise above grandly; and although, in places where the odds are strong against them, the cry is raised that they are "behind in intellectual culture," their schools were never known to lack in moral force and power. Without order there is chaos, without some standard there can be no weights and measures, without a knowledge of what is good there can be no accurate deductions of what

is bad; without naming virtue there can be no saving talisman against destroying vice, and so the negative or passive morality has no place in their curriculum; positive, active purity and integrity they teach and they exemplify. It would be well for those who cry so loudly at the backwardness of parochial schools to go themselves a little backward in their thoughts, and recall the poverty of resource, the lack of method characterizing all beginnings of state and statute; their fair-mindedness must then admit that it took the combined efforts of years, and generous funds and wide coöperation, to build up the system of public-school education of which they boast, and which they contrast with "Sisters' Schools" and "Nun's Schools" to the disadvantage of the latter.

CHAPTER IV.—LITERATURE AND THE DRAMATIC ART.

Introductory Comment by the Editor — Copious Extracts from Addresses Delivered in the General Congress by Annie Nathan Meyer, Alice Wellington Rollins, Charlotte Emerson Brown, Josephine Bates, and T. E. C., M. D.—Extracts from an Address Delivered in the Conference Congress on Literature and Art by Mrs. Volmar of Utah — Extracts from Address delivered in the Department Congress of the American Protective Society of Authors, by Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood — Editorial Comment Relative to the Session of the General Congress Devoted to Considering Woman's Relation to Dramatic Literature and to the Stage — Telegram from Mme. Janauschek — Copious Extracts from Addresses Delivered in the General Congress by Helena Modjeska, Clara Morris, Georgia Cayvan, and Julia Marlowe.

IN that portion of the following chapter which is devoted to literature the object has been to present the selections in such order that the philosophical consideration of woman's probable contribution to the literary product of the world shall be sustained by a brief historical summary of her actual contribution.

Up to within a very recent period woman's influence upon literature has been that of the consumer rather than that of the producer. Perhaps even yet this is true. Any comprehensive treatment of woman as a factor in literature would show how the subject-matter and the literary method of men have been modified, since women were allowed to learn the alphabet, by the natural consequences of that innovation.

The literary influence of woman as a reader has been augmented immeasurably by the multiplication of clubs. In these organizations a greater part of the work done assumes the form of criticism and analysis, and tends directly to the

development of a critical, analytical literature. Hence the discussion of organization in its relation to literary culture finds its proper place in this chapter rather than in that which treats of organization.

In the full report of this congress to be published by the United States Government, the chapters devoted to literature will contain a report of woman's literary work in every country where she has yet borne any share in such labor. It has seemed wise to present in this chapter the report furnished by Poland, inasmuch as the literature of Poland is less widely known than that of most countries, and conditions in Poland for the last two centuries have been quite the reverse of those that are generally considered favorable to literary activity, if not, indeed, indispensable to it. This report has, therefore, a more than national value; revealing fertility where, in the absence of knowledge, barrenness has been presupposed, it will suggest the probability of a corresponding literary activity among the women of other countries with whose language and literature we are unfamiliar.

For similar reasons portions of the paper read in the conference congress, presenting the literary and artistic work of the women of Utah, are given here. The delegate of the Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association understates the potency of that society as an agent of refinement and culture. With its headquarters in Salt Lake City, it has a membership exceeding twenty thousand young women, scattered over eleven of the Western States and Territories. Each of the local circles included in its membership has been a distributing center for books and magazines in communities having few literary supplies. These local circles have served the compound purpose of circulating libraries, magazine clubs, literary clubs, and mutual benefit societies. Perhaps unintentionally, and to many of its members unconsciously but not the less effectively, the association has been an ally of the Government, a support to virtue and an inculcator of faith in the ideal. No other agency has wrought to better purpose in ameliorating the

peculiarly hard conditions of pioneer life in Utah and adjacent Territories.

Most of the papers relating to literature are presented in relative entirety. From the address of Mrs. Bates are omitted the introductory pages, which treat of the organization of the universe of matter; from that entitled "Polish Women in Literature" the catalogue of authors, with some biographical details, has been excised.—[THE EDITOR.]

WOMAN'S PLACE IN THE REPUBLIC OF LETTERS — ADDRESS BY ANNIE NATHAN MEYER OF NEW YORK.

Women are writing a great deal to-day, and are doing some very good work. They are doing so much that it would be absurd to attempt to treat this subject fully. I shall merely, therefore, look at certain phases of the subject. I am interested particularly in the question: Has woman something specific, something *sui generis*, to contribute to literature? One of our women writers tells us: "Once let woman wield the pen, and thoughts will be put into books that have never been put there before, or at least some of the old things will be told from a side never before dreamed of." If on looking over the work that is being done by women to-day this were found to be true, I should have the material at hand for a very suggestive and original paper.

Much as I should be interested in believing that woman, with the pen in her hand, has turned a new page of life before us, candor compels me to admit that if there is such a thing as sex in literature I have not succeeded in discovering it. I look about me and observe that the very subjects upon which one would naturally expect women to throw a new light have really inspired the masterpieces of the men. No woman burning with sense of wrong could have painted the injustice of the social code of morals more forcibly, more tragically than Thomas Hardy did in his

Mrs. Wm. D. Cabell. Miss N. Cropsey.

Dr. Jennie de la M. Lozier.

Frances Stewart Mosher. Sara Louisa Vickers Oberholtzer.

"Tess of the D'Urbervilles"; no woman eager to reconstruct and ennoble our ideal of marital obligation could have held up its pitiable sham and conventionality with more inspired pen than was wielded by Henrik Ibsen in his "Ghosts" and "Doll-house."

I have heard of various recipes for discovering the sex of an author, but have seen them all go down ingloriously before the simple strategy of the *nom de plume*.

It was generally conceded that no one but a man could have painted the rugged solemnity of the Tennessee mountains and the primitive poetry of the lives of the mountaineers as Charles Egbert Craddock did. At least it was conceded before Mary Murfree modestly appeared before the startled eyes of the editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*.

When we turn to those that would theorize about woman's place in the republic of letters, what ideas do we find current? First, and I think this reasoning is not entirely unfamiliar to you, we hear them say: "Woman is the heart and man the mind — woman stands for the emotions and man for the intellect; therefore we should find that women may write charming love stories, but that it will be impossible for them to attain any intellectual grasp — impossible for them to probe down into the deeper problems of life."

Outside the domains of theory we find as an actual fact the men critics showering anathemas at the authors of "Robert Elsmere" and "John Ward, Preacher," for bringing into the domain of a novel serious problems and non-emotional material, that properly belong rather to the domain of philosophy or theology.

Then, of course, we are told that women lack the broad sympathy that is so necessary to the novelist of to-day. As Mrs. Browning's Romney tells Aurora: "Women are sympathetic to the personal pangs, but hard to general suffering." And yet think of the exquisitely tender delineation of the forbidding New England old maid by Mary E. Wilkins, and those two great stories that immortalized the wrongs of two great races, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and

"Ramona." Then we are told that it is easy for women to write up fashionable society, or the village sewing-circles, but that in the very nature of things women are limited in their scope; that it is impossible for them to depict the rough, primitive life of the fields and the mines; and yet right here in America we have Mary Halleck Foote, Octave Thanet, and Miss Elliot, the author of "Jerry," and many others, who seem to have gone straight down to the soil for inspiration. Then, of course, it is said that women have not had what are called "experiences." How can a woman in her sheltered innocence know anything of certain phases of life? Or, even if she possesses sufficient imagination, how will she treat life? Surely, she can only give us what some one has called "the moral harshness of copy-book maxims." And yet think of the passion and fire with which Mrs. Humphrey Ward has given us the Parisian episode in the life of David Grieve, and Elizabeth Stuart Phelps' tender treatment of the same theme in her pitiful story "Hedged In." I am sure no one has dealt with the character of a guilty woman more exquisitely, more tactfully, more sympathetically, and yet with more powerful irony and pathos, than Mrs. W. K. Clifford dealt with her Mrs. North in her story "Aunt Ann," while her Mrs. Walter Hibbert is a capital hit at the timid attitude of the average "good woman."

I heard the other day that Mr. Brander Matthews so keenly misses the sense of humor in women that he has resolved the next time he marries to marry a man. Now, I am not going to get angry about it — it hits Mrs. Matthews so much harder than it hits me — nor am I going to assist Mr. Matthews to prove his cause by taking his thrust too seriously, but I can not resist just a reference to the delightful quality of the humor of Agnes Repplier, Mary E. Wilkins, Sarah Orne Jewett, Mrs. W. K. Clifford, and Mrs. Craigie, who is generally known by her pen name of John Oliver Hobbes. The humor of the last is so subtle, so whimsical, and so utterly pervasive that I have a suspicion

in my mind that Mr. Matthews, in his ignorance of the *nom de plume*, was thinking of taking a certain Mr. John Oliver Hobbes as that second wife.

Let me here say something in connection with that terrible tirade that was launched forth by a certain Molly Elliott Seawell, a writer herself of novels of no common order. She said: "If all that women have ever done in literature were swept out of existence the world would not lose a single masterpiece." I was amused the other day by a lady's remark that it was our own president, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, who was the author of this attack. "Do you think," I said, when I had recovered from laughter sufficiently to speak, "that the president of the National Council of Women could say such things without suffering impeachment?"

I am not discouraged by such remarks, although I think it absurd to say that women have produced no masterpieces; yet I am perfectly willing to admit that they have produced no genius of the very highest rank — the rank of Dante, and Shakespeare, and Milton, and Goethe. But do you know the same thing precisely has been said of American literature? Is it not interesting that they say both of American literature and of woman's literature, if I may coin the phrase, that they have produced some clever and delightful writers, but no genius of the very highest rank? Mr. James Bryce has a good deal to say of this in his work on America, and he puts a good deal of the onus on the shoulders of our hurried, interrupted, unrestful life; but he thinks that America in time will settle down to create the highest kind of literature. That time will come when America (and the same thing is true of woman) shall no longer feel the necessity of proving her right to be.

I am cheered by the words of Emerson:

> The scholar of the first age received into him the world around, brooded thereon, and uttered it again. * * * It came into him life; it went out from him truth and poetry.

Well, woman is still in her first age. She is slowly awakening from a long sleep, and is just beginning to look about her and see the world around. She is still brooding thereon. I am sure the time is not far distant when she shall translate life into forms of perfect truth and poetry.

Woman in the Republic of Letters — Address by Alice Wellington Rollins of New York. Read by Mary Lowe Dickinson.

The place of woman anywhere has rightly been called a sphere. You can not escape from her. The farther you walk away from her, the nearer you are to meeting her on the other side. Leave her side, she will confront you in the first novel you take up to divert your mind from her.

There can be no intellectual republic where women are concerned; they are always tyrants. Yet those who have been most tyrannical over the passions, the emotions, the love, the thoughts of men have not been stabbed in literature by their victims, but immortalized. Is it not curious that while Cæsar has a Brutus, Charles I. a Cromwell, and George III. a Washington, Laura should have a Petrarch, Beatrice a Dante, and Shakespeare's *inconnue* his magnificent sonnets?

"Know thyself;" it is a great and wise command; but do not hope to know yourself by looking into your own heart. Some one must look for you; nay, not for you, because an outsider, however clear-sighted, is liable to mistakes, but with you, that the point of view may be neither his nor yours alone. Columbus did more than discover America to Spain; he discovered her to herself. She would never have known what she was, what she was capable of, had she not come in contact with the resources of the Old World. Equally in literature, woman has never shown that she understands herself; she has never attempted to analyze her own nature. Some Columbus has always done that for

her; always revealed her not only to the world but to herself.

Homer rose in reverence as she passed, humbled by the sense of her power even when she used it willfully; Petrarch exalted her, Dante adored her, Shakespeare loved her; Henry James studies her, Maupassant thought her wicked but interesting, Tennyson tolerated her; Thackeray graciously refused to look beneath the surface of her gentle little heart when it seemed to be gentle; Scott heroined her, Wordsworth commended her, Byron hated her; Hawthorne admired her, Crawford pities her, Howells photographs her; Goethe was sorry for her, Punch caricatures her; Burns smiled at her, Moore succumbed to her, Dickens laughed at her, Heine married her at last; Tolstoi plants her in sunshine and waters her with his tears, only to tear her up by the roots in the end; Victor Hugo idealized her, Bourget dissects her; Balzac understood her; but in literature as in life no man has ever ignored her, and in literature as in life I seek in vain for any man whose opinion of her could be characterized by saying simply that he "liked her." There are no Platonic friendships in books, as there are none but dangerous ones in life.

Oddly enough, woman has never tried to exalt, or excuse, or wonder at, or caricature, or hate, or photograph, or study, or dissect herself. Even when she tries to paint an ideal woman she fails lamentably; her Romolas, and Dinahs, and Dorotheas are horribly cold, and fall infinitely below the incomparable pictures men have drawn of idealized or idolized women. She excels in philanthropic theories, when she cares to espouse the cause of an "Uncle Tom;" she writes graceful verses, charming letters, beautiful descriptions, admirable essays, very clever criticism; but when it comes to novel-writing we find a curious psychological problem - as men have understood women better than women understand themselves, so women have understood men, not better than men understand themselves, but better than women understand women. Charlotte Bronté

is not half so clever in trying to make us admire her poor and homely Jane as in winning our interest, without trying to, for Rochester; George Eliot's large, calm, generous portrait of the beautiful Romola pales before her minute drawing of the degenerate Tito. This is less in quantity than the success of men in delineating women, because woman has not been permitted until lately to know one-tenth part as much of the masculine mind as men know of the feminine heart. But, that their power of observing and understanding men is constantly increasing, that they will eventually excel in drawing men as men excel in drawing women, is shown by the marvelous cleverness of many recent novels, notably those of Mrs. Clifford and the lady who calls herself John Oliver Hobbes.

True, the method will probably always differ; the man dissects, the woman evolves. Tolstoi takes Anna Karénina at her zenith and traces her degradation; George Eliot takes Tito as a seedling and develops him in baleful atmosphere, until the crisis is his fall; Thackeray takes Becky Sharp at her best and lets her degenerate; Charlotte Brontë takes Rochester at his worst and permits him to improve.

And what is the comparative result? The man's portraiture of woman is finer than the woman's portraiture of man. An artist said recently of the scenery in Alaska and Norway: "You like Norway best, because there you sail *into* the scenery, while in Alaska you only sail *along* it." So we may say that men have sailed into women's hearts from time immemorial, while women have only sailed along men's minds, on the very outermost edge. Yet assuredly the time will come when, understanding each other better, they will not like each other less; and woman's place in literature may yet come to be that of a superlatively correct observer of the folly, the chivalry, the weakness, the nobleness of men, as man's place has so long been that of the cleverest, most subtle, most keen, most generous observer of the woman herself.

Organization as a Means of Literary Culture — Address by Charlotte Emerson Brown of New Jersey. Read by Julia Pauline Leavens.

The title that has been assigned me brings two things that appear to be widely separated into close and dependent relationship.

We have two questions to answer: "What does literary culture involve and signify?" and, "What relation does it sustain to organization?"

Exact definition, where definition is possible, is always valuable; but there are some things too delicate, too intangible, too ethereal to be expressed in formal words. Who can define the fragrance of a rose, the sentiment of a national flag, the charm and power of music, or of a great painting like Millet's Angelus? Such things bring a depth of meaning to our souls that we can not define, and that no language except that of the heart can express.

This is true in part of what we call literary culture. Here definition does not define, and yet analysis may approach definition. What is literary culture? It involves several elements. It implies familiarity with literature, or at least with some of its general departments. In our day, when books are multiplied as the forest leaves, no one person can read all that has literary merit. Selections must be made, otherwise a superabundance of reading will lead to superficiality of knowledge. One may cultivate literature in poetry, another in fiction, another in history, another in criticism, another in language, and so on to the end, but every person of literary culture must be a student of literature. Nor will hurried reading answer the purpose. Works of literary merit must have thoughtful, discriminating, critical study. Those who read books as swallows skim the air are inviting literary dissipation rather than culture; and there are too many readers of this class.

Mental discipline and the full control of one's own powers constitute very largely all true culture. The

greatest difficulty with uncultured people is that they do not know themselves, and can not control and properly use the powers that God has given them.

In addition to all this, literary culture is something that one person feels, or does not feel, in another or in one's self. It is what we call taste, a sense of the beautiful, and of what may be called a feeling of natural fitness and of proper adaptation to occasions. We meet these qualities in some persons and not in others. The difference between them is that one has, in some of its forms, literary and artistic culture which the other lacks.

I concede that all this comes short of strict definition, but it fully suggests what is meant by literary culture. Of its desirability and value to the possessor I have only space to observe in passing that it is worth all it costs, and it costs prolonged study. Think of what it did for Mrs. Browning, Mrs. Stowe, and for hundreds more whom it has raised from the common places in life to positions of eminence and great usefulness.

How is literary culture connected with that kind of intellectual machinery known as organization?

It is not difficult for us to understand the connection that exists between the human body and the soul that inhabits it, between books and the thought that is in them, between musical compositions and instruments and music itself as rendered by a musician.

Organization itself appears to hold a corresponding relationship to literary culture; it has come to be one of the potent agencies in Christian civilization. Barbarism may, in great measure, dispense with it; civilization can not, any more than it can dispense with the steam engine, the telephone, the electric motor, or the printing press, all of which are the allies and promoters of literary culture. This world in miniature collected in the "White City," and known as the Columbian Exhibition, would not have been possible but for the splendid organization that has brought out almost superhuman results. Organization has come to be

the Archimedes screw that moves the world. Books and schools, so necessary to literary culture and good scholarship, are the result of organized endeavor. What would our Yale and Harvard be, or England's Oxford and Cambridge, or Chicago University but for the splendid organizations, mental and physical, that constitute their broad and deep foundations?

It can not be affirmed that all organizations, taken indiscriminately, promote literary culture. There are organizations of evil intent that destroy culture, and cultivate only coarseness and crime. Lotteries, race-tracks, and every form of organized iniquity are the mortal foes of every kind of culture except culture in vice, public and private.

Other forms of organization that are useful and necessary are not directly, even if remotely, connected with literary culture as causative forces. An army, as the world now is, appears to be necessary, but it can hardly be regarded as a school of ethical or of literary culture. The same may be said of some business organizations that minister to human selfishness rather than to good culture and the general weal. Nations are a great necessity, but their influence in behalf of culture is sometimes marred by schemes of gigantic selfishness.

On the other hand, many of our existing institutions are organized for high and noble purposes. They must, therefore, favor literary culture, at least indirectly, since all real interests are so connected and interdependent that what helps one tends to improve all. I have learned to look upon all of our humanitarian and reformatory organizations as schools of intellectual and literary culture, and it is quite possible that some of them may be doing more for the world in these indirect ways than they are on behalf of the objects for which they were founded. It would be delightful, if time allowed, to take up a large number of organizations that are working directly toward woman's literary improvement just as naturally as great harbors, broad rivers, and the wide ocean lead to the building of cities

along their shores, and observe how they all promote culture in one form or another. Among these should be enumerated schools and colleges for girls, university extension, Chautauqua study circles, the Association for the Advancement of Women, and other kindred agencies, all doing much for woman's education and literary culture. Each would serve well to illustrate my theme. But there is one organization, with which I happen to be closely connected, and of which I have personal knowledge, that I beg leave to emphasize as bearing directly on our subject. The Woman's Literary Club movement is comparatively new, and needs to be better understood by the general public. I regard it as at least one of the greatest marvels of the last half of the nineteenth century, and as one of the grandest agencies for the social, ethical, and literary culture of women in middle life that has ever been organized.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs was formed three years ago, with fifty-one corporate members. It has now in its membership 280 clubs, in thirty-three States and two foreign lands, having a combined membership of 40,000 women. Its object is social, ethical, and literary culture. Each club pursues its own chosen line of study and work. Some give prominence to culture in one direction, and some in another; all are in eager pursuit of knowledge, improvement, and larger usefulness. As one member stimulates all others in the local club, so each club helps to raise the tide of interest in the general body. It is surprising how women of natural talent, who before were unknown alike to themselves and their friends, are coming to the front. The Federation includes in its membership a very large proportion of the distinguished women of the land, and has come to be the source from which to seek earnest, cultured workers for the carrying forward of great undertakings. When the Columbian Exposition needs a president for its Woman's Department, and a vice-president for its Woman's Branch of the Congress Auxiliary, it finds them in women's literary clubs. Every member of the

committee for arranging and conducting the Congress of Representative Women belongs to some federated club. This is true of most of the American speakers who are appearing on the platform, and of most of the committees arranging for woman's part in the mixed congresses of men and women yet to be held.

Every great organization must be dominated by some leading idea, while yet it may be thoughtful of collateral interests. While culture is the watchword of the federated clubs, yet culture is sought only as a means of greater usefulness in all the widening activities of woman's life, in her own home and beyond.

This great organization of women, acting in conjunction with many others, is utilizing literary scholarship and preparing a great host of workers along many lines for the hastening of the glad day —

> "When the war drums throb no longer,
> And the battle-flags are furled
> In the parliament of men,
> The federation of the world."

Address by Josephine Bates of Illinois.

The world in her advance owes much to her conquerors; but her poets, her writers have marched ever before the race bearing aloft the ark that was the Eternal's covenant; for to them has been given the guardianship of the ideal, that faith in all things high which bears the people upward on its wings. Alone in the darkness must they wrestle with that Angel of the Promise whose face they might not see, but those who thereafter heard their burning speech knew that at the dawn they conquered, and the hand was laid in blessing on their heads.

The words that Moses spake from sacred Sinai have echoed down all the listening centuries. The song of Solomon is still love's sublimest lyric; Sappho's odes yet clasp the immortal soul of hope. Shakespeare is forever the

voice of tragedy, and Christ the growing ransom of a world.

Literature is the champion of principles, those spiritual forces that are to work out the perfecting of the race; and alas for the land whose din of strife drowns the still, small voice of the dreamer! In a nation's songs sleep potencies its laws shall never waken; in epic verse lives history to quicken the heart of youth; the nation's hymns shall guard its hopes, and its martial strains be as trumpet tones at whose call men dare and die. Poetry and art are the golden links that span all times and spaces. In science, in religion, in philosophy we are sundered forever by the arch of two thousand years, but the tears of Andromache fall hot on our hearts to-day, as the marble of Phidias holds us raptured, still and mute. The poet and the artist survive the ruins of empires, for their work is wrought of the imperishable, the spirit of beauty and of truth.

Through the long medieval darkness inspiration still lived and lofty minds still organized to guard the sacred heritage of the ages. In library and in cell, Alexandrian, Arabian, and Moor threw their soul's illumination round the texts their patient hands had rescued from the night.

In ancient times men organized in war to work out freedom for the few; to-day men are organized in peace to work out freedom for all. Ancient forces had as their goal the state; for the state, conquest; as their end the individual; for the individual, development. Our age was born in Gutenberg; literature had found at last the instrument to its need. With daring hand the printing-press seized the treasures of thought that were its legacy, and scattered them broadcast; and the slumbering masses woke, hurled off tyrannies, and stood supreme, voicing in "we, the people," the mightiest victory of time.

To-day in free speech, free press, free church, free school we signal the triumph of growth. Railroad and telegraph, steamer and cable are clasping the globe with their strong hands of fellowship, and are organizing all mankind to higher ends.

At the feet of literature has sat through the ages its lowly handmaiden, woman. Rarely in the past has her untutored thought found hardihood for utterance, but in her life she lived the dreams her dumb lips might not speak. In every country and in every age man has symboled his highest in her image; she has been ever the guardian of social honor, the anchor of religious faith, the embodiment of conscience and of love. Humbly she has walked, a gentle guide beckoning unto purity, to righteousness, to completeness.

Literature in this great day of its triumph has at last led to her throne the living emblem of its principles. The silence of the centuries is broken. With the deathless voice of the seer woman speaks to-day, calling all to the heights on which her gaze is set. She has been the censor of society, the bulwark of the church, the genius of the home; now shall she be the lode-star of the nation. Ever before it shall she hold this beacon of its ideal; ever shall she lead it to the character development wherein alone it shall survive.

The past is gone forever. No more in a civilized land shall the helpless be the outcast of justice. The lowliest shall sit in the sacred protection of law, behind which towers the adamant wall of public sentiment. From greatest to least our ethics are linking men together — one in their common needs, one in their common rights, and one in their common duty. In waves of advance and recession still onward has swept the tide, and we of to-day are the latest come, through whom shall surge the higher wave of to-morrow.

Flesh shall fail, but the growing soul by the force of the universe must toil and mount. By the rugged way of struggle through circuits of organized strength shall our kind rise to issue larger than our dreams, and goals beyond the summit of our hopes. Motion has brought light, light has brought love, and love shall set the tone of gladness for a pæan of brotherhood in the morning.

Extracts from an Address on The Polish Woman in Literature — Prepared by T. E. C., M. D.

Active, intelligent, interested in all public matters, the Polish woman has obtained a prominent position in literature. As far back as the sixteenth century her first step toward literary pursuits can be traced, when Sophia Olesnicka composed a poem or hymn thanking God for the revelation of faith to the little ones. In the eighteenth century Elizabeth Druzbacka gained renown as a poetess of ability.

When Poland lost her independence, and it became evident that only the language remained as a testimonial of the existence of the Polish race — when every intelligent person saw the necessity of writing and publishing Polish works irrespective of talent, as long as these writings testified to the existence of the nation — the Polish woman also took up the pen. Among others Princess Isabel Czartoryski distinguished herself on the field of literature through writing "The History of Poland." She also wrote rural sketches, and a work entitled "Ogrody Nasze; Our Gardens," treating of the cultivation of gardens and the beautifying of rural mansions. Her daughter, Princess of Wurtemberg, was the author of a famous Polish novel, "Malvina; or the Instinct of the Heart." "Malvina" was translated into French. Countess Mostowska, of the house of Radziwill, also gained renown as a novel-writer.

From that time on the Polish woman continued to labor in the field of literature and art. Elizabeth Jaraczewska wrote a book picturing beautifully and truly the life of the nation, and her "Evening in Advent" and "Sophia and Emily" won in the third decade of this century a universal approval.

About the same time Lucya Rautenstrauch, of the princely house of Gedroye, entered the literary field. She did not possess the talent of Jaraczewska, but being witty and observing her writings were very original, treating mostly of travels through Poland and foreign countries,

with sketches of noted personages. Her works, "Mountains, Cities, and Valleys," "In the Alps and Beyond the Alps," were published in the fourth and fifth decades of this century. But the strongest influence upon woman's mental development was effected through the systematic efforts of Clementine Hoffman, of the house of Tanski, who introduced a new era of healthy ideas and national educational work. Many have surpassed Mme. Hoffman in loftiness of style, many in the number of their works, but no one has exercised a greater influence. Her work for the community had a sound and carefully laid foundation, and was productive of many useful reforms. She was the first to teach the love of the mother tongue and the abandonment of the French, which at that time was in almost universal use. She studied carefully the literary works of the golden Sigismund era, gaining thereby a rich and expressive style, and her first efforts were to teach young mothers how to educate their children. She gave the initiative to Polish juvenile literature, writing excellent juvenile books and publishing *The Children's Pastime*, a periodical treating of the history of Poland, of prominent figures in literature, and of the old customs and home writers of the country.

The reforms introduced by Mme. Hoffman in the education of woman, although insufficient at the present day, were of great importance seventy years ago, and far outstripped the mental evolution then reached by other nations; and the influence they exercised upon our grandmothers has opened to us the way to progress. She placed education upon a national foundation, demanding that the children first learn the history and language of their country, and that the young women be prepared for the family duties. She was the first one to point out to woman a life outside of the family or the convent. In her best work, "Christine," the heroine is an old maid, plain and modest, who, having been disappointed in love, did not despair, but made herself useful to all who surrounded her, and found peace and finally happiness in performing her

domestic duties. She clearly defined woman's duties and education, and placed woman on a lofty pedestal, from which she shone as well during the political existence of Poland as after her downfall. Clementine Hoffman closed her useful life in exile in Paris, in 1845, in her fiftieth year.

Mme. Hoffman found a worthy successor in Narcyza Zmichowska. World-renowned authors like Mickiewicz, Slowacki, Krasinski had raised Polish literature to the zenith of prominence, and Zmichowska had to keep pace with its gigantic progress. After the struggles and misfortunes of the insurrection of 1831 the country was thrown into lethargy. The young generation, raised upon the ruins of Poland's hopes, bathed in blood and tears, did not inherit the activity of their ancestors. The country gradually regained her prosperity, but did not regain her mental vigor, which was lost in the mines of Siberia or in exile. Every literary effort within her boundaries was suppressed.

Under these unfavorable circumstances Narcyza Zmichowska entered the literary field, in both prose and poetry. The influence exercised by her writings was productive of the greatest good, and the condition of the Polish peasant was thereby ameliorated greatly.

Extracts from the Address of Mrs. Volmar of Utah, in the Conference Congress on Literature.

In order that a correct estimate may be formed in regard to the facts which are to be presented, let me first remind you that although nearly half a century has passed since the pioneers first entered the valleys of Utah, during many of those years the people were almost entirely excluded from the advantages possessed by the great world outside. Had not the roots of a strong, pure love for that which forms the beautiful in our lives been implanted in hearts determined to protect and foster them under all conditions, they must certainly have been crushed and blighted beyond

restoration by the stern hardships endured by our pioneers. Is there aught, think you, to delight an artist's eye or furnish a theme for the poet's muse in a dreary expanse of sage-brush? Is there aught in the plaintive cry of hungry children that would cause the mother's heartstrings to vibrate with music's melodies? Few, indeed, were the hours in those days that could in any degree be devoted to the cultivation of the mind; but there are souls pure enough to soar to higher planes, and great enough to contemplate the grand in nature, even while they are performing life's homeliest duties, and to this favored class belonged Utah's early settlers. Eager to grasp and utilize opportunities whenever presented, and no less eager to create when there were none to be presented, active brains were busy devising means whereby to elevate and encourage others, and the consummation of this worthy object was realized by establishing the *Woman's Exponent*. The type of the journal is set by woman's nimble fingers, the contents of its pages are the fruit of her fertile brain, and a woman occupies its editorial chair.

Speaking of our sisters who have known no other home than Utah, we think there is indeed just cause for pride at the deep interest manifested in the development of the higher arts. But few of our girls have received any training aside from that which is obtainable in our own Territory, yet we have many vocalists and pianists who can no longer be classed as amateurs, but have gained enviable reputations. In painting and designing we have perhaps but few who, if compared with those who have made art a life study, would be termed artists, but we have many who, considering their meager advantages, do excellent work in floral and landscape painting, china decorating, portrait coloring, and in designing and executing artistic needlework.

The object of these efforts is not so much pecuniary gain as a real love for the work, and an inclination to adorn and beautify the home. The latter tendency is beautifully

illustrated among the girls who live in the more remote parts of our Territory, where pioneer conditions still continue to some extent. This desire to make home attractive, if it be only with clusters of varnished pine-cones, a bunch of cat-tails from the marshes, and tall grasses from the meadows, is apparent in the humblest homes.

The two pioneer high schools of our Territory, the University of Utah and the Brigham Young Academy, as also many others of later times, have done much, indeed, to raise the standard of our literature. Next to the schools in importance, so far as a literary education is concerned, and even larger in numbers, is our Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association, which we are here to represent.

What the *Exponent* is to the women, the *Young Woman's Journal* is to the girls. Edited by a woman Utah-born, it is indeed a representative journal, and in it may be found a class of literature which mothers may well place in the hands of their daughters.

Insurance Against Piracy of Brains—Address by Kate Brownlee Sherwood.

More and more are authors finding out that, in order to bring about legal recognition of the fact that brain materialized in books is property, they must band together to secure that recognition.

When one writes a book, or contributes to a newspaper or periodical, his brain-product should be recognized as property, whether it bears the stamp of a government copyright or not. As it is now, he is poached upon by every conscienceless purveyor who would get brain-wares without compensation to the owner.

When a farmer goes to market with a load of cabbages he has a legal right in his particular product. Whoever steals a cabbage is amenable to law. The farmer may call to his aid the servants of the law, arrest and punish the

depredator, and collect the price of his product. When an author writes a book, or prepares an article, which has cost much labor and research, and takes his product to market, he is without any adequate protection from the pilfering hordes of publishers and syndicates.

Our laws, national and international, are so framed as to protect the rights of property in material things. Lands, houses, manufactured goods, things that you can touch, see, and feel, these are the things over which the law keeps sacred trust. What cares the law for a story, or a song, or the bread that comes down from heaven?

The poorest paid, the most defenseless, often the most dejected of his race is the man whose name is emblazoned on books, or heralded through public prints. He may sow, but others reap; he may think, but others revel in the profits thereof.

Patentees are protected against infringement, but who protects the author from infringement upon his thoughts? His works are stolen bodily, or are abstracted in part; or they are condensed, made over, and sold as original products.

A copyright on books or articles for the public press affords little protection to the author. Virtually there is no protection, since to defend his rights from encroachment an author must employ attorneys and conduct an expensive suit.

The lack of an international copyright makes the situation of the author worse, as the robbers of foreign authors, by putting the stolen products of famous pens on the market, rob at the same time the unprotected American writers at home.

The first American sales of "Robert Elsmere" amounted to 200,000 copies, and under proper protective laws the profit to the author, through the usual 10 per cent royalty on the sales, would have reached $20,000. What the author, Mrs. Humphrey Ward, really received was $500. The dealers in stolen goods realized $19,500 on filchings alone.

There is not one American author who would impose

restrictions to keep out the works of foreign writers. Let their books come over, but let the authors have their profits. We want our Brownings, our Blackmores, our Mrs. Wards, and our Jean Ingelows; but we want them to receive the rewards of their labors. We do not want their unpaid labors used to lower the prices and profits of brain-work in our home market. No adequate legislation will ever be enacted on behalf of our underpaid authors and writers until they, themselves, are fully aware of the disadvantages under which they suffer, and band themselves together to define, establish, and maintain their rights.

Not only should they unite and organize, but they should educate. They should take the reading public into their confidence. They should appeal to the sturdy sense of fair play, which is the underlying motive-power of our race and nation, and ask the coöperation of the reading masses in their righteous crusade. They should ask their aid in securing such legislative enactments as would, by regular process of law, protect an author in his right to the products of his brain. In order to give this aid, the reading public must first learn of the wrongs under which authors and writers now suffer. When this lesson is learned, the purchasers of books and periodicals will no more think of filling up libraries and reading-rooms, public and private, with filched literature than they would of stocking up their medicine-shelves with stolen remedies and prescriptions.

There should be a general law whereby a writer should receive a percentage or royalty upon whatever is published over his name, and upon whatever is written by him, whenever published, copied, or rehashed for public purposes.

As it is now, an author gets a nominal sum for his books from his publisher, while his sole future consideration is the proud satisfaction of having his work torn up piecemeal and devoured by the public in tidbits, without any pecuniary returns to himself.

The magazine and newspaper contributors fare even

worse, and all they print is the common property or prey of the public press.

Civilization is justice reduced to a system. In our present dealing with authors we are but half civilized. Sad-hearted and discouraged, many geniuses are passing through life unappreciated, unpaid, and unknown. When they are gone epitaphs will be written, and their bones will be laid in hallowed places.

Authorship is not yet a calling; it is an episode. Its products have no place among merchantable wares. It has no place in the organized activities of our country.

Woman and the Drama — Introductory Note.

Probably no other session of the congress was anticipated with such vivid and universal interest as that in which a galaxy of stars were to discuss woman and the drama.

When the chairman of the committee suggested the above topic to her co-workers, a doubt concerning the willingness of great artists to participate in the congress was mingled with universal approval of the subject and of the effort to secure its presentation by distinguished actresses.

All of the distinguished women invited, however, expressed in response the most cordial interest in the congress and its objects; and while the professional engagements of some of those solicited rendered acceptance impossible, the reception of the invitations dispelled every fear of indifference or antagonism, and finally six of the number invited consented to take part. The committee had desired, so far as possible, to secure the representatives of different nationalities and of differing degrees of professional experience, as well as of different schools of acting, in the proposed programme, as follows:

Mme. Janauschek, Bohemian; Mme. Modjeska, Polish; Clara Morris, American; Mlle. Rhéa, French; Georgia Cayvan, American; Julia Marlowe, English. While only four

appeared, the absence of Mme. Janauschek and Mlle. Rhéa was due to no fault of theirs, but to unfortunate circumstances beyond their control. Public acknowledgment is due those who appeared for the sacrifice involved in their generous contributions to the congress. Mme. Modjeska terminated her season one week earlier than she had planned to do, and gave much of that week to the sessions of the congress. Clara Morris made the journey across half a continent to keep her pledge to the committee, and Georgia Cayvan, then playing an engagement in St. Louis, obtained a release for the two nights consumed by the journey to Chicago and return; while Julia Marlowe postponed her trip to Europe by a week.

The participation of these women in the congress marked, and indeed made, an epoch in the progressive movement for the promotion of human interests through the advancement of women. Formerly artists and reformers had held aloof from each other. This was not unnatural, since an artist's development is individual and her career is, in a certain sense, isolation; while reformers, working from impersonal motives for purposes outside of themselves, naturally seek strength for a cause through the organization of its supporters.

The grave dignity with which each of the speakers set forth the claims of dramatic art as a censor of social life, an inculcator of ethical principles, a critic of current standards, and an inspirer of devotion to the ideal was an unintended but noble and sufficient rebuke to that class of people who have assumed that the histrionic art destroys serious purpose in its votaries.

The addresses, so unlike each other and characteristic of their respective authors, were one in emphasizing the degree to which the life of a woman is enlarged and uplifted by a serious occupation, and one in the expression of loyalty to art as a truly divine mistress.

The audience assembled at this session was in such excess of the seating capacity of the Hall of Washington

that the overflow filled the Hall of Columbus, and left the aisles of both halls, the anterooms, and the corridors still crowded. Of this audience of many thousands a large proportion was composed of people whose eagerness to see and hear the great artists on the platform was augmented by the fact that their prejudices had prevented their seeing and hearing them on the stage.

The audience in the Hall of Columbus, where simultaneously a large and important meeting had been held, waited in the hope that the actresses would repeat their addresses there. This was amiably done by Clara Morris, Georgia Cayvan, and Julia Marlowe, but Mme. Modjeska was prevented by a severe cold from gratifying disappointed admirers.

The eager enthusiasm of the audience was such that it seems proper to reproduce the introductory stenographic notes which suggest the features of this unprecedented occasion.

The addresses of the actresses are reproduced nearly entire in this chapter. From Mme. Modjeska's paper is omitted a portion of the historical account of the nun of Gandersheim, with the analysis of her plays; and from that of Miss Marlowe are omitted some incidents in the careers of Rachel, Charlotte Cushman, and Fanny Kemble.—[THE EDITOR.]

STENOGRAPHIC NOTES. "The evening session in Washington Hall was called to order at 8.10 P. M., May 17, 1893, by May Wright Sewall, who said:

"A note has come to the platform from a gentleman in the audience requesting the ladies to remove their hats. (A prompt and general compliance with the request was greeted with great applause.)

"It was expected that every one of the famous women named on this programme would be present with us to-night. I, however, hold in my hand a telegram from Madam Janauschek, which reads:

"'As I find it impossible to be with you, I can console myself only by sending to you the expression of my deepest sympathy with the cause that animates your society and with the objects of this congress. Please convey to the audience a sense of my respect and affection.

"'JANAUSCHEK.'

"We had expected Mlle. Rhéa up to the last moment, and have not been informed of the cause which has prevented her from being here.

"Dr. Julia Holmes Smith it was hoped would serve as the acting president on this occasion, and have the pleasure of introducing the speakers. She is undoubtedly lost in the great crowd without the hall. I have, therefore, asked to serve as the foreign honorary president this evening Mme. Callirrhoe Parren, from Athens, Greece, for it seems proper, on the occasion when women who stand for one of the greatest of the arts are to speak, that a woman who comes from the city where the arts originated, should preside. This is a proud moment for the World's Congress of Representative Women when such illustrious representatives of the great art unite themselves with other women and with this congress, a congress that stands for the finest of all arts, the art of improvement of life, of refining and elevating its conditions. The audience should understand that Mme. Modjeska and the other distinguished women who are to speak to us are at liberty to discuss any phase of the great subject, 'Woman and Her Relations to the Drama.' It is with pleasure I present to you Mme. Modjeska."

WOMAN AND THE STAGE—ADDRESS BY HELENA MODJESKA (POLISH STAGE NAME, MODRZCJEWSKA; FAMILY NAME, CHLAPOWSKA).

There is a general impression that the connection of woman with the stage is of recent occurrence and does not date farther back than the seventeenth, and in a few

countries the sixteenth, century. This impression is erroneous, as probably a great many of you are aware. Woman is not a new arrival in the history of the drama. Her influence on its development, and I may say more truly on its very origin, has been traced far back into the remotest period of the middle ages, to the second half of the tenth century.

It would be out of place here, and I do not feel competent, to enter into elaborate historical researches and discussions. We all know that the ancient theater had a theocratic origin; it is, therefore, not strange that the Christian theater also had its cradle in religion. But nowhere did woman appear on the ancient stage, if we except her participation in the Greek mysteries and occasional exhibitions of physical display; it is only due to the higher level upon which Christianity has placed woman that she has obtained the opportunity to figure as an important and beneficent factor in the development of dramatic art.

There is a theory, almost generally accepted, that there is no direct connection between the new Christian theater and the old one, and that the former one was born long after the death of the latter. This theory is not exact. The vitality of the dramatic spirit was never entirely extinct. One can trace its continuity through ages, but unquestionably the most important link of the chain is the so-called comedy of the tenth century, the work of a Christian woman.

The very name of comedy in the tenth century seems an anachronism. It was a time of concentration of religious thought and of political upheaval and anarchy caused by the disintegration of the work of Charles the Great. By far the greater part of the Christian community expected the end of the world would come with the approaching millennium of the Christian era. Certainly it does not appear a favorable epoch for an artistic or literary revival. One would think it scarce possible to find then for the drama a poet, a stage, or a public. And yet it was then that from the recess of a monastery hidden in the dark forests of Ger-

many, on the banks of the river Ganda, resounded the first note of dramatic renaissance.

This note was uttered by a woman's voice.

The convent of Gandersheim was founded by Lutolf, Duke of Saxony, grandson of a celebrated Saxon chief, Wittikind, who was conquered and converted by Charlemagne. During the first years of its foundation most of its abbesses were members of the ducal family. One of these abbesses is supposed by some historians to have been a Greek princess, daughter of the Emperor of the Orient, and to have brought from Constantinople elements of higher culture to this remote corner of Germany.

Whatever may be the case, it is certain that the convent of Gandersheim became an intellectual oasis among the deserts of barbarism. It was there that lived and died a modest nun, Hrosvitha, known even to-day more generally as the "Nun of Gandersheim"; it was there that she wrote in Latin her legends, her historical poems, and, what interests us most, her six or seven comedies. About her life we know almost nothing, except the very few personal allusions contained in her works. Thus she informs us that it is to the Princess Gerberg, an imperial niece and abbess of the convent, and to Riccardi that she owes most of her classical knowledge and her literary attainments.

Hrosvitha wrote in Latin. Her legends are in either hexameters or elegiac verse; her plays, the so-called comedies, are in prose. Her Latin is correct, far above the so-called "Kitchen" Latin of the middle ages. She was evidently well versed in the knowledge of the old classic authors, and equally well acquainted with the rich lore of Christian legends and with the theological philosophy of the fathers of the church. Of the dramatic writers of Greece and Rome she seems to have known only Terence. It was her admiration for Terentius' genius and style, combined with abhorrence for his lack of morality, that seems to have inspired Hrosvitha to write her dramas. She states her object in the following words: "I intend to substitute for

the picture of the dissipation of pagan women edifying stories of pure virgins. I have endeavored, so far as the means of my poor little talent allowed, to celebrate the victories of chastity, especially those where woman's weakness triumphs over man's brutality."

The value of Hrosvitha's dramas is mostly in the dialogue, in the richness and subtlety of thoughts, in a spirit of genuine poetry, as well as in an aspect of life and of womanhood to which we have not been treated in the ancient literature.

It is the most important work of transition between the two eras, because, though modeled upon and inspired by the classics, it is the first to bring forth new elements and new forms, on which developed later the drama of the Christian era.

To-day the name of the modest nun of Gandersheim is very little known, though students of the drama and a few learned archæologists and professors in Germany and France have done their best to extol the significance and merits of that strange figure standing solitary between the ancient and the modern world. The publication of her manuscripts by Celtes, in 1501, created a sensation among the German and Italian humanists of the time, and it would not be strange to suppose that they were known, though probably in a transfigured shape, to some of the dramatists of the sixteenth century, and inspired their genius; and thus the influence of Hrosvitha upon the later drama may have been much greater than we can realize to-day.

It seemed to me that in the connection of woman with the stage, or let me say rather with dramatic art and literature, no name deserved a higher rank than the very name of Hrosvitha. I think it is one more laurel in the crown of womanhood that it was a woman who was the originator of the modern drama, and we can claim with pride that the first female dramatist ever known in history was inspired in her work by the highest and most ideal motives, and

that her tendency has been to elevate the moral standard of the drama.

Another point almost as important as the authorship of the first modern plays is their performance. There have been long discussions upon this point, but at present it can be accepted as a fact, based on the authority of the German and French savants, that all of the plays of Hrosvitha were performed in the convent of Gandersheim by young nuns, in the presence of the Bishop of Hildesheim and several high officials of the empire, probably even before the members of the imperial family. How strange, how hardly conceivable is the fact of such an origin for the modern theater in the presence of the unreasonable antagonism between church and stage which has been fostered by narrow-minded people on both sides. Yet it is only natural when we remember the whole history of ancient and modern drama, and if we keep in mind that for long centuries after Hrosvitha the only manifestations of the dramatic spirit were confined to the so-called mysteries, "miracles" and "moralities," performances where religion and scenic display were combined in a curious fashion, much less legitimately than in Hrosvitha's plays.

I do not intend to dwell upon them except to mention that generally women were excluded from such performances. There is known only one instance of woman's participation in a so-called mystery. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, in the city of Metz, three women personated in public the three Marys in the representation of our Lord's passion. In the female convents, however, the custom of private theatricals seems to have persisted from the time of Hrosvitha during the middle ages. They were often forbidden by the bishops, but we know that as late as the sixteenth century, in some of the Spanish convents, they were customary, as Friar Juan Mariana testifies.

In the first half of the sixteenth century, under the reign of Charles V., woman appears on the professional stage in

Spain. Her appearance, however, does not seem to have been generally welcome, because Charles, the son of Philip II., prohibits it by a special edict. Soon, however, the prohibition fell into disuse, and the actress ceased to be an exception. A Spanish writer, Augustin de Rojas, says that in the times of Lope de Vega there were a great many organizations of strolling players through the country. He enumerates as many as six different kinds of such organizations. In the lower organizations women's parts were played by men, in the middle ones by women or boys, but in "The Farandula" and "Compania" all the female parts were personated by women. Cervantes, in his "Don Quixote," speaks of a company of actors that included one woman, who was the wife of the author and played the part of a queen.

Another interesting detail in the history of the beginning of the theater in Spain is an attempt made in 1586 to give separate performances for men and for women. The time selected for the latter was immediately after noon — a regular matinée. It seems that the ladies of Madrid in those times were very fond of matinées, because 760 tickets were disposed of at one real apiece to so many ladies. For some reason or other, however, the performance was forbidden by the authorities, the money was refunded, and the custom of almost exclusive matinées for ladies was not renewed until the present days in America. Italy was the next country after Spain where woman appeared on the stage, about the middle of the sixteenth century, but, following in the footsteps of Philip II., the pope, Innocent IX., forbade their appearance. But, notwithstanding the pope's decree, the substitution of woman for man in female parts became a feature of the Italian theater, as it did of the Spanish, and the Spanish and Italian companies appeared even abroad with women actors.

In September, 1548, the Cardinal of Ferrara, Archbishop of Lyons, was entertaining the king of France, Henry II., and his wife, Catherine de' Medici. The entertainment was

exceedingly sumptuous, and its principal feature was a tragic comedy performed by Italian actors and actresses. This was the first time woman was seen on the stage in France, but it was only fifty years later that a French woman appeared before the public. Her name was Marie Vernier, and her appearance is a very important event in the annals of the French stage, because it was followed immediately by the establishment of a regular theater, the first one in France, managed by her husband and herself.

The formal entrance of women on the stage in England is usually credited to the epoch of the Restoration. It seems, however, that already under Cromwell, when the fervor of the Puritans against the stage had somewhat abated, and Davenant was allowed to give performances at the Rutland House, there was produced the "Siege of Rhodes," a play with music, wherein the part of Ianthe was personated by a woman, Mrs. Coleman.

Under the reign of Charles II. the custom of women's performing on the regular stage was regulated by royal rescript, and a memorable date is the 8th of December, 1680, when the play of "Othello" was given with a special prologue written by one S. Jordan, in order, as he says, to introduce the first woman that ever acted on the stage. Jordan, evidently, could not have been aware of the earlier performance of the "Siege of Rhodes" with Mrs. Coleman, or must have intentionally omitted to refer to it. The woman he alludes to in his prologue was Mrs. Ann Marshall. He curiously insists on the fact that she was a married woman.

In Poland, at the end of the sixteenth century, the Italian troupes of actors and actresses appeared on the private royal stage or in the public squares. A Polish woman is already seen at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when she appears occasionally in translated and original drama.

The country in which woman appears latest on the stage, but where she has contributed to its development more than anywhere else, is Germany. About 1678 there was

formed a company of actors from the students of Leipsic University, under the leadership of Magister Johann Velthen. This company received permission for a permanent organization from the Duke of Saxony, and established the first German court theater.

Mrs. Velthen, the wife of the manager, was the first German actress. After the death of Johann Velthen the management of the company passed into the hands of his widow, and so the first German actress is also the first woman who was a theatrical manager.

Frederica Caroline Neuber, or, as she has usually been called, the Neuberin, was the founder of the Leipsic school of acting. She did more than any one else to build up a higher dramatic repertoire, as well as to promote a loftier standard of dramatic art, in Germany. As a German historian says, she closed the gap existing between the German stage and poetry. The life of the Neuberin was a continual struggle against the low prevailing forms of burlesque and harlequinades, and she died poor and solitary, with a broken heart, in a little hamlet near Dresden. The epitaph on her tombstone, erected long afterward, calls her the creator of artistic taste on the German stage, a title which she certainly deserves.

The woman who had the most pronounced influence upon the German stage was Sophie Schroeder.

At the beginning of the present century there were two tendencies in the dramatic art of Germany opposed to each other. The Hamburg school, under the influence of the great actor Louis Schroeder, was tending toward realism; the school of Weimar, created by the great poets Goethe and Schiller, tended toward idealism.

The object of the first was to preserve strong characteristics, and to avoid pathos; the object of the latter was to keep up the standard of the ideal of poetry, which might be lowered, they feared, in the narrow limits of every-day surroundings and commonplace treatment. Both were right to some extent, and the solution of the struggle lay in

the union of the two tendencies. This work of unification was done by a woman.

Antoinette Sophie Schroeder was an eminently poetic nature. She could not resist the influence of Goethe and Schiller, and became a genuine idealist in the conception of her parts; but, on the other side, brought up under the influence of her cousin in the Hamburg theater, she remained a realist in execution.

The influence of women may not have acted in such a direct way upon the development of the theater in other countries, but whoever is familiar with the history of the theater will acknowledge with me that at every new phase of development, at every new step of progress, actresses have marked their way as prominently as actors.

If the influence of our sex upon the theater is beneficent, can we say the same of the influence of the theater upon the woman herself? In other words, does the life of an actress tend to develop her better qualities, or does it do the contrary? I should not like to give a decisive reply to the question. I may, however, say that, while the life that we lead exposes us to many temptations, stimulates our vanity too much, and takes us sometimes too far from our family duties, it has some advantages which may compensate for the losses. It certainly must develop in us a sense of independence, and therefore of responsibility. On the other side, it brings us into contact with the highest creations of the master minds, and is bound to open both our hearts and our minds to the generous impulses and higher problems which they lay before humanity. As for morals, I can only state that there are as many good women on the dramatic stage as in any other walk of life.

The good that woman can do on the stage for humanity can be summed up in the good that the stage itself can do. We can not expect that only the work of great masters shall be produced in the numerous theaters. Very often the stage is used only for amusement, but even in that case it should not be detrimental to the better instincts

CAROLINE M. SEVERANCE.

MARY A. B. MAHER.

SARAH B. COOPER.

KATE TUPPER GALPIN.

ANNA BYFORD LEONARD.

of man. Lessing said: "It is of the utmost importance that the amusements of the stage shall not be coarse and idiotic." But he adds, and we all, I hope, believe with him: "A good theater is more than an amusement, and can produce an effect second only to that of the pulpit. It helps to build up and to keep the purity of our language; it impresses our morals and customs; it ennobles both the performer and the public."

In the present days there has appeared in a new form the old struggle between idealism and realism, similar to the one I alluded to in mentioning Sophie Schroeder. Thoré, the great French critic, says: "Art is the expression of the beautiful." Nowadays, art is more often called the expression of the true, of nature. But, whether it is the beautiful that brings to our hearts the love of truth and justice, or whether it is truth that teaches us how to find the beautiful in nature and how to love it, in either case art does a noble work. It drags out the soul from its everyday shell, and brings it under the spell of its own mysterious and wonderful power, so that a memory of this experience stays with the people, sustains them in their daily labors, and refines their minds.

Dramatic art has a more limited field than some of her sisters. While a painter or a sculptor can choose his own subjects, and only deal with nature as it appears to his temperament, the actor has to follow the dramatic author. But the interpretation of the author's work depends upon the performer. By transfusing his own soul into the character performed, the actor can either degrade or elevate the impersonation. There is no question that almost any part of the higher drama can be interpreted, without detriment to the author's object, so as to appeal to the lower instincts of the public or to its higher intellect or sentiment.

It is in this direction that I think woman's mission on the stage can be of great significance to her art, to her public, and to herself.

I have hitherto alluded only to the actress, although the connection of the female dramatist with the theater is of similar, if not stronger, importance. I referred to the subject in speaking of Hrosvitha, but the general treatment of the question belongs to the congress devoted to literature. There is, however, yet a third way in which stage and women react upon each other. It is the woman who goes to the theater. All of us have at heart the future of the American stage, and by this we mean the progress of dramatic art and dramatic literature. This future may, in some way, be made brighter by the combined efforts of the playwright and the performer, but in the present condition of affairs the improvement of the stage depends first of all upon the public.

In these last years of the nineteenth century, when materialism, or at least a practical spirit, rules over everything, the theater has become principally a commercial enterprise. We may consider this a drawback, we may seek remedies for it, but in the meantime we have to look at facts as they are. Now we know that in all the economic questions the law of supply and demand is the supreme master; therefore the theater will produce what the public requires. The manager, the author, and the actor obey the public's dictation.

Who can influence the public? I think only woman. She forms the larger half of it, and can to a great extent rule the other half. The American woman especially has always been an important factor in all the civilizing influences. Her position in this country is superior to that occupied by her sisters elsewhere, and is due to her intellectual qualities and to the high general level of her instruction.

I am happy to say that there has always been a tendency on her part to protect and encourage true art. Hrosvitha's spirit of refinement and poetry is still living in women's hearts, and therefore I look with serenity and hope to the future, convinced, as I am, that the almighty power of Amer-

ican woman will create a new era in the history of the American stage.

Woman in the Emotional Drama — Address by Clara Morris.

First and foremost let me say that, standing here by the right of kindly invitation, before this great body of brainy, big-hearted women — earnest workers, not for themselves alone, God help them, but for the welfare of the whole race — I feel I am receiving the highest honor of my life. Honored and proud I am, but I am vexed. I suppose you all know what happens when a red flag is waved in the face of an angry bull? You may not have tried the experiment personally — neither have I — but the books say that such an act results in frenzy to the bull, who proceeds to mix things up and generally to hurt somebody. Now I don't want to hurt any one, but when a lady asks me to stand up and make some remarks about the emotional drama she flaunts in my face the very reddest red flag to be found in all this big, beautiful city. Emotional drama, indeed! Whenever I hear the term "emotional actress" it always suggests to me a darkened room, an hysterical woman, and a strong odor of ether — it has such a weak, whimpering, soppy sound. Don't think I am venturing to find fault with the drama, particularly the very branch in which I have longest served. No, I only quarrel with that dreadful word "emotional," as applied to plays and players. All dramas deal with the human emotions. To be sure, some of the old-time playwrights treated their human emotions in a most inhuman way. They swathed them up in bombastic language, then mounted them upon the stilts of pomposity and affectation. Thus accoutered it would, of course, become difficult to recognize the humanest sort of an emotion. The whole body of actors of the natural school came near being made ridiculous through having that wretched title tacked

to them. The idea prevailed for a time that an emotional play must be a tearful play. A synopsis might read like this: First Act. — A tiny, tearful trickle. Second Act.— A widening, weeping woe. Third Act.— A flood; tumultuous torrent of tears. Fourth Act.— Everything washed away.

But after a time it came to be understood that there were other human emotions than that of grief — such as love, hate, hypocrisy, jealousy, and the like — and that the deadliest grief, the bitterest anguish may be quite dry and tearless; that, in fact, an emotional actress is not of necessity a human reservoir. But one thing is certain, this school or style of acting, whatever it may be called, we owe to woman, just as to woman we owe the existence of those wonderful modern plays, those studies of human life, in which one almost sees the movement of the living brain, so closely is thought followed; one almost feels the hot throbbing of the human heart, so fiercely are its secrets sought for.

There came a time in the history of the drama when, woman's influence growing ever stronger, the writer of plays began to think about her, to study her, to write of her and for her. Poor male student of womankind! Many a time he must have felt that the regally repellent riddle of the desert was easier to guess than any one of the living riddles about him. He found women who, seeming scarcely capable of the fierceness of an angry dove, yet possessed the endurance and tenacity of the bull dog; women with ambition as high as men's, but purer; nay, sometimes even a woman with passions strong enough to wreck Othello, but in her— so curbed, so coerced were they by her will — they paced primly quiet, to suit conventional demand, her whole life through.

Finding this subject interesting himself, he doubtless argued that the public might find it interesting too; and so one night in France the young son of a mighty father, in the face of all artistic Paris, cast his gauntlet down. Many of course there were who rushed to take it up, but

paused amazed. That night there was a miracle performed, for before their awed and startled eyes there passed a fallen woman's soul. Marguerite Gautier, with laughing face and anguished heart, seemingly unconscious of observers, laid bare before them the bitter mockery of her mirth, her secret shame, her love, her hope, her torture and despair, until at last she bowed her weak shoulders beneath her self-made cross and stumbled blindly to her grave. Surely that night was an epoch in play making.

Two lilies, broken both, I often dream of. One tall, and fair, and sweet, oh, heavenly sweet, with all its perfume still about it, broken by too strong a wind, lies all its fair length upon the grass, green and cool with sparkling dew — broken but pure — and that the Lily Maid of Astolat. The other, which had been a bud of equal promise, grown equal tall, and fair, and sweet, oh, honey-sweet, is broken too, broken and cast by an evil hand upon the city street, where every passer-by may see ground into the sweet whiteness of its face the smirch and bruise of a man's boot-heel — broken and soiled — and that is Marguerite Gautier, poor Queen of the Camelias.

I am wandering too far a-field. Oh, dear mistress of ceremonies, before I take my seat let me cast aside the limitations put upon me to speak only of the emotional drama, and say a word of my profession as a whole. Already you have been addressed upon this subject by those far better fitted for the task than I, but, even so, you will allow me to express my gratitude to the profession that has given me under God every good thing I ever had — the dear profession that has always been woman's friend. Hundreds of years ago, when every other profession was locked against her, and most of them had a man on guard outside that she might not learn too much about the size and shape of the keyhole, the doors of the theater stood wide, and to the woman who would enter there were two questions put: "Can you act?" "Will you work?"

for women must work. They may weep, too, if they want to, but they work on a perfect equality with man, and, what is more, are as well paid for their work. And, further still, has one been without previous education, what a teacher is this profession! It takes you by the hand and leads you by paths of romance and dramatic incident from land to land, from age to age, and, best of all, from poet to poet, till you reach the knees of Shakespeare's self. There our greatest and mightiest have stood with the humility of little children to learn the A B C of that great art we call acting. She acts best who is not held bound to one narrow school. Doubtless, who serves Shakespeare serves best. There is a lady here this moment who illustrates my meaning, for will she not one night declaim her uncrowned, death-sentenced queen right royally, and the next night, in her laughing rush through Arden Forest, seem at times almost to catch the master's very mantle in her bonnie, reckless hands?

To the great student of Shakespeare here present I humbly bow my head, and to the other sisters present I offer greeting and God-speed to the goal of their desires.

Surely our profession is great and beautiful, a very temple of art. A temple with many courts, full crowded; and altars, some to art, some to nature; but it is within the sevenfold sanctuary, before the grand high altar erected to art and nature, that one finds the little band of mighty ones, who, having hearts to feel with, eyes to see with, brains to think with, have with loving, loyal labor won the right to enter there.

Now, my last words I speak to those whose eyes my eyes have never met; whose hands my hands have never grasped — to the actresses of the future. Through a veil of to-morrows I see dim forms struggling forward; from them I would exact a promise that when they enter this profession which they have chosen above all other professions, when they stand upon the threshold of that great temple, they will take a solemn vow that whether they win name and

fame within, or whether they pass their whole life in some outer court, at the end, when all is done, they will leave upon its altar the pure white flower of a blameless life.

The Stage and Its Women — Address by Georgia Cayvan.

I come before you to-night, as one from the rank and file of the theatrical profession, not to make a set speech on the subject in which I am enrolled, but to talk to you, if I may, simply, earnestly, perhaps a little disjointedly, about the stage and its women.

The veil of illusion has long been torn away from the stage. Why not direct our efforts toward tearing away the cloud of misapprehension that obscures this power in the world's progress? The drama has its legitimate province, its peculiar function. Primarily the purpose of the stage is relaxation, and herein lies its great usefulness.

The terrible tension of stimulation, the restlessness and lack of repose which has come upon the American people through our rapid growth and formation as a nation, our intensity of interest and concentration of desire for the best of life, amounts to a disease which physicians call "Americanitis," and which makes essential a form of recreation which shall satisfy in the majority the intellectual craving at small expense of mental effort. Such recreation the stage supplies.

It is for us to take the tired men and women, to lift them out of the rush and struggle for a brief space, to help them forget the strife and ambition, the disappointment and sadness of their lives, in the world of the stage, where the glamour and romance bring restfulness, where ideal love and worthy deeds and noble sentiments are happily shown, and where griefs are only agreeably pathetic because they are not real agony, and everything comes out all right in the last act. And so we send them back to you, preachers and teachers and reformers, rested

and refreshed, to take up the exactions of life. And on these lines the stage becomes a popular educator, in that it presents to men and women who are too worn and weary, perhaps too indifferent and thoughtless, to read for themselves, literature in a form pleasing and easy of comprehension — gives them three volumes before 11 o'clock, tells whether he marries her or not in the last chapter, and sends them home satisfied.

It is not an ignoble mission to poetize the prose of simple things and lend a touch of romance to the practical for the inspiration of the masses too limited in mind, or too much occupied with the world's work, to grasp the splendor of great thoughts set in classical language. Remembering the drama's honorable service in the past, when it was the temple of art, the highest exponent of culture, perpetuating and disseminating the thought of the great teachers and philosophers before printing had made literature an inheritance of the common people, I claim for it also a place in the intellectual life of to-day, because it interprets for us in the classical drama the life of the past, which is the literature of the present, and presents to us with nice exactness in the modern play the life of to-day, which will be the literature of the future.

A valuable contribution, then, to mental growth is the familiarity which the stage gives us with the great masterpieces of literature, and the interpretation of them by men and women who devote their lives to studying special characters and personages which baffle the scholar and confuse the critic. One might pore over Hamlet until one was as mad as the melancholy Dane himself, and never approximate the clear conception of the great master's meaning which Edwin Booth has given to the world. We search the record and study the archives concerning that ever-fascinating but ill-fated Queen of Scots until we are weary with much reading, and then go some night to the play, and in three hours we meet and know this Mary Stuart as Modjeska has recreated her from Schiller's story.

But the modern drama has its field of practical usefulness as well. It should be the authority on fine points of etiquette, on the truly artistic in dress, on the conventional and correct in social forms and ceremony. In short, it should be the final court of appeal in all that pertains to the accurate and cultured in manners, morals, and speech according to the standards of the time. There are a few theaters where mothers may bring their young daughters, and teachers may send their young pupils, where men may come with their wives and sweethearts, because the play is sure to present the lesson of life wholesomely, and to set a high ideal of manhood and womanhood that is an inspiration to pure living.

Moreover, the stage reaches a class of people which the pulpit can not influence. Those most in need of ministration, the bitter, world-worn, pessimistic men and women, the heartbroken and hopeless, the gay and frivolous, as well as the immoral, come to us when they will not go to you. You seek out some of them with your vigilance and zeal; they come to us of their own accord. We speak to them in a language they understand; we appeal to their better natures by presenting pictures of true nobility of character, by making our villains more unfortunate and repulsive than the genuine article, and by always seeing to it that the hero marries a rich heiress, that the wronged wife is recompensed, and the betrayer of innocence is punished. Seriously, the influence of the stage upon the morals of the community is too valuable to be lightly considered. It should be guarded, and protected, and encouraged.

There is much talk of the elevation of the stage among some of those who devote themselves to it. But the real elevation of the stage must come from the people, not from the profession. It must come from a grander art-view, which shall refuse to narrow the art down to the personality of the artist. It must come from a purification of public sentiment which shall refuse to accept women whose only qualification for stars in the dramatic firmament is an appeal to

morbid curiosity. It must come from a better understanding of the stage and its prerogatives, which shall demand and indorse legitimate drama rather than the sensational, the degrading, the sensual; which shall distinguish between talent and notoriety, and shall honor gifted womanliness rather than brainless beauty.

In particular should women recognize the progressive spirit and influence of the stage, for the dramatic profession has been the pioneer in granting to women the privileges which in other intellectual callings they are still striving to compass; the first to rise above the narrowness that makes sex a barrier to success, and to *recompense woman's talent and ability with the same measure of fame and fortune commanded by men.* The women of the stage, by their convincing genius and determination, have made the breach in the wall of prejudice which women of other professions are widening every day. It has not been to us an easy victory, but we went about it sooner than you, and thus we have the advantage.

In the rapid growth of this profession, in the increase of theatrical centers, in the multiplication of dramatic companies, and in the demand of the popular drama for women of gentle breeding and broad culture, as well as for those gifted with great histrionic talent, a new problem in sociology presents itself to the thoughtful. The women of the stage — what will you do with them? What is your duty toward them? You cultivate your flowers for the delight they give you — you do not step on them because they yield no useful fruit; you do not criticize them except in tenderness to make them more beautiful. I am not speaking to people of my own profession to-day, but as a woman to women I would make my plea for a better understanding, a more sympathetic appreciation of the women of the stage. I would present to you something of what the dramatic profession demands of women — particularly here in America, where conditions prevail which are not to be found in any other country — that, with the wise tolerance that knowledge

and understanding always establish, you may learn to regard us not as curious creatures to be looked down upon in Pharisaical pity, or goddesses to be looked up to with sentimental heroine-worship, but simply as women of the same family, speaking a different language, governed by different standards, yet in spite of tradition and environment maintaining an integrity of principle which has given to the profession such womanly women as my colleagues of to-day, and many others of humbler gifts but equal worthiness.

A serious obstacle to the development of the actress, and one which is peculiar to America, is this: the personality of the artist is ever made paramount to her art. For the public is curious, and the press must perforce satisfy their curiosity. In this respect the press reflects the demands of its readers, as the stage reflects the taste of its audiences. Doctor Johnson said truly,

> "The drama's art the drama's patrons give,
> As they, who live to please, must please, to live."

Perhaps the greatest injustice of the public toward this woman, to whom it looks for its happiest recreation, is this insatiable curiosity concerning the smallest details of her private life, which results in culpable carelessness in circulating sensational and unfounded rumors, and an equally culpable credence in accepting without investigation any extravaganza of the penny-a-liner's fancy. The player is accused of seeking notoriety, when it is notoriety that seeks the player. We receive letters of interrogation intended to fill out special newspaper articles — "When, where, and how do you sew?" "Are you afraid of mice?" "What do you want for Christmas?" "What kind of dog do you prefer?" etc.— as if private preference in such matters had any bearing on dramatic art.

Still another demand, and one which affects all actresses more or less seriously, is the desire of the public to enjoy luxury and magnificence in dress. The price of perpetual daintiness on the stage is eternal vigilance and expense, and the cost of modish gowns, which can be worn but a

season and require the skill of the fashionable dressmaker instead of the stage costumer in construction, taxes heavily the resources of small-salaried players. The love of money may be the root of all evil, but the lack of it is the bitter fruit which hangs thick upon the giant tree whose shadow falls across many a noble woman's life, wrecked in the struggle with poverty before talent is recognized. When I learned that it was at first intended to include the women of the pulpit and the women of the stage in this day's session, I remembered how, in the school for oratory where I studied, the future women ministers and players sat in their classes together and received the same instruction. Indeed no profession requires dramatic instruction so much as that of the clergy, because the magnificent lines of Scripture need all the inspired expression that nature and art can give, that they may be uttered as grandly as written. And this profession of ours, which the idle and frivolous plunge into from vanity, which disgraced women seek in their degradation to the insult of all sincere artists, into which so many tumble without any preparation, and with some degree of success, really demands as its foundation the broadest, most liberal education, and requires not only a knowledge of some of the arts, but an intelligent appreciation of all of them. It is really a life-long study, in which success is never a satisfaction, but always a spur to fresh endeavor, a goad to greater effort, while at the last it leaves nothing but a memory which dies with the last person who has witnessed one's success.

There is among the actors in Japan a beautiful custom which gives to dramatic talent the value of inheritance, the certainty of perpetuity. Every great actor who has not a son of his own adopts a boy, to whom he gives his name; and this boy becomes to him a son and pupil, who will receive and hand down in time to a son and pupil the name and methods of the master. Thus their stage has an aristocracy of great family names and an inheritance of cumulative genius. With us "the unsubstantial pageant fades

and leaves no trace behind," for our aristocracy of art is limited.

I should like to make a special plea for the stock actresses, for I believe that the regeneration of the drama is in the hands of the stock company, and that, when the drama reaches its pristine glory and power among the arts, it will be the stock companies that will present, with a degree of perfection never reached before, the masterpieces of dramatic literature.

By stock company I mean an organization of actors, each in himself an able actor, not supporting and assisting a name of greater magnitude, but each eminent, and capable of doing his part toward giving that harmony and symmetry to a performance which makes the good play seem a real transcript of life. Such a company is the present one of the French theater, every member of which has reached the highest individual distinction in his or her line of work. Such a company is fitted to perform any play, classic or modern, tragedy or comedy. The dramas of Shakespeare could be re-illumined with such an organization. If one actor achieved distinction one night in Shylock, another of the same company at another time would display his power as Hamlet or Romeo. So with the women. All the parts would be emphasized by the actor's art according to the dramatist's aim. And so it is in the drama of to-day, which does not aspire to great efforts, because our deeds have ceased to be heroic, because war and the pomp and circumstance of war have given place to peace and the arts and graces of social and domestic life, to which the modern drama devotes itself. In this the actor of the stock company, while not, like his brothers and sisters of the past, possessing the opportunity of so great personal display, is still enabled at times to illumine with his art the simpler and less complicated conditions of his play. But the vastness of the theater-going public of to-day requires so many repetitions of a popular play that the stock actress must appear over and over in the same rôle. The person who

witnesses a performance once can not realize what it means to the actress to play the same part two, three, or four hundred times with the same degree of feeling, pathos, humor, and naturalness of charm and manner at every performance. Horsemen tell us that a horse never makes his record more than once; and some horses never make a record at all, because they are not brought on when all conditions are most favorable. An actress must make her record every night. She must not only act her best, but look her best at every performance, and under all circumstances, or be accused of retrograding.

The inspiration necessary to keep oneself up to this plane of excellence must come from the public. Applause to the actress is the breath of life to her being; it is the only recognition, the only approval, and the only indorsement which she can be assured of that makes her feel that her efforts are pleasing; she submits herself with perturbation to the suffrages of that great and inexorable being, the public. Do you wonder, then, that we come before you with fear in our hearts, and with hope that you will be satisfied with our work, and that you will show it with discrimination and wholeheartedness? It is your applause that stimulates us, takes away the mechanical feeling caused by constant repetition of the same part, and wakes up the inspirational sources of our art. The women of the domestic circle know how grateful is the approval of husband, brother, or son; how is it, therefore, with us who appeal nightly to so many whose judgment and approval is none the less pleasing? Art has its triumphs no less renowned than home, and it is from you, the people who sit in front, that we hope to win them. And in this country alone, I am sorry to say, a woman's art-life on the stage is comparatively short, for old age seldom brings honor, because of the public's constant craving after the new and the pretty at the expense of art; and yet no art can be worthy unless it is matured.

The question of stage morality — that is an incubus which has clung to the drama for many years; but the nine-

teenth century has luckily dissipated the clouds of mystery and doubt that surrounded the player, and the stage has never before numbered so many worthy women as to-day. The stage itself is purer and nobler, but the publicity of its life is its stumbling block.

It might seem pertinent to explain some of the influences that prevent an actress from being exactly like other women. Does it seem possible for a woman who has to simulate a varied assortment of feelings every night to be like the woman whose every emotion is sincere and natural? A woman of the stage must lay bare her heart and soul before the public in order to present in perfection some type of woman. The artificial is always dangerous to character, whether it is the artificial in society or the artificial on the stage. It is almost menacing to moral perception to bring the most sacred impulses of womanhood down to the level of the commonplace by constant draft upon them. In every other profession a woman may keep inviolate the holy of holies of her individuality. In this alone is the veil rent, and the sacrificial flame upon her altar is lighted for the entertainment of the public. They little realize what it costs her.

There is an old story of a dancer who wore about her neck a precious chain of pearls as she came before the king; in the midst of the dance the chain parted, and the pearls were scattered beneath her flying feet. How was she to step the measure so gayly that the king should never know her care, nor the handsome courtiers smiling lightly down, nor the gentle ladies looking on in languid grace, and yet never crush a single snow-white pearl, while the cymbals clashed and the wild, glad music sounded madder and merrier, and the witchery of the dance dulled her fear and deadened her caution? The exceptional woman of exceptional breeding may, when the court pageant has passed, count her pearl chain and find it all complete, even as those which home-guarded women wear so proudly. Will you remember what it costs? Will you think of the danger — a

moment of forgetfulness, a careless step? Will you help us by understanding us — help us with your sympathy, your influence — lest we crush our pearls?

Woman's Work Upon the Stage — Address by Julia Marlowe.

To show clearly and fully woman's relation to and influence on dramatic art, it would be necessary to treat comprehensively of the whole history of the drama, which it will be impossible for me to do at this time because of the necessary brevity of this paper.

I hope to show, however, by a few historical examples and a brief discussion of woman's peculiar adaptability to the needs of the drama, not only her special fitness for dramatic expression, but also her right, by accomplishment, to the exalted position in this art which she has won, and won by courage, industry, and perseverance.

The struggle that actors have undergone for recognition, and for a respectable, established position in society, since the modern drama first appeared in the tableaux and the spectacles of the early Christian church, is now a matter of history; but it is not generally known how much more fierce has been the strife in regard to women on the stage, and how much more difficult it has been for them to convince the world at large of the importance of their hard-won position, and their beneficial influence in dramatic art.

Notwithstanding the marked disfavor with which women were first received upon the English stage, about 1660, reasonable and serious-minded persons could not fail to see the propriety of having Juliet and Desdemona acted by a girl rather than a boy. The need for the innovation is well expressed in these lines, taken from the prologue written for the introduction of the first actress:

HELENA MODJESKA.

JULIA MARLOWE.

GEORGIA CAYVAN.

> 'Our women are defective, and so sized
> You'd think they were some of the guard disguised;
> For, to speak truth, men act (that are between
> Forty and fifty) wenches of fifteen,
> With bone so large, and nerve so incompliant,
> When you call Desdemona enter giant."

The work that properly belonged to women, when given to men, often caused ridiculous incongruities; and the idea in itself is so truly fantastic that I can not refrain from citing the apology that was made to his majesty Charles II. when, during a prolonged wait at one of the theatrical performances at which this sovereign was present, the delay was explained and indulgence begged on the plea that the "queen was not shaved." It would appear that immediately upon the substitution of women for boys, in the advancement of dramatic illusion, the importance of woman's appearance, and the artistic need for it, must have been generally felt, for we read that actresses were soon in great demand, and it was found not only that they increased the popularity of the theaters in which they performed, but that their coöperation was indispensable to the proper presentation of any play. They made possible a fullness and beauty of interpretation which had not before been dreamed of. Take, as a single example, the women of Shakespeare. They stand as vivid types of youth and beauty, so alive, indeed, with the living warmth of femininity that their expression by other than women is a sacrilege. A play performed by men only can hardly be conceived to-day, and the wonder is that such an absurdity should ever have existed. The feeling of the need of woman's coöperation with man for dramatic purposes grew rapidly, for men's minds were at this time too highly susceptible to advancement to remain in ignorance of this necessity, and it was not long before actresses were recognized and highly respected. Mrs. Betterton, for instance, in the year 1674, when "Calista" was performed at court, was chosen as instructress to Lady Mary and Lady Anne, and

much of the subsequent graceful elocution and dignity of bearing of these princesses was accredited to this actress. We read that, in company with her distinguished husband, she made her home the abiding-place of "charity, hospitality, and dignity."

What a vast work has been accomplished in the drama since then, and what a lasting monument of art has woman reared for herself in the annals of the stage! To those whose souls are filled with sacred reverence for creative genius what a wealth of delight there is in looking back upon the dazzling record of the theater! The achievements of Mrs. Betterton, Nell Gwynne, Woffington, Oldfield, Siddons, and more latterly Rachel, Ristori, Fanny Kemble, Ellen Terry, Charlotte Cushman, Helen Faucit, Adelaide Neilson, and a host of others stand forth as irrefutable proofs of the dignified importance of woman's work in the line of true artistic, dramatic advancement.

The history of the theater will show her serious devotion to dramatic art, and that it has absorbed her very being as no other calling has ever done; that it has not been a fancy, nor in the higher expression even a gratification of vanity, but has been and is a life devotion, an art to which woman has given her best intellectual and emotional self.

Innumerable instances may be given of women in the profession who have shown rare administrative ability. The history of the English stage affords many examples of the women who have been successful managers, and the same is true in this country — Mrs. Conway, for instance, and Mrs. John Drew, who, aside from her fine ability as a comedienne, for years conducted the Arch Street Theater, Philadelphia, with dignity and success.

It is often stated that woman is lacking in most walks of life in the faculty of creative genius, and indeed that in this particular, in comparison with man, she is decidedly inferior. This is, perhaps, a reasonable conclusion in view of her history, but not so emphatically in regard to dramatic work.

It is by no means a new thought that man is by nature more intellectual, and woman by nature more emotional. Of course it is not meant by this that man is never emotional and woman never intellectual, yet it is surely fair to assume that to man belongs more properly the power of intellectuality, and to woman the emotional quality. Was it not, therefore, the very possession by nature of this latter quality, which is certainly an absolute necessity in dramatic art, that made her inherently suited for dramatic expression?

Mr. Ruskin, in speaking of the necessary qualities that go to form great artists, says: "First, sensibility and tenderness; second, imagination; and third, industry." Woman's nature is peculiarly alive to all these conditions. It is then no wonder that women on the stage have accomplished great things; and they will accomplish greater things in the future while such women as Modjeska, Terry, Duse, and the matchless Bernhardt continue to show their genius to the world.

Woman's work in literature has, with few exceptions, been denied any claim to greatness. In music and in other arts she is admitted not to have shown any particular creative power, but her place upon the stage is as absolutely unquestioned as man's. In having thus secured for herself an eminent position in the drama, the actress has advanced the whole cause of woman, since every individual triumph raises the estimation in which the intellectual achievements of a whole class are held. Woman is better understood because she has been faithfully portrayed; she is more highly regarded because of her ability to make that portrayal; and that faithful portrayal has, I feel, a powerful moral influence in an educational sense. I thoroughly believe it is the duty of mothers to foster in the hearts of their children, while at a tender age, a serious consideration for the better form of dramatic literature and dramatic representation, avoiding the unhappy tendency of the present age, which is to regard acting merely as a form of

amusement rather than, as it should be regarded, an amusement combining a means for intellectual control and artistic suggestion, presented in an attractive and suggestive manner.

That woman is capable of arduous effort and untiring devotion has been fully demonstrated upon the stage. She has helped to elevate the drama to its rightful place among the educational forces of life, and to make true what Morley says: "At the play-house door, we may say to the doubting, 'Enter boldly, for here, too, there are gods.'"

CHAPTER V.—SCIENCE AND RELIGION.

PREFATORY REMARKS BY THE EDITOR—COPIOUS EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESSES DELIVERED IN THE GENERAL CONGRESS BY DR. MARY PUTNAM JACOBI, DR. GARRETT ANDERSON, REV. FLORENCE E. KOLLOCK, REV. CAROLINE J. BARTLETT, AND REV. MARY J. SAFFORD—BRIEF EXTRACTS FROM THE DISCUSSION OF THESE ADDRESSES BY DR. JULIA HOLMES SMITH, MRS. LEANDER STONE, DR. MARY A. D. JONES, REV. EUGENIA T. ST. JOHN, REV. MARY L. MORELAND, AND MRS. AMELIA S. QUINTON—EXTRACTS FROM A PAPER SUBMITTED IN A REPORT CONGRESS BY DR. SOPHIA JEX-BLAKE—EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS GIVEN BY DR. ELLIS R. SHIPP IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE WOMEN'S NATIONAL RELIEF SOCIETY.

THE title of this chapter may suggest the question, "Why connect two subjects apparently so remote from each other?" The reason for doing so is two-fold—science rests upon positive knowledge; religion rests upon faith. Until recently the general tone of religious discussion has implied that the blinder the faith the truer was the religion. *A priori* arguments ascribed to women capacity for faith in direct ratio to their incapacity for reason. Recent history, however, shows that the opposition which devout women have encountered in conquering opportunities to apply their religious experience and their faith to the service of humanity has developed in them the ability to reason, and the habit of applying reason to the solution of problems heretofore deemed to belong to the realm of faith. This explains the fact, otherwise anomalous, that clergywomen of whatever denomination are, as a rule, more liberal in their interpretation of Scripture than are clergymen of the same sect, and more inclined to ignore sectarian barriers. This high average of liberal-mindedness among clergywomen justifies the expectation that they will be a potent agency in unifying

the branches of the Christian church. On the same fact is based the hope that clergywomen will lend large aid to the reconciliation of science and religion. It is a current belief that the pursuit of science matures skepticism, and that, of all the sciences, medicine is most destructive of the religious faith of its followers. The manner in which the religious faith of women has met the severe test imposed by the practice of medicine is another reason for the hope that women will help to bridge the chasm too long assumed to exist between science and religion.

Another reason for grouping together the addresses presented in this chapter is that medicine and the ministry are the two of the so-called learned professions in which women have achieved most success. Authorship and teaching are, indeed, now admitted to be professions, and journalism has asserted its title to the same rank. Women have conquered personal success and public recognition in all of these callings, but the majority mind does not yet instinctively include them under the phrase, "The learned professions."

Doctor Jacobi's address affords a general survey of the scientific work of women, and thus properly introduces the more specific consideration of women as physicians. The information it contains could hardly be presented more briefly. It has seemed wise, therefore, to publish it almost complete, although this compels omitting large portions of the remarks of those who participated in the discussion of the same theme.

From the admirable report of Doctor Jex-Blake have been omitted parts reproducing the information contained in the other addresses.

In the discussion of women as ministers, their struggle to gain access to the pulpit, their contribution to the interpretation of the Scriptures, and their peculiar adaptation to pastoral service are considered from the standpoints of history, philosophy, fancy, and biography by regularly ordained clergywomen of the Universalist, Unitarian,

Methodist-Protestant, and Congregational denominations. —[THE EDITOR.]

WOMEN IN SCIENCE — ADDRESS WRITTEN BY DR. MARY PUTNAM JACOBI OF NEW YORK; READ BY DR. JULIA HOLMES SMITH OF ILLINOIS.

Those who interest themselves in the modern development of mental activity in women, are liable to imagine that this has been aroused equally in all directions. This, however, is far from being the case. The two great activities of modern times are industry and science, and it is precisely in industry and science that women are least conspicuous. In all industrial occupations, it is true, women are largely engaged — they constitute more than two-thirds of all the factory operatives of the world, they throng the workshops, they carry on the retail business of stores — but we rarely find them as yet among the captains of industry, among the leaders, projectors, or controllers of industrial enterprises on any large scale.

Physical science at the present day has opened up a sphere of activity resembling that of industry in an enormous development of details, which can afford useful employment to multitudes of persons of moderate ability, if well trained in technical methods and possessed of patience and conscientiousness. Either original researches or the processes of applied science demand the coöperation of a great number of assistants to perform manipulations involving much labor and time, requiring intelligence and great accuracy, but not necessitating original mental power.

This is a most useful and important field of work for women. Should they enter largely upon it they might still remain as far removed from the position of the scientific thinkers as is that of the factory operatives from that of the mill owner. But the work of laboratory assistant, though relatively inferior, is absolutely so important, dignified, dif-

ficult, and interesting that the women who should or do engage in it may be well satisfied, even when they do not advance to the dignity of original contributors to the science they serve.

Mathematical calculations are required for many branches, notably astronomy. The *Woman's Journal*, of April 29th, quotes from the "Transactions of the Astronomical Observatory of Yale College" a paper by Miss Margaretta Palmer, a graduate of Vassar College in 1887. This young lady is working as regular assistant in the Yale Observatory, under Doctor Elkin, and has been reinvestigating the orbit of the comet of 1847, which was discovered by Maria Mitchell. Maria Mitchell herself, after establishing her reputation by the discovery of this comet — for which she received a gold medal from the king of Denmark — was for years employed upon the Coast Survey and in the compilation of the "American Nautical Almanac."

Some years ago Professor Bowditch of Harvard University published some valuable researches on the growth of American school children. The result of these researches was summed up in tables based on mathematical calculations, and these were made chiefly by Miss Jacobs at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. At this institution, and also at the Stevens Institute, at Hoboken, ladies have worked as assistants in the chemical laboratories. One of these ladies, Miss Chevalier, was offered a position as permanent assistant in the chemical laboratory at Cornell University, but declined, and has been for many years professor of chemistry at the Woman's Medical College of New York. She has performed difficult chemical researches on nerve tissue. At Ithaca, also, in the laboratory for comparative anatomy, the wife of Prof. Burt G. Wilder assists in her husband's work, and has illustrated his paper on brain anatomy, published in the reference hand-book on medical sciences.

In the histological laboratory of the Woman's Medical College of New York excellent work is done by female

assistants to the professor in the preparation of embryological and other specimens. Similar work is done at the Western colleges where coeducation prevails, as at Ann Arbor.

These little glimpses are all I have been able to obtain of the work of women as laboratory assistants in this country. In Europe, however, and especially in the Swiss universities, women are constantly engaged in the laboratories, and from time to time their names become associated with those of a senior teacher in the publication of some original research. The "Kendall," who, with Leuchsinger at Zürich, published an important essay on the innervation of the sweat glands, was an American girl and medical student.

It is easier for the moment to ascertain the names of the women who have done some independent work in different branches of science. To the original work of Maria Mitchell I have already alluded, and it is well known to every one. Born in 1818, she was the first American woman to be known in any science. She was educated in mathematics and astronomy by her father, and it is said that at the early age of eleven she was already able to assist him in his work. I do not know of any actual contribution to astronomical science made by Miss Mitchell after her one famous discovery, but she published several astronomical treatises, and was the first female member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

It is an interesting fact that the début into science of American women should have been made in mathematics and astronomy, for these are the fundamental sciences of the entire hierarchy, and it is as logical that women should begin with them as it is contrary to much current opinion about women's faculties that they should show any capacity for mathematics at all. However, before Maria Mitchell became known in America, several women in Europe had already achieved distinction in mathematical science. In a biographical dictionary which extends from Rhea Silvia, the mother of Romulus, to Juliet Adam of

modern Paris, there are recorded relatively few names of women who have become known in connection with any branch of science; and ten of these were mathematicians. Of these the earliest reported to us is Hypatia, the celebrated Neoplatonist philosopher, who lived and lectured at Alexandria in the latter part of the fourth century. She was murdered by fanatic monks in 415 A. D., and her books were burned with the Alexandrian library by equally fanatic Mohammedans. The titles of only three have been handed down to us — a commentary on Diophantus, an astronomical canon, and a commentary on conic sections.

After Hypatia history is mute respecting scientific women for eleven centuries. In the seventeenth century the names of three are recorded. The wife of the astronomer Gottfried Kirch, in upper Lusatria, assisted her husband and published almanacs. Maria Cunitz, a learned German lady of Silesia, edited in more convenient form the astronomical tables of Kepler, and in 1650 published others under the title of "Urania Propilia." Finally a French lady, Jeanne Dumée, published in Paris a "Discourse on the Opinion of Copernicus Respecting the Mobility of the Earth."

The eighteenth century, so illustrious with famous men, gave birth also to six women all justly famous for mathematical talent and achievement. The first of these was the Marquise du Chatelet, born in 1706. English and German biographers declare that her writings are saved from oblivion only on account of her association with Voltaire, in whose companionship she pursued her studies. Yet it was no mean achievement to translate, as she did, Newton's "Principia" into French. She also published a work on physical philosophy entitled "Institution de Physique." It is said that in experimental science Mme. du Chatelet proved to be considerably more of an adept than her illustrious companion, and that, when both competed anonymously for a prize offered for a scientific essay on the nature of fire, hers received an honorable mention, his, none at all.

Voltaire, after persevering but futile efforts, became convinced that his genius lay in another direction than experimental science, and decided to concentrate himself exclusively upon literature, where he achieved his fame.

Maria Agnesi, born at Milan in 1718, is said to have been a woman of wonderful intellectual powers. When only twenty years old she was able to discourse on abstruse questions of mathematics and philosophy in many different languages. At the age of thirty she published in remarkably pure Latin a treatise on algebra, with the differential and integral calculus.

Nicole Reine Lepante was born at Paris in 1723, and acquired distinction as an astronomer. She was a friend of Clairant Lelande, whom she assisted in the calculations of the return of Halley's comet in 1757.

Caroline Herschel is more generally known to English-speaking people. She was the faithful and untiring assistant of her brother, the celebrated astronomer, Sir William Herschel, and in the course of eleven years she discovered five new comets. In 1798 she published a valuable catalogue of 516 stars, and later received a gold medal from the astronomical society.

Sophie Germain is in many respects the most interesting of this group of eighteenth-century women. She was born at a notable epoch for us Americans, namely, in 1776. We are told that in 1789, when a girl of thirteen, being profoundly disturbed by the mutterings of the approaching French revolution, she sought in her father's library the means to distract her mind from the thought of impending disasters. Here she discovered the story of Archimedes at the siege of Syracuse, so engrossed with the problems of geometry that he remained deaf to the Roman soldiers invading his room. The child was seized with enthusiasm for a science so noble that it could absorb the mind to this extent, and immediately resolved to devote herself to the study of geometry. Self-educated, and in the teeth of the violent opposition of friends, she became the compeer

and friend of the most noted mathematicians of an age noted for its great men. By correspondence on mathematical subjects she even conquered an intimacy with the great German mathematician, Gauss, writing to him, however, over a masculine signature. Her sex was revealed only when, during the campaign of Jena, Mlle. Germain interceded with the French general in behalf of her learned unknown friend, shut up like Archimedes in a beleaguered city, for whom, perhaps, she feared a similar fate. Mlle. Germain's important original contribution to science is contained in memoirs on the mathematical theory of elastic surfaces, a problem for the solution of which the Institute had offered a prize. The first memoir failed to receive the prize, which indeed was not awarded. "The truth is," observes her biographer, "that Sophie Germain, working, so to speak, by instinct, and without having regularly studied analysis, did not completely solve the question; but her memoir opened the way so decidedly in the right direction that from it Lagrange drew the exact equation." The competition for the prize was offered a second time. Mlle. Germain sent a second memoir, and this time received an honorable mention. Finally, in the third memoir the persevering young scientist was fortunate enough to receive the prize. This honor only stimulated her energies to continue working on the same subject. She discovered remarkable theorems which Legendre inserted in his treatise on the "Theory of Numbers." In the "Annales de Physique et de Chimie" Mlle. Germain published researches on the laws of the equilibrium and of the movement of elastic solids, and in another scientific periodical a memoir on the curvature of surfaces. A philosophical essay written by her, and entitled "Consideration on the State of Sciences," is remarkable for its breadth of thought, and for its anticipation of doctrines to be later enunciated by Auguste Comte.

I have devoted so much of the brief time at my disposal to Mlle. Germain because she may, better than any other

modern woman, serve as a model with whom to compare others who may claim, often too lightly, a rank in science.

The last female mathematician of the eighteenth century is Mrs. Mary Somerville, who was born in Scotland in 1780. Mme. du Chatelet had translated Newton's "Principia" into French: Mrs. Somerville in turn gave to England a translation and analysis of the "Mécanique Céleste" of Laplace. She also wrote a treatise in 1834 on the connection of the physical sciences, and her services to science were publicly acknowledged by her election to membership in the Royal Astronomical Society, and by a yearly pension of $1,500. Mrs. Somerville lived to such an advanced age that she was able to connect the traditions of the eighteenth century with the nineteenth. Mrs. Somerville, living until 1872, thus belongs to our own time, as well as to the brilliant epoch in which she was born. No Englishwoman has, as yet, succeeded her, but I think every one is familiar with the remarkable triumph of Philippa Fawcett at the Cambridge examinations, where she ranked 400 marks above the senior wrangler. England literally rang with this triumph from sea to sea. The *Spectator*, in one of its solemn editorials, declared that this extraordinary achievement necessitated an entire revision of the current views on the natural capacity of women.

Miss Fawcett seems to have inherited her exceptional capacity from her father, also a talented mathematician, whose power of abstraction had been trained and intensified by a lifelong habit of mental work under the terrible affliction of blindness.

In America, Mrs. Franklin, while still Christine Ladd, so distinguished herself as a mathematical student that at the peremptory request of Professor Sylvester she was made a fellow in the mathematical department of the Johns Hopkins University, the only woman so far who has enjoyed this honor.

Mrs. Franklin is the Sophie Germain of America. Her original work in pure mathematics, in logic, and in physics

is remarkable, and preëminently deserves commemoration on this occasion. She has published nine scientific essays.

Mrs. Franklin's extreme modesty, as well as the profound nature of scientific tastes and pursuits, keeps her far removed from the publicity which confers superficial and transitory fame; but if there be to-day a woman in America entitled to represent women in pure science, to demonstrate, indeed, the capacity of women for engaging in science, it is unquestionably Christine Ladd Franklin.

In Europe, however, the young Russian, Songa Kowalewski, until her recent premature death, was the fitting colleague of our American mathematician. She was appointed to a full professorship at the University of Stockholm in 1884.

Like Sophie Germain, at the age of only thirteen Songa, starting from some elementary instruction in arithmetic, plunged all alone into mathematics and mastered trigonometry without a teacher. At sixteen she married a gifted scientist, who assisted her in her studies and secured her admission to the University of Heidelberg. She obtained the Doctor's degree from the University of Göttingen, without an oral examination, on account of three essays, two in mathematical analysis, the third in mathematical physics, concerning the shape of Saturn's ring. Some years later she discovered the complete mathematical solution of the optical problem regarding the movement of light in a crystalline medium. At a spring semester in Stockholm, Songa Kowalewski delivered a course of lectures on the theory of partial differential equations, and this was so successful that the following year she was invited to a full professorship. But this gifted woman died prematurely, after a brief enjoyment of the arduous duties of the position.

In comparison with the difficulties of the mathematical sciences all others appear easy. The natural sciences afford more scope for moderate abilities, and it is, indeed, surprising that, while so many women throng into literature, so few, as yet, have devoted themselves to these delightful pursuits.

Mrs. Susanna Gage, wife of Professor Gage of Cornell University, is a microscopist of recognized ability. She has made valuable original researches upon muscular tissue, and has prepared the microphotographs for several scientific essays of her husband.

Miss Julia Platt, a pupil of Professor Wilder of Cornell, has pursued morphological studies at both Cornell and Freiburg, and has published the results of original researches in the *Journal of Morphology* and in German anatomical journals.

In England, Dr. Frances Hoggan has published, in association with her husband, a series of researches in microscopical anatomy, principally on the lymphatic system.

Other women, English, Russian, and American, have written upon medical science, but I am not acquainted with other histologists or anatomists. Yet in the eighteenth century Madame Manzolini, in Italy, was made a member of the Institute of Bologna, and professor of anatomy in the university of that city, and contemporaneously, at Paris, Marie Catherine Biberan was preparing an anatomical cabinet, which after her death was bought by Catherine of Russia. Mme. Lachapelle and Mme. Boivin in the same century made important contributions to pathological anatomy, as well as to clinical midwifery. Doctor Gregory, Professor of Botany at Barnard College, has given me the names of half a dozen ladies, besides herself, who have made original researches in this science, which for ages tradition has assigned to women. A homonym of our own Elizabeth Blackwell, wife of Alexander Blackwell, published in 1737 an herbal, with colored plates of the principal plants used in the practice of physic.

A modern English botanist is Marianne North, who has especially devoted herself to painting in detail the flora of tropical countries. Her collections include upward of six hundred paintings, each panel including six or seven varieties of plants. According to Sir John Hooker, it is impossible to overrate the usefulness and scientific importance of this collection.

In the adjacent branch of natural history we find the name of Miss Eleanor A. Ormerod as one of the eminent entomologists of the day. She is consulting entomologist of the Royal Agricultural Society of England. She has written a manual upon injurious insects and on methods of preventing their ravages, of which Mr. James Fletcher, Entomologist to the Government of Ontario, says: "The advance made during the last decade in the art of reducing the injury done to crops by insects is in large measure due to the talented author of this book."

Miss Mary Muretfeld of St. Louis has been vice-president of the Association of Economic Entomologists. Another female observer of note both in entomology and botany is Mrs. Mary Treat of Vineland, N. J.

In this connection should be mentioned Mme. Clemence Royer of Paris, born in 1830. In 1862 she made the first French translation of Darwin's "Origin of Species," accompanied by a preface and notes, which gave her an established reputation. Since this, however, Mme. Royer's work has been in the line of literature and economics, rather than in that of natural science.

One lady, Miss Alice C. Fletcher, has distinguished herself in a somewhat unexpected field as an ethnological student of our North American Indians. Her work has received practical recognition from the National Government in an appointment as Indian agent, especially charged with the assignment of lands in severalty.

A Russian lady, Mme. Ragotzin, is noted as a scholar in a still more abstruse branch, namely the science of Chaldaic and Assyrian inscriptions. These philological researches, however, lie outside of the sphere of physical sciences, concerning which alone this paper is intended to report.

The longest list of feminine names must be culled from the medical sciences. Since 1872 in America 150 written contributions to medicine have been made by thirty women physicians. Only a very few of these contributions, however, deserve to be called scientific, for they are chiefly

JOSEPHINE BATES.

ANNIE NATHAN MEYER.

CHARLOTTE EMERSON BROWN.

records of cases, or discussions on subjects from the purely clinical or empirical standpoint. The same remark applies, of course, to an immense amount of the medical literature written by men, only a small proportion of which is addressed to the solution of scientific problems, or is based upon scientific methods. Indeed the daily work of the physician is as yet far removed from that of the scientist in any department. Even biological sciences, upon which the art of medicine reposes, are most irregularly invoked in the actual practice of medicine, and really scientific habits of thought are foreign to the great mass of physicians.

Women who so largely enter medicine from the practical side necessarily exhibit this empiricism to an even greater proportionate extent than men. Still a few of the medical papers published are concerned with scientific problems rather than with purely practical questions. Among the 150 American contributions the following may be said to bear this character: An essay on basiliar kyphasis in relation to certain cerebral deformities, and some studies in sphygmograms, by Dr. Sara Post; a remarkable case of bilateral cerebral hemorrhage in a new-born child, by Dr. Sara McNutt; a study on myxedema, by Dr. Elizabeth Cushier; microscopical studies on hyaline placenta and on the uterine decidua, by Dr. Jeannette Greene; an essay on blood, by Emily White; studies in endometritis and a new theory on menstruation, by Mary Putnam Jacobi.

The number of women engaged in literature contrasts strikingly with the short list of women engaged in science. A volume entitled "Women of the Day," published in 1885, contains a total number of 426 names. These include writers, painters, actresses, and singers, and women noted for work in philanthropic and public enterprises. Only nine among them seem to have even touched upon scientific work.

This fact, however, is not at all surprising. Owing to the unequal rate of development which to the present day

has been permitted to women, the standard of education accorded to them has always been about an epoch behind that prevailing for men. Up to the present day, indeed, there has been absolutely no superior, or even common-sense, education for women at all. The few women who have nevertheless achieved intellectual distinction, have done so in virtue of immense native ability, which instinctively found its way, like Columbus, uninstructed, unpiloted, over unknown seas. At the most has been secured the personal aid of some relative or friend, and this as an offset to the violent opposition of other friends, or an entire family and social circle. Only immense ability is capable of achievements under such circumstances.

Enough, however, has been done to show that there is no physiological impossibility in scientific work for women. It now remains to insist more and more strenuously that the doors of the laboratory, as of the library, shall be thrown open to them; that early in childhood and during the formative stage of the brain's development a strenuous education shall be secured, scientifically planned to favor the maximum development of brain power; finally, that the love of knowledge for its own sake shall begin to be diffused more widely among women. Hitherto the love of knowledge has either been forcibly discouraged in favor of every other conceivable motive, or encouraged only so far as it may be made useful for practical purposes.

The latter, certainly, should not be neglected. But underneath all practical activities, even for such strenuous mental work as is needed for the practice of medicine, there should lie a broad and deep foundation of speculative work done by solitary students aiming at nothing but the discovery of truth. Until this becomes true for women as for men we can not expect from women the contributions to scientific thought of which they are intrinsically capable. Minds capable of constructive scientific thought are always in a very small minority — probably must always be so — and it is probably true that the proportion of speculative to

practical capabilities is still smaller in women than in men. The immense middle ground, however, of observation and experiment, of work upon details destined to be used scientifically by some mind of superior scope — this sphere is already perfectly accessible to women, may be occupied by them most profitably, and they should by every means be encouraged to enter in and take possession.

DISCUSSION OF THE SUBJECT BY DR. JULIA HOLMES SMITH OF ILLINOIS; MRS. LEANDER STONE OF ILLINOIS; DR. MARY A. DIXON JONES OF NEW YORK.

DR. JULIA HOLMES SMITH briefly introduced the discussion as follows:

I should not be a Chicago woman if I allowed you all to go home after hearing only about English, Boston, Russian, and German scientists; if I should allow you to go home without telling you that here in Chicago we have one of the most noted of scientists, Emily Nunn, the wife now of Professor Whitman of the Chicago University. Her researches in biology are noted everywhere. Her contributions to scientific papers are of such value that she can command any price, either in America or in Europe, and we measure things here, you know, by the price thereof. I assure you that in the quiet laboratories of many a medical college, some of the very best work is being done by unknown women students, who are waiting until they die to be recognized by you and me.

MRS. LEANDER STONE, continuing the discussion, dwelt upon the difficulties encountered by scientists because of a lack of mechanical appliances, and by biographical references sustained the view that the advancement of the mechanical arts will facilitate the scientific researches of women to a proportionately larger degree than it will those of men.

DR. MARY A. DIXON JONES, succeeding Mrs. Stone, dwelt

chiefly upon the adaptation of woman, by both her delicate physical organization and her patience, to the minute and long-continued observation necessary to original research. She reported two discoveries as follows:

I am glad to report to this honored assembly that by microscopical studies I have made two discoveries in relation to cancerous disease.

First, as to the "small cellular infiltration" around a growth, which was recognized by Virchow, and which Dr. Charles Heitzmann, one of our most eminent living pathologists, said, in 1883, was the "pre-stage of cancer." In 1884 Doctor Heitzmann said: "Should the view be correct that this infiltration is the preliminary stage of cancer, etc." In June, 1892, I saw clearly that the inflammatory corpuscles of the "small cellular infiltration" around the growth were changing to cancer epithelia and forming cancer nests. So the small cellular infiltration around a malignant growth is not only the pre-stage of cancer, but is cancerous in its nature, and really forms part of the malignant growth. This fact is of great practical importance. It teaches the necessity, recognized by eminent surgeons, of carefully removing all the diseased tissue around such a growth.

Another discovery I have made in cancer is: I have demonstrated that the epithelia are conveyed by the lymphatic vessels to different and distant parts of the body, forming there new centers of infection. That cancer cells are carried by the lymphatics has long been supposed to be the case, because the lymphatic ganglia, in the neighborhood of the growth, were the first to become affected; but the process had never before been seen. This, so far as I know, is the first time the lymphatic vessels have been recognized distended with their burden of cancer epithelia and carrying the diseased germs.

Doctor Jones also discussed two diseases — endothelioma and gyroma — discovered in the course of her microscopical researches, and closed her remarks by describing certain improved methods in uterine surgery.

THE MEDICAL WOMAN'S MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, TO JANUARY, 1893; REPORT BY DR. ELIZABETH GARRETT ANDERSON OF ENGLAND; READ BY CONSTANCE ELDER OF ENGLAND.

The movement in support of the admission of women to the medical profession began in England in 1850, when Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell of New York, the pioneer of the same movement in the United States, studied for a time in London at Saint Bartholomew's Hospital. Thanks to her having afterward practiced in England before the Medical Registration Act was passed in 1858, she was allowed to place her name on the British Register, and she thus led the way in England, as she had already done in America, in opening the medical profession to women. Doctor Blackwell returned to New York, and the seed she had sown lay for some years dormant.

In 1860 Miss Garrett, now Mrs. Anderson, began to study with a view to obtaining an English medical qualification. Miss Garrett made many efforts to get admission into one of the existing medical schools, but without success. In the end she obtained leave from the Apothecaries' Society — the only examining body willing to admit her to examinations — to get her education privately from teachers in the recognized schools. She passed the last examination at the Apothecaries' Hall in the autumn of 1865, and was then able to register herself as a legally qualified English practitioner.

Other ladies shortly afterward essayed to follow her example, but the Apothecaries' Society refused to admit them till they could go through the complete medical course in a recognized school and under the conditions laid down for men. As this was impossible in England, several Englishwomen went abroad to study, and graduated at Zürich.

In 1868 Miss Mary Putnam of New York obtained leave

from the French Imperial Government to study in the Paris Medical School, and to pass the examination, for the M. D. degree. Miss Garrett applied for leave to enter the examinations for the M. D. degree — of which there were six — without repeating the course of medical study at Paris. This was permitted, and early in 1870 she took the degree of M. D. at Paris, a few months before the graduation of Miss Putnam, to whom, however, the opening of the university to women was entirely due. Since 1870 many women have studied and graduated at Paris.

In 1866 a dispensary for women and children was opened in a poor district in London, and Miss Garrett was for some years its only medical officer. After a time the ladies who had graduated at Zürich divided the work with her, and the dispensary was converted into a small hospital. This has gone through various changes till it is to-day a very handsome and commodious building in the Euston Road, and is known as "The New Hospital for Women." For some years after Miss Garrett and her colleagues were at work in London the movement seemed to be at a standstill, except that a great number of poor women and a fair number of well-to-do women showed their preference for the services of the medical women by employing them. There was at this time no medical school that would teach women, and no examining board that would examine them.

In 1869 several ladies, headed by Miss Jex-Blake, tried for a long time to gain admittance into the Edinburgh School and Hospital. After a long and valiant fight, of which — in pity for the then conquerors — the details need not be narrated, the little band of women had to give up the struggle, and in 1874 they left Edinburgh. Miss Jex-Blake then came to London, and, finding there was no chance of getting into any of the existing schools, she and her friends decided to start "The London School of Medicine for Women," at 30 Handel Street, Brunswick Square. For sometime the teaching of the school was theoretical only, as it was not connected with any hospital or other place for

clinical teaching. The General Medical Council of England requires that a hospital recognized as adequate for the purposes of teaching must contain 150 beds, and must also be a general hospital, and not for women only; so that the new hospital, with twenty-six beds, worked by Miss Garrett and her colleagues, could not be utilized for school purposes. In 1877, however, an alliance was formed between the women's school and the Royal Free Hospital, which contains 160 beds, and since that time the students of the London school have enjoyed excellent clinical teaching and the sole use of a large and well-appointed hospital. About the same time one of the examining boards, that of the King's and Queen's College of Physicians, Ireland, decided to admit women to the examinations for its diplomas, and in this way the last of the initial difficulties was overcome. It had taken twenty-five years from the date of Miss Blackwell's visit to England to found a medical school for women, with the required amount of hospital practice, and with an examining board willing to confer on women a legal qualification to practice. In the sixteen years which have elapsed since 1877 much more rapid progress has been made. In the place of one examining body prepared to give women a diploma there are now six, and instead of one medical school there are now eight. Of these schools the second as well as the first owes its existence to the energy and courage of Miss Jex-Blake. Having started the London school, she determined to try again at Edinburgh, and after settling there in practice she succeeded in 1886 in creating the Edinburgh School of Medicine for Women, and in allying it with a large general hospital at Leith, which is a short way distant from Edinburgh. Three years later a second school for women was established in Edinburgh, and its students now enjoy that which was refused with so much vehemence to Miss Jex-Blake and her party in their original attempts, viz., a share in the clinical practice of the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary.

At Glasgow a handsome college known as Queen Mar-

garet's has been endowed by the munificence of a private lady, Mrs. Elder, and it has been incorporated with the university. Part of the infirmary has been assigned to its students for clinical teaching, and the medical examinations and degrees of the university are open to them.

In the four schools for women only there are now 242 students — 143 in London, 56 in the two Edinburgh schools, and 43 at Glasgow. There are, moreover, at Dublin, Belfast, Cork, and Newcastle four men's schools to which women are admitted, and in which seventeen women in all are studying.

The course of medical study in the United Kingdom now extends over five years from the date of registration as a student in arts. Latin, elementary physics, and geometry are compulsory upon all students before they begin the medical course. In the case of some of the examining bodies, *e. g.*, the London University, this matriculation or arts examination covers a wide range of subjects, and it is slight in none. The six examining bodies that admit women are the universities of London, Ireland, and Glasgow, the Apothecaries' Hall, London, and the united colleges of Physicians and Surgeons of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and of Dublin.

Over one hundred and forty-four women are now upon the British Medical Register. Of these many are in India, China, Australia, or elsewhere abroad, and about fifty are in London.

Mention has already been made of the new hospital for women, which in 1890 was moved into the large and handsome building in the Euston Road, London, which it now occupies. It has forty-two beds and a very large patient department. A considerable proportion of the patients admitted into the wards require serious operations.

The hospital has a staff of four in-patient physicians and surgeons, an ophthalmic surgeon, three out-patient physicians, three assistant physicians, and six clinical assistants in the out-patient department. During the past year there were 5,833 new cases and 21,866 attendance.

The expenditure of the new hospital last year was 3,460 pounds and the receipts 3,790.

An out-door maternity department has lately been started in connection with the new hospital, in which eighty patients have been attended, with no mortality. At Clapham, on the South of London, Dr. Annie McCall has formed a more important maternity charity, consisting of a hospital with a large out-door department. In the hospital 502 women have been attended, with no maternal death, and in their own homes 2,600 women have been attended with only one maternal death. Over three-fourths of all the cases admitted into the hospital have been primiparæ, all the consultants are women, and all the operations have been performed by women. As a few years ago Dr. Matthews Duncan estimated the ordinary mortality in child-birth to be, in skilled hands, as high as 1 per cent, the 3,100 cases treated by Miss McCall, her assistants and pupils, with only one death, is a most excellent record.

A provident dispensary for poor women and children has been for several years successfully carried on in Notting Hill by Mrs. Marshall, M. D., and other qualified medical women. A small hospital in connection with refuge work among young girls is also at work in the North of London, under the care of Mrs. Stanley Boyd, M. D., and is doing much good.

Medical women have hitherto been excluded from all the medical societies in London. There are, however, indications that this will not much longer be the case. The British Medical Association, to which Mrs. Anderson had been admitted in 1872, passed a formal resolution in 1878 to exclude women in future from its membership. Mrs. Anderson remained a member, but no other woman was able to follow her into the association. During last year, however, several of the colonial branches of the association petitioned to be allowed to admit women, and, the question being brought up at the annual meeting at Nottingham, a resolution to rescind the hostile vote of 1878 was proposed

by a member of the council, Dr. J. H. Galton, seconded by Mrs. Anderson, and carried by an overwhelming majority. It is hoped that this striking evidence of change of opinion on the part of the medical profession generally will lead in a short time to making women eligible for admission to all other medical societies.

In the meantime an excellent medical library and club-room have been organized for the use of medical women at the new hospital, where the leading English and American periodicals are taken, and where monthly meetings are held at which papers are read and discussed by the members of the Medical Women's Association. Many valuable gifts of books have been received. Medical women from America and the Continent are permitted to make temporary use of this room while in London upon payment of a small subscription. Application for admission should be made to Mrs. Marshall, M. D., 13 Upper Berkeley Street, London, W.

The review now made of the past history and present condition of the medical women's movement in the United Kingdom affords good grounds for encouragement, and though much yet remains to be done before women can be said to have completely overcome the prejudice against their engaging in a work of so much responsibility and difficulty as that of medicine, it may confidently be anticipated that they will at no distant date succeed in their endeavor, and that in doing so it will be recognized that they have done good service to the community at large, as well as to themselves.

The Medical Education of Women in Great Britain and Ireland; Report by Dr. Sophia Jex-Blake of Scotland; Read by Constance Elder of England.*

The university that practically led the van in admitting women to British degrees was, as was perhaps to be

* The valuable appendix to this report will be found in the appendix to this volume.—[The Ed.]

expected, the University of London. When, in January, 1878, the question of the admission of women was brought by the senate before convocation, it was decided on the side of liberality by an overwhelming majority (241 to 132 votes), and the degrees of this, the leading university of Great Britain, have ever since been thrown open on equal conditions to all comers, as the rewards of academic merit alone; no longer to be regarded, as still are unfortunately the degrees of some other British universities, as a mere "appanage of the male sex." It is a matter of some interest that examinations are, in this university, conducted by papers marked with numbers only, so that examiners do not know the sex of the candidate; and thus the question of relative capacity for success has been for the first time tried before an inevitably impartial tribunal. It is at least worth notice that an analysis of the results given in the *University Calendar* shows that during the first five years (1878 to 1883) 7,208 men went up for the matriculation examination, and 3,712 passed, *i. e.*, 51.5 per cent; while 619 women went up, and 427 passed, or 69 per cent. Of course I would not for a moment argue from this fact that the mental power of women is superior to that of men (an assertion which seems to me just as absurd as its converse), but that the comparatively small number of women who take advantage of the lately opened door value their privileges more highly, and are more thoroughly in earnest in their use of them, than is the case with the average student of the other sex, for whom academic honors have always hitherto been arbitrarily reserved.

With regard to the colleges of surgeons, the final success was to be still delayed for some years. It was not till 1885 that the Irish College of Surgeons, under the enlightened presidency of Sir Charles Cameron, threw open its doors to women on the same terms as to men; and in February, 1886, the conjoint Scottish Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons took the same step. This action was singularly opportune in view of the passing of a new medical act a few months

later, which required a "double qualification" (*i. e.*, in both surgery and medicine) from all candidates for registration, and which therefore, but for the voluntary action of the Irish and Scotch colleges, would once more have excluded women from the register; unless, indeed, it had contained a compulsory clause requiring every recognized examining board to admit all candidates, irrespective of sex. Now, however, the requisite provision has been made by the wise liberality of the Scotch and Irish colleges, and it is left to the English Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons to remain alone "on a bad eminence" of persistent exclusion. It might have been thought that when, in March, 1886, these colleges asked a woman to lay the foundation stone of their new conjoint examination hall, it would have been a graceful act to announce that students of Her Majesty's sex would no longer be excluded from their portals — but this unfortunately was not the view taken by the learned bodies in question.

Until 1886 the London school afforded the only opportunity of medical study for women, and this fact presented very great difficulties to those residing at a distance from the metropolis, especially to Scotch and Irish students. In point of fact the number of Scotch girls who desire to study medicine is considerably greater in proportion to population than the number from either England or Ireland; and I can myself testify to the many applications I have had in past years from natives of Scotland, whose circumstances made it impossible for them to go so far from home as was then necessary, though they would gladly have availed themselves of more readily accessible opportunities. When, therefore, early in 1886, the Scottish colleges threw open their examinations and diplomas, it seemed of pressing importance that classes should once more be reopened in Edinburgh; and, after an interval of twelve years, this, I am thankful to say, was successfully accomplished in 1886. A first year's course was provided for women in Surgeon's Hall, and eight students at once took advantage of the

opportunities offered. These ladies, moreover, acquitted themselves with marked distinction; for the prize lists of the Extra-mural School of Edinburgh (published in the *Scotsman* of March 28, 1887) showed the very unusual fact that every member of the little class had attained a place in the honors lists. A small executive committee, consisting of members of the larger committee of the National Association for Promoting the Medical Education of Women, was constituted, and arrangements completed for the full curriculum of medical education; though, while the number of students is small and the funds low, some of the courses of lectures are, for the sake of economy, given in biennial rotation only. The authorities of the Leith Hospital most kindly consented to throw open their wards to our students, and arrangements for full courses of clinical instruction were made. Excellent premises were secured for the school in the historic precincts of Surgeon Square, comprising a circular lecture-theater seated for about a hundred and fifty persons, two large halls lighted from above, and other smaller apartments. Here, however, as elsewhere, we find the chief difficulty to consist in the provision of the sinews of war, and in the fact that, no public funds being available, every penny has to be obtained from the comparatively small number of those who are fully awake to the importance of the movement. In Edinburgh the number of wealthy friends is much smaller than in London, and we can not fall back upon the great city companies, who have on more than one occasion given generous aid to the London school. We live in hopes, however, that some enlightened Scotchman, or Scotchwoman, with equally large heart and large means, will come to our rescue, and enable us to tide over the first few years of difficulty, when the expenditure must necessarily exceed the income from students' fees. It is, however, somewhat unfortunate that the time of success should have been delayed by the unwise opening of some other medical classes in Edinburgh, at lower fees (and without access to qualifying hospital

instruction), which has split up the already insufficient number of students, and prolonged the period of dependence upon outside support.

Quite recently, in March, 1893, the final success has been won for the Edinburgh school by the consent of the University of St. Andrews to accept its classes as of academical value, to allow its students to enter their names as matriculated undergraduates of the university, and to present themselves for examination for its medical degrees. In fact, the school has now become an outlying section of the University of St. Andrews, and the battle that began in Edinburgh almost a quarter of a century ago has ended in complete and absolute victory, though unfortunately the University of Edinburgh has not done itself the honor of contributing to the final result.

In Glasgow the medical education of women has been taken up by the authorities of Queen Margaret College, which is fortunate in possessing considerable endowments, and by this means it has become possible to affiliate the women's school to the University of Glasgow, which examines its students and grants to them the ordinary degrees.

In Ireland all the examining boards, with the exception of Trinity College, are open to women; and women are also received as students at most of the schools, viz., at the College of Surgeons in Dublin, and at the Queen's Colleges at Belfast, Cork, and Galway. In all these cases their education is mainly, if not entirely, conducted in mixed classes.

It will thus be seen that there is now little difficulty in obtaining medical education and a registrable qualification in any one of the three kingdoms, and what obstacles remain depend chiefly on the fact that the medical schools for women have as yet received no share of public money, and that very considerable expenses have to be met entirely from private sources. The women who desire to study medicine are frequently unable to meet the cost of the five years' education now required, and the scholarships

and bursaries, which are available in such large numbers at the universities and colleges for men, are but slenderly represented in the women's schools. A few have, however, been founded in connection with the London school, and two in connection with Edinburgh. One of the latter is of special interest, as it is designed to aid Hindu ladies who may desire to complete their medical studies in this country, and one of them, Rose Govindurajulu, has been enabled by its means to come to us for a British education and registrable diploma.

At the beginning of 1893 the number of women who had entered their names in the British Medical Register amounted to 158, of whom nine have died since registration. About fifty are in practice in India and other parts of the East, chiefly as medical missionaries; some of the younger women (perhaps twenty) are still engaged in study at various schools and hospitals, chiefly on the Continent; and the remainder are in practice in various parts of Great Britain, more than half of these having settled in London. The number of posts thrown open to medical women increases every day, and the demand for their services in various directions is still considerably in excess of the supply. I have within the last few weeks had applications from three different quarters, viz., from Lady Dufferin's Association, from an independent post in India, and from a medical missionary society, and have been unable to supply any of them with the medical women they desired. From provincial towns, also, in England and Scotland come inquiries why medical women do not settle there in practice, and quite recently I was consulted as to the propriety of establishing a medical woman in a country village, for the benefit of the surrounding district, after the fashion of Dr. Rhoda Gale in Charles Reade's "Woman Hater."

The stringent regulations attending medical registration in this country, though increasing the difficulties in the first instance, have in the long run been of real service to medical women; as they have made it impossible that a num-

ber of half-educated women could foist themselves upon the public, and claim equality with practitioners of either sex who have gone through a complete curriculum. Some female quacks there have been no doubt, but the line drawn by registration is so sharp and clear that a very moderate amount of caution makes any deception on this head almost impracticable. Some of the medical missionary societies were for a few years somewhat ill-advised in this matter, for, finding it impossible to obtain a sufficient supply of fully qualified women, they committed the fatal mistake of employing a certain number of half-educated persons, who had gone through a fallacious "two years' course," but the results have been so far from satisfactory that the societies are now recognizing their error, and are recalling some of their half-trained women in order that they may be fully qualified, or that their places may be taken by others.

To sum up the preceding brief and imperfect sketch, I think we may now claim that the victory is substantially won all along the line; for it is the exception rather than the rule at present to exclude women from any examining board, and adequate schools for their education exist in each of the three kingdoms. In an appendix I submit a list of the schools and examining boards open to women, and also a list of those who, up to the beginning of the present year, have taken their place on the National Medical Register.

In conclusion, I trust I may be allowed to say that, as an Englishwoman who received a great part of her medical education on the other side of the Atlantic, and who has occasion to cherish very grateful memories of her American sisters — foremost among whom stands my late noble friend and teacher, Dr. Lucy Sewall — I feel it to be a great pleasure and privilege to be allowed this opportunity of greeting the World's Congress of Representative Women at Chicago, and of touching hands of greeting with my professional sisters on the other side of the ocean.

Rev. Mary L. Moreland.

Rev. Eugenia T. St. John.

Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi.

Rev. Florence E. Kollock.

Rev. Caroline J. Bartlett.

DISCUSSION BY MRS. ELLIS R. SHIPP, M. D., OF UTAH.

Dr. Ellis R. Shipp, discussing the same topic, opened with a tribute to woman in the medical profession, her peculiar fitness to the work because of the gentleness, tender sympathy, kindness, and patience of her nature, and her unselfish devotion as the guardian of infancy and childhood through times of suffering, and even up to man's estate. Dwelling upon the divine mission and characteristics of motherhood, she adds, "Who is so well qualified to minister to the maternal pangs of woman as one of her own sex? And we aver that none are more capable of comprehending the great physical laws that govern procreation!"

The writer referred to the recognition of women physicians not only in enlightened countries, but in far-off climes, in China and Japan, where skillful surgery had secured to some in the profession world-wide honor and fame.

Woman in the Pulpit — Address by Rev. Florence E. Kollock of California (Universalist).

Woman in the world is the product of the will of the First Great Cause. Woman in the pew is the natural sequence of woman in the world. "Woman in the pulpit" is the inevitable consequence of woman in the pew.

Logically, the power that gave woman being is accountable for the fact of her thought and her discussion upon questions relating to her origin, duty, and destiny. Theologically there is no responsibility in the case. Woman antedates theology, however, so before her mental and moral activities were prescribed we find her one of the active agents in awakening, quickening, and propagating certain religious truths; instrumental, also, in not only giving the world its great prophets, priests, and teachers, but

sustaining them in their efforts to fulfill the mission on which they were sent.

It was a mother's love and a woman's wit that rescued Moses from the hand of the slayer of the innocents, and so gave the Hebrew nation a leader, and all civilization a lawmaker. It was Miriam who prophesied for her beloved people, and told them of their coming weal and woe. Deborah, the Hebrew Boadicea, as Coleridge calls her, whose knee had not bowed to Baal — a woman of faith, courage, and patriotism — was given the high office of Judge of Israel, and at last became the military leader of her people; and how grandly the day was won, and Israel redeemed, the ode of Deborah triumphantly sings. The prayers of the once childless Hannah gave her despairing nation an inspired leader. Queen Esther and Judith were the savior and the avenger of their people; and so on through Hebrew history.

From the early dawn of the Christian era down to the present day woman has been one of the most potent factors in the presentation, growth, and spread of the new religion. The tenderest acts of service on the part of Christ were bestowed upon women — the unfortunate, the sorrowing, and serving. Through woman's wrongs, her loyalty, her sorrows, he taught the world the sublimest lesson of unselfishness, sympathy, and charity that the ages have ever witnessed.

Only through a woman's nature could these new principles of conduct be proclaimed to the world. The twelve were not more clearly called to preach the gospel than the "last at the cross and the first at the tomb" were ordained to speak — not merely of his gospel, but rather of him — of his power and compassion, of his wondrous love and illumined life. As example is more valuable than precept, the testimony of these women concerning Christ has been more valuable than all the recorded miracles of his ministry — aye, even than his sermon on the mount.

Other prophets and inspired teachers the world has

known before Christ's voice was heard in exhortation and prayer. But the world passed their words of wisdom by, and turned a deaf ear to their exhortation. But when the life illumined the word, and the spirit gave the letter its own invincible power, the teacher became greater than his lessons, and his simplest precept took a new significance.

Men were sent forth to preach his gospel. Women just as truly were given the higher, more valuable, more delicate mission of proclaiming him — his sermon to the woman at the well, his sympathy at the grave with the mothers and their children — to the unfortunate, the betrayed, the afflicted. And when the hour of agony had passed and the victory had come, it was faithful, loyal, and believing woman whom the angel met at the empty sepulchre, and commanded, authorized, ordained to "go quickly and tell his disciples that he is risen from the dead, assuring them that he goeth before you."

Later, while Paul was yet the fierce Saul of Tarsus, "persecuting the Christians even unto death," the "Marys and Marthas" were loyal to the teachings of the Master, and faithful, tender, and reverent to his memory; never betrayers of Christ, but always his friends; never among his persecutors, but always with the persecuted. Gifted with that fine spiritual insight that made it possible to recognize the authority of Christ, it is not strange that the records of the Christian church, from the earliest down to the latest, should be illumined with the deeds of heroism and self-sacrifice so freely performed by women "in his name." To a nature capable of this loyalty, and imbued with this faith, it was but in keeping with the inward impulse to impart it to others.

To every careful reader of the Bible it is a profound mystery from whence came that morbid and unholy sentiment that seeks refuge behind St. Paul, and interprets his "Women, keep silent in church," to mean "Keep out of the pulpit only." Sing in the church, pray without ceasing in it and for it — God knows it needs your prayers

— teach the young, form their theological opinions, awaken their spiritual nature; expound to them the doctrines of prayer, of repentance, of forgiveness; form their immortal minds for immortality — do all this and more; build churches, pay debts, educate young men for the ministry; turn, if need be, the church into a concert hall, a sewing-room, a salesroom, a restaurant, a bake shop; do all this, if need be, to raise money for church extension, for the Bible and tract society, for home and foreign missions; but do not preach for a salary, do not desecrate holy services by administering the sacraments of the church; for Paul said "Let women keep silence in the churches, for it is not permitted unto them to speak."

Higher Biblical criticism and the better judgment of thoughtful men and women took this question under serious consideration, with such results as I am glad to place before you at this time in reference to the position of the various religious bodies in regard to the indorsement of women for the work of the church.

First, The Universalists.— In the year 1856 the Universalist denomination at Canton, N. Y., founded a college of letters and arts, in connection with a divinity school, known as the St. Lawrence University, and threw open the doors of this institution to both men and women on equal terms. The first woman who entered the theological department of St. Lawrence University was Olympia Brown, who entered in the year 1861, graduated in the year 1863, and was regularly ordained to the Christian ministry. Since the founding of St. Lawrence University eight women have been regularly graduated after pursuing the full course of study, six more have pursued special courses, and four are at present studying there. One of these will graduate next month.

In 1881 the Ryder Divinity School, at Galesburg, Ill., in connection with Lombard University, was opened to men and women on equal terms, and has had from one to three women students every year.

A third divinity school of the same denomination opened its doors to women last September—that of Tuft's College, Boston. Three young women immediately entered it.

As a result of this policy the Universalist Register for 1893 contains the names of thirty-six women, twenty-seven of whom are regularly ordained to the Christian ministry, while the remaining nine are licensed to preach by the ecclesiastical authority of the church, and will be entitled to full ordination at the expiration of two years as licentiates.

SECOND, THE UNITARIANS.—Women were admitted as students to the Meadville school in the year 1868. The present year three are in attendance. Up to the present time the whole number admitted is twenty-one. Of this number six graduated from the full course, the others taking special work. It is a fact worth remembering that the number of young men in this divinity school who have taken but a partial course of study is proportionately as large as the number of women who have done so.

Manchester New College, Oxford, England, is open to women, and in the first year has received three American women to its lectures — two Unitarians and one Universalist.

The year-book of the Unitarian church contains the names of nineteen clergywomen. The demand for them in both the Universalist and the Unitarian denominations far exceeds the supply.

THIRD, THE FREE-WILL BAPTISTS.—The well-known college of this denomination at Hillsdale, Mich., was founded in 1855. Its charter provides that "all persons, regardless of sex, color, or nationality, shall be entitled to all its advantages." The theological department was opened in 1878, admitting women on equal terms with men. During the last fifteen years twenty women have taken a partial course of study in this department. In addition to this number, six women have taken the full course and received the degree of B. D.

The theological seminary at Lewiston, Maine, in connection with Bates College, is also open to women.

In the Free-Will Baptist denomination twelve women are in full ordination, and fourteen are licensed as lay preachers.

FOURTH, THE BAPTISTS.— The dean of the divinity school of the University of Chicago, in answer to a letter of inquiry concerning the status of women in the ministry of the Baptist denomination, writes: "The divinity school, which is a part of the university, is under a special charter, obtained years ago. For the past twenty-five years we have been admitting women to all our classes."

They are not there by sufferance. The paragraph in the calendar on this subject is as follows: "Women are admitted on equal terms with men. They receive no encouragement to enter upon the work of public preaching, but on the contrary are distinctly taught that the New Testament nowhere recognizes the ordination of women to the Christian pastorate." I may say that seven or eight women are now regularly matriculated in this divinity school, preparing themselves, doubtless, for pagan pastorates, as it is the denominational policy of this church to recognize and encourage women as foreign missionaries.

So, while the "Christian pastorate" is kept in special reserve for the men of the Baptist denomination, the theological scholars will welcome to their halls and educate the women who will brave the perils of land and sea, of cannibalism and scourges, fevers and plagues, spiritual darkness and moral degradation, to carry the gospel of Christ to those who sit in darkness.

FIFTH, THE CONGREGATIONALISTS.— As the name implies, this intelligent and progressive body of Christian people are self-governing; therefore it has, in the question of the ordination of women, no fixed policy, but each church exercises such liberty in the matter as the majority of its individual body may choose. Hence we find some churches freely granting ordination to women. There are at least twelve women in this body enjoying the full ecclesiastical rights and privileges of ordination. Three

years ago the great theological seminary of Hartford was thrown open to women students, and a number availed themselves of the opportunity thus afforded. At present four women are pursuing a course of theological study there.

Oberlin College, in compliance with the terms of its charter, opened all its departments to men and women on equal terms. Antoinette Brown Blackwell was an early graduate of this worthy institution, and received ordination from the Congregational church in the year 1853.

SIXTH, THE PRESBYTERIANS.— This body ordains no women to the ministry, and has, since the day that Sarah Smiley preached from the Rev. Dr. Cuyler's pulpit, inserted a clause in its blue book prohibiting the ministers of that body from inviting women into the pulpit.

I could fill a volume with a statement of the work that this denomination permits its women to do out of the pulpit, in the way of money-raising, church-building, home and foreign missionary teaching, praying, praising; but all this is common to all churches.

SEVENTH, THE METHODISTS.— In October, 1891, the Wesleyan Methodists in council struck out from the discipline of the church the clause prohibiting women from receiving ordination in that body. Protestant and Primitive Methodists also have ordained women. The exact number who are exercising full ecclesiastical privilege in those branches of the Methodist church I have not been able to ascertain. That the church has taken this just attitude toward the women of its body is sufficient to command for it the highest respect and confidence of all who believe in the law of liberty.

EIGHTH, THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.— This great body of devout and earnest Christians has not yet accorded to its women the justice that many foremost in its ranks are demanding. For years their theological schools have been educating women, accepting their money and time, but the General Conference has steadily refused

to equip them thoroughly for the very work for which their theological schools were encouraging them to educate themselves. As missionaries, home and foreign, as thoughtful and scholarly preachers, as earnest and convincing exhorters, they have proved — until proof is no longer necessary — their perfect fitness for the work of the ministry; and they and the world are waiting for the General Conference to acknowledge the fact.

NINTH, OTHER DENOMINATIONS.— The secretary of the Women's Ministerial Conference reports the interesting fact that to the United Brethren belongs the honor of having ordained the first woman to the Christian ministry. The Rev. Lydia Sexton of Seattle, Wash., now ninety-three years old, was ordained by the United Brethren in 1851, two years prior to the ordination of the Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell. The Rev. Mrs. Sexton has been in active service in her denomination until within a few years, when failing eyesight compelled her to withdraw from active work.

Among the Friends, women have from the first taken the same rank as the men of that body. It is computed that more than two hundred and fifty women are to-day enrolled among the accredited speakers of this sect.

The universities of Switzerland admit women to lectures on theology, though not to examination. Germany has not yet moved in the matter.

That women are in the pulpit, and in larger numbers are going to it, is a fact. Women alone can account for the fact. They do account for it, as follows: First, moral influence has superseded physical force; we need not theology, but ministry. Second, the right to do a work is now determined by the disposition and the ability of the individual. Third, women possess powers, moral and spiritual, that make her a competent minister.

Woman's Call to the Ministry — Address by Rev. Caroline J. Bartlett of Michigan (Unitarian).

It will doubtless be conceded that some one of the following propositions is true:

1. Woman is in her mental, moral, and spiritual nature substantially the same as man, and his equal; or,

2. She is, in these respects, substantially like man, but inferior to him, a "lesser man" so to speak; or,

3. She is in her mental, moral, and spiritual nature substantially different from man. (Whether his equal, inferior, or superior we need not now ask.)

Now, if woman is in her mental, moral, and spiritual characteristics substantially the same as man, and his equal, then she has precisely the same call as man to enter upon the work of the ministry, in which mentality, morality, and spirituality are the supreme tests of qualification. But if, secondly, she is substantially the same as man, but his inferior, how can the fact of her inferiority in any department be ascertained except by allowing her a free field, without favor or hindrance, so that she may demonstrate her innate inferiority, which the world is growing so skeptical about? It does not comport with the most advanced ethics that the stronger should deny the weaker a fair trial of their strength. It is too much for fortitude to be born neither free nor equal. The matter of equality can never be settled till freedom be granted, and then the law which governs "the survival of the fittest" will determine woman's lease of the pulpit as of all other mundane things. But, thirdly, if woman is in her mental, moral, and spiritual constitution substantially different from man, then by that difference is she unerringly called to the work of the ministry, whether the sum total of woman's gifts is an exact equivalent of man's gifts or not.

Humanity is made up of two halves, male and female, and it seems to me a self-evident fact that, if these two

halves of humanity are substantially different in their mental, moral, and spiritual traits, the one half can never fully understand, interpret, or represent the other half.

I wish to elaborate this third proposition, self-evident though it appears to me, because most persons who oppose woman's entrance into this and other fields which have been hitherto exclusively occupied by men do not, of course, do so from the standpoint of conviction that woman is substantially the same as man — nor do most of the opponents base their opposition upon woman's supposed inferiority — but the claim is made that woman, being essentially different from man, has a proper orbit of her own which must not impinge upon the orbit of man; and so she is shut out of participation in much of that work in life which affords the best self-development and the largest usefulness to the world.

But let us glance at the fundamental facts. Woman is first of all a human being; before she is a woman, before she is a mother, before she is a preacher, before she is a parishioner, back of all, and fundamentally, she is a human being. As such she possesses in common with man those traits which distinguish humanity from the lower animals — reason, conscience, sympathies, coördinating faculties, the desire and the capacity to help and to be helped by other human beings toward more ideal ways of life. Now let us dismiss the silly notion that man is all reason and woman all intuition. Both reason and intuition are human powers, and the man or the woman who is destitute of either is a defective human being.

Whether the difference between manhood and womanhood consists in the possession of some quality or qualities by each which the other does not possess, or whether the difference lies in the usual preponderance of certain qualities in the one sex and of certain other qualities in the other sex, still the two resultants are substantially, and let us trust ineradicably, different, so that the ideal humanity is not man and is not woman, it is both. And thus it is

that humanity, being made up of two diverse halves, needs to draw its interpreters, its teachers, its ministers from both, else the interpretation, the teaching, the religion must be warped, incomplete, ineffective, and not roundly *human*. Does that mean that a man and a woman should minister in each church? That would indeed be an ideal arrangement, and one, as you have heard to-night, not wholly unrealized. But it would not be universally practicable, nor is it necessary. There is another way of infusing the dual and complete human element into the religious life, and that is to get it into the fountain-source. Then it will flow through all the channels. What is the trouble to-day with the creeds from the tyranny of which so many of the churches are trying to free themselves? What but that they were formulated by one-half of humanity for both — the woman element was utterly ignored, the mother heart was not permitted to speak. Relentless "logic," which we say preponderates with man, was allowed full sway, without having first determined whether the fundamental premises upon which men built were in harmony with the thought of love at the heart of the universe. When women help to formulate the expressions of religious faith which contribute so powerfully to mold the religious life of those who subscribe to them, the church itself will be humanized; and whether it be a man or a woman who ministers from your pulpit, the genius of the church, the spirit of the religion taught, which is greater than the individuality of the minister, will be broadly and highly, strongly and tenderly, bravely and purely human and divine. But exclude woman from the pulpit and never will you have her unique and humanizing influence at the fountain-head. Nay, you degrade her everywhere. For what is the work of the ministry but to teach the art of life? What is the true church but the school in which we are to learn how to live and act nobly, purely, unselfishly, helpfully, day by day, here and hereafter? If in this school man is always the teacher and woman the pupil, if he must always speak and she listen,

if he must preach and she practice, what does not she and the world lose by this constant repression of her genius, this rejection of her point of view, this perpetual silencing within her soul of her divine call?

Moreover, nothing but woman in the pulpit can give her rightful place and dignity to woman in the pews, or woman anywhere.

And yet I would make no extravagant claim for woman as a teacher of religion. I would not say woman is so good, so raised above temptations that assail man, that she should therefore be the religious teacher. A class so good by nature that it could not comprehend or sympathize with the tempted — angels, for instance — could not much help the average man or woman with its preaching. We should be very apt to say: "You can not possibly comprehend my situation; you are too far above the trials, and turmoil, and the motives that touch me." I make no such plea of superiority for woman. When made it weakens her cause. We want in our religious teachers and preachers everywhere not mere ignorance of sin and sinful motives, but virtue which blooms from overcoming these.

And again, I for one should regret a great preponderance of women preachers over men preachers, even more than I regret the present overwhelming majority of women as teachers in our public schools; yes, as much as I regret that so many children are robbed of their full rights of paternal care and training, and are wholly dependent upon maternal influence. We all of us — men, and women, and children — need not only guardians, teachers, ministers who shall interpret and reveal ourselves to us; we need also those who shall reveal and interpret to us that other half of humanity with which, as husband and wife, father and daughter, mother and son, brother and sister, friend and friend, we are, to our blessing, inextricably commingled.

But to-day, while the present abnormal state of things exists in the church, I believe that the greatest need of the church is to be *mothered*. Until the creeds are humanized,

which were formulated by the early "church fathers" and by our Puritan forefathers; until the lost balance of religion is restored by the restoration of the *woman* element to the mutilated human and the mutilated divine; until the motherhood as well as the fatherhood of God is recognized by this world of self-made half-orphans; until these things be, the supreme call to the ministry that vibrates through the world to-day is to womanhood to give herself to the service of unifying and uplifting humanity, and bringing it up to the true knowledge and glad service of our Father and Mother God.

DISCUSSION OF SAME SUBJECT BY REV. EUGENIA ST. JOHN OF KANSAS (METHODIST).

We believe that woman's native intuition is as necessary in the pulpit as man's logical, reasoning powers. Reason has stood still and argued from cause to effect, and has asked these questions: "How shall it be done?" "Why shall it be done?" "Can it be done, and shall we do it?" Meanwhile intuition has made rapid transit across the pathway of reason; has probed the mystery, solved the question, brought the remedy, and when reason has come to its conclusion intuition is already at work at the business.

Woman is just as powerful with her intuition in the pastorate as in the pulpit. She can tell whether she can offer a morning prayer, or read a passage of Scripture, or sing a song, or say a kind word, or pat a little child on its head and gladden the heart of the poor mother as she goes in and out among her people. She sees the field as soon as she enters it, and meets the need by applying the remedy. If it is a business meeting of her church her intuition sees the crusty man that has come to break the harmony, and she uses a woman's tact to the overcoming of the stubborn nature, and anticipates him at every step. Therefore we find to-day that man is puzzled, in an executive body, how to handle the women preachers, while the woman preacher is delighted

at the way she is able to handle the body of executive brethren.

We turn, then, and say in conclusion that by woman's power of intuition she has been able to reach out in the line of winning souls to Christ continuously. It is said the underwork has been given us, but it has been given to us in discipline to prepare us to take the pulpit. Now we are at the foot of the cross, being taught by the great teacher, inspired with hope that we may be able to fill the place that God has opened, even broader than we had asked for.

It seems to me that intuition and reason have come to woman in the new era, and that she is not only able to exert her intuition, but she is able to reason, and the two faculties combined will make the perfect whole.

We find in the occasion of the hour only the sequel to what has been done in the past by the brave women whose voices we hear to-day, who have stood in the ministry for thirty-seven years, some of them without church orders; but, praise God, the orders are coming faster than we knew of.

DISCUSSION OF SAME SUBJECT BY REV. MARY L. MORELAND OF ILLINOIS (CONGREGATIONALIST).

I am doubly interested in this point of woman's entering the pulpit. I can not imagine what could have been in the hearts of the brethren all these years to have closed the doors of the pulpit and said to woman: "You can come just so far and no farther." They want women in the services; they want them in the prayer-room, and in every department of the church, but not in the pulpit. I am more than interested when I realize what this congress is going to do for the churches of the different denominations. It may be possible to-night that some young woman is sitting under me that is thinking seriously of entering the pulpit. Many hindrances, no doubt, are placed before you; but let me assure you there is no chasm so hard to cross but that, if you have faith and courage, you can cross it. I

do not speak especially from an experience of hardship in entering the ministry myself. Years ago, in a little town in Massachusetts, I got my call from God, and I said to the old minister of my church: "I will not be a minister; I will not enter the ministry when men are opposed to it. I do not propose to choose a life of hardship." And so I put off the earnest call and went out into other departments of work. But one day, unexpectedly, it seemed to me that God again had led me out in spite of my wish or desire; and so the deacons of the church to which I had been called, said: "Miss Moreland, it is your duty to be ordained." And I said: "It is not; don't mention this matter; you will break up the church and spoil our meetings." I said I had never heard of a lady's being ordained in a Congregational church, but I found I was mistaken, for there was one before myself. That ordination was urged upon me, and the work of the pulpit became possible.

Objections are often presented to the ministry of women; but you know that women from the earliest centuries have served in every capacity and every department of life. How very strange to say that women shall not enter the ministry. The word minister means more than a mere leader. It implies that we must bear together all the service that may be placed on the shoulder of each individual. I realize that many a woman will be called into hard places, called to places where perhaps many temptations will be met, and she will say: "I must fail." But when those moments have come she should say: "I will not fail, because I am a woman."

It is becoming customary to ordain women in the Congregational church. Ten ladies have been ordained into our church, and I hope to see many more enter. Let us hail all the opportunities that may come; let us welcome the privileges God brings; let us no longer stand on customs of the past in questions of ministry, any more than in other calls of life.

Woman as a Minister of Religion — Extracts from the Address by Rev. Mary A. Safford of Iowa (Unitarian).

As that monarch of the forest, the oak, is the result of the evolution of physical life, so woman's place in the church as a minister of religion is the result of that evolution of spiritual life which will yet transform the world.

For centuries the power of church and state rested on human souls with crushing weight. Little hope there seemed that the sons and daughters of God could ever rise into the noble stature of a free manhood and womanhood. But the demand for civil and religious liberty grew stronger and stronger, and slowly but surely the divine right of kings has given way to the diviner rights of human souls; the authority of the priest has yielded to the authority of reason and conscience, until at last the world is awaking to the truth that every human being has a right to grow. Thus it has come to pass that to-day woman stands in the pulpit as an ordained minister of religion. The growth of civil and religious liberty explains her advancement in the state and in the church. As a part of humanity she has shared in its unfolding life. With the growing recognition of the worth of the individual, woman is coming to her own.

Vainly does the church attempt to stay her progress. At one time, armed with the power of the state, it could forbid her standing in the pulpit as a minister of the eternal gospel of truth, and love, and righteousness. Now it can only fling at her the missiles of ridicule and invective. No longer a child, woman claims the privilege of deciding for herself what is right. When told that woman is not fitted to preach, that it is enough for her to attend the weekly sewing society and embroider altar-cloths, she quietly answers: "You can not decide these matters for me. The right of private judgment is mine, as well as yours, and I shall exercise it."

MINNIE D. LOUIS.
ZINA D. H. YOUNG.

ALICE MAY SCUDDER.
MARY LOWE DICKINSON.
ELIZABETH B. GRANNIS.

REV. IDA C. HULTIN.
ELLA DIETZ CLYMER.

In a word, while conservative clergymen have been slowly adjusting their spectacles to look up Biblical texts to be used as weapons against her, she has left them to their discussions of disputed passages and serenely gone forth to proclaim the living word of truth to the many who have gladly welcomed her as a true minister of God.

The eternal sanction for entering upon any good work is the ability to perform it. The questions, "Can woman preach?" "May woman preach?" which some well-meaning people are still debating with ludicrous solemnity, have been answered affirmatively, in the most convincing way, according to the scientific method, by actual experiment.

As Galileo, when ridiculed and denounced for declaring that all bodies fall equally fast, performed his experiment at the leaning tower of Pisa, by which he demonstrated the truth of his assertion for all time, giving to the world the first law of falling bodies, so woman, though told that she could not preach, has proven the contrary in a way that makes the arguments of her opponents amusing.

In the face of deep-seated prejudice and bitter, persistent opposition, she has shown beyond question that she is not only able to preach, but is also able to do far more — to endure the strain of long city pastorates and build up strong, growing churches. The place she holds to-day as a minister of religion has not been given to her; she has won it for herself, and holds it by right divine.

Doubtless the woman makes as many mistakes as the man in ministerial work. But despite the fact that the leading theological schools have been closed against her, that she has been compelled to labor under great disadvantages in securing that thorough preparation for her work which is essential to the highest success, she has already accomplished far more than could justly be expected, and the future is full of promise.

While ministering most helpfully to the deep needs of human souls, so far as her influence reaches, it tends in a special way to make religion less one-sided, less masculine

in some departments, less feminine in others, more human and divine in all.

While interested in theology as the thought side of religion, women do not emphasize it at the expense of right feeling and right action, but find God in all that liberates and lifts, in all that humbles, and sweetens, and consoles. To them the life is more than the creed; hence their presence in the pulpit tends to soften theological animosities and promote religious unity. Woman's fanaticism in the past has been largely due to her blind belief in the teachings of the church, which has presented religion from the masculine standpoint only, making it largely consist of intense devotion to certain theological beliefs.

But now the subject is also presented from another standpoint; and more and more, as men and women study side by side in theological schools, and work and confer together as equals in the ministry, religion will become less masculine in the pulpit, less feminine in the pews, more nobly human in both. Thus in its greater completeness it will the more strongly appeal to all human beings, and the churches will cease to be so largely composed of women.

The Roman Catholic church, by its exaltation of the Virgin, supplies the deep need of the human heart for infinite mother love; but those who would worship God alone must be led to realize that the Eternal is mother as well as father to all human beings; they must be led to see that the words, "As one whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you," have as deep a meaning as those other beautiful words, "Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him." We must do away with the exclusive use of masculine nouns and pronouns when speaking of the Eternal, that in the all-wise, all-loving one every yearning of the human soul may find fullest satisfaction.

Women in the ministry also exert a special influence in setting aside those offensive marriage customs which are

relics of a time when woman was really given away, was not recognized as an independent human being, but was transferred from the guardianship of her father to that of a husband. When entering into the most sacred relationship of life, where man and woman should stand side by side as equals, whatever detracts in any way from dignity and sweet sincerity should be put aside. The bride should not be given away, nor asked to promise to obey, for the promise if sincere means subordination, and certainly there should be no idle forms, no meaningless promises of any kind. The whole service should symbolize a voluntary, sacred union of equals; for in view of the subtle influence of outward forms upon human thought and feeling, whatever tends to ennoble the marriage service tends to ennoble marriage, and thus to uplift and purify humanity.

But while in special ways the influence of woman in the ministry constantly tends to remove long-standing abuses, to which in the very nature of things she is more sensitive than her brother ministers, her work in general is the same as their work, and must be tested, as theirs is tested, by its actual results. Since woman's civil rights are not yet fully recognized, her public ministry of religion might be suppressed by conservative clergymen were it not for that separation of church and state, that religious liberty, which has enabled her to win the place she holds to-day. For this reason, apart from all other weighty considerations, women make a great mistake when they uphold any legislation which tends to the union of church and state, which interferes with that religious freedom which by the constitution of these United States is guaranteed to all. When honest men are fined and imprisoned for refusing to keep Sunday instead of the Sabbath as a day of rest, when Government aid of a World's Fair is conditioned by a Sunday-closing clause, earnest, thoughtful women should utter a protest against such manifest injustice to those who do not hold the religious views of the majority.

There is no tyranny more to be feared than ecclesiastical

tyranny, and unless women are willing to be deprived of hard-won privilege, they must persistently oppose whatever tends in any way to destroy religious freedom. Vigilantly guarding that, they will be able not only to hold the place already secured for themselves as ministers of religion, but to make it a place of constantly growing influence; for the times are ripe for change. The world grows weary of worn-out creeds and lifeless traditions, and asks for something better. Men and women, who think and judge for themselves, demand a religion that authenticates itself to reason and conscience. Hence the minister who would meet their needs must be thoroughly alive, must be responsive to the best thought and noblest feeling of the age. Never was there greater need of a thoroughly equipped ministry, and women have reason to rejoice that those who enter it can not lean on external supports, but must prove their calling by their work.

In a ministry that must demonstrate its worth by what it does to help the world, woman need ask no favors, but may quietly go forward in the strength of the Eternal to accomplish all the good that her ability permits.

DISCUSSION OF SAME SUBJECT BY MRS. AMELIA S. QUINTON OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Christianity reveals and emphasizes the relation of the individual soul to God, and it removes the obstacles made by sin between God and the individual. It bridges the gulf, and takes the man back to God. It does more — it works, not mechanically but chemically, for in giving the revelation, the vision of God, it inevitably turns fear into love; it reunites God and the individual soul. Religion can not do a higher work, since to see God is to see as God sees, and that is to act as he acts, so far as the human soul can do this. Thus, then, to unite souls to God is to do all of God's work for men.

Are women fitted to do the work of this all-including

ministry? What qualifications are necessary? Evidently one must be able to see and hear, morally and spiritually, and able to repeat after God his spoken thoughts to his children. Are women endowed with these qualifications? Are they the natural teachers? Ask history; ask even the dark ages; ask also the poets and the prophets; then let each questioner look into his own home, and into his own heart, and make reply. To ask the question to-day is to answer it.

If woman is qualified, is she called? How can one know? Again let us take the divine judgment. How can we know God's call, his purpose, his requirement of any creature? The song-bird sings. She can not help it. And the great creatures of the sea must take their place therein. They die if out of their own domain, as any soul does if out of God's plan. And all God's ministers must chant his love, for they see his presence and feel his touch, in places, in persons, and in principles, and they must repeat his thoughts after him. Are women thus moved? Let even pre-Christian history answer. Have women thus moved, thus inspired, men, and cities, and nations? Let dying martyrs and transfigured saints give reply. In the latest floodtide of the world's philanthropy and Christian work are women seen and felt? Let the overwhelming statistics of the last thirty years give the answer.

CHAPTER VI.—CHARITY, PHILANTHROPY, AND RELIGION.

PREFATORY COMMENT BY THE EDITOR—COPIOUS EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESSES DELIVERED IN THE GENERAL CONGRESS BY JANE BANCROFT ROBINSON, MARY E. RICHMOND, CLARA C. HOFFMAN, LILY ALICE TOOMY, MINNIE D. LOUIS, AND URSULA N. GESTEFELD—BRIEF EXTRACTS FROM A DISCUSSION PARTICIPATED IN BY ALICE MAY SCUDDER, SARAH B. COOPER, LOIS A. WHITE, ZINA D. H. YOUNG, ELIZABETH B. GRANNIS, AND FANNY M. HARLEY—COPIOUS EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESSES DELIVERED IN THE GENERAL CONGRESS BY ELIVA ANNE THAYER, ELLA DIETZ CLYMER, MARY LOWE DICKINSON, AND REV. IDA C. HULTIN—COPIOUS EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE CATHOLIC WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT CONGRESS BY EMMA F. CARY, AND FROM AN ADDRESS PREPARED FOR THE REPORT CONGRESS BY MRS. HUGH PRICE HUGHES.

NO preceding chapter has so clearly illustrated the impartial character of the management of the great Congress as does this. The World's Congress of Representative Women anticipated the World's Parliament of Religions in bringing together, on the plane of mutual respect and sympathy, representatives of rival sects, nay, of antagonistic faiths.

While a majority of the papers setting forth the work of various religious societies will appear in the chapters devoted to Department and Report Congresses, the spirit of tolerance, nay, of fellowship, which characterized the Congress as a whole pervades this chapter, wherein are presented the aspirations and opinions, the history and hopes, of Jew and Gentile; of Catholic and Protestant; of the orthodox, whose soundness has never been questioned; of the heterodox, at whom a widening charity no longer cavils; and of the new heterodox, whose views are so recently formulated, or so vaguely shadowed forth, that they are still classed with vagarists.

The general tone of the addresses reproduced here, considered in connection with their respective authors, is most significant, and may reasonably be adduced in support of the following propositions:

First. Although not incapable of metaphysical speculation, women are by nature and by training practical; they measure a creed by its adaptation to human service.

Second. In spite of their conservatism and timidity, women are gaining rapidly "the courage of their convictions"; and their natural hopefulness, which some critics name credulity, induces in them an open mindedness which is the best corrective of excessive conservatism.

Third. The results of the higher education and of the spirit of progress are nowhere more clearly visible than in the modern methods of philanthropy. The educated, the progressive woman will remain devout and charitable. She will continue to be the loaf-giver; but she will read her Bible with a vision cleared by some knowledge of economics, and she will pursue her philanthropies in the light of a growing knowledge of science, sociology, and politics, with all of which she begins to see that philanthropy is connected.

The addresses of Mrs. Robinson, Miss Richmond, Mrs. Hoffman, Miss Toomy, Mrs. Louis, Mrs. Clymer, Mrs. Dickinson, Miss Hultin, Mrs. Hughes, and Mrs. Cary are reproduced almost entire. Mrs. Louis' paper was discussed by Mrs. Emily Marshall Wadsworth of New York, representative of the International Board of Woman's Christian Associations, and by Mrs. John T. Unger of Pennsylvania, representative of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Reformed Church of the United States; the discussion was brief, and incompletely reported, and is therefore omitted. From Mrs. Gestefeld's address about one-half is omitted, in order that the discussion of it, which was long, and representative of many lines of thought, might be inserted. In reproducing the discussion the intention has been to omit repetitions, but to give the main thought of each speaker.—[THE EDITOR.]

The Modern Deaconess Movement — An Address by Jane Bancroft Robinson, Ph. D., of Michigan.

The Revised Version tells us "The women that publish the tidings are a great host"; and what commentary the future is to give us upon that verse no mortal voice can at present foretell. But I design to limit our consideration to one phase of woman's work in the modern church which lies quite apart from any of the forms of woman's activities that are so familiar to us. Apart, and yet again near, because all alike relate to woman's helpful service and her interpretation of God's truth by god-like deeds. Yet this form of service has about it an old-time atmosphere that is in quaint contrast to the exceeding modernism of the age in which we live. In truth, it reaches back to the days of St. Paul, and curiously links the modern church with that of apostolic times. When St. Paul said (Romans xvi, 1) "I commend unto you Phebe, a deacon of the church at Cenchrea," he had in mind an individual filling an office precisely similar to that occupied by the deaconess in the modern church. The best German authorities are agreed on this point. Schäfer in "Die Weibliche Diakonie," Wacker in "Der Diakonessenberuf," as well as Fliedner himself, maintain that the office of deaconess, as it is exercised in the Protestant church of Germany at the present time, is essentially the same as the office known to the authorities of the early church.

It was in the fourth and fifth centuries that the female diaconate attained its highest importance. It developed especially in the Eastern church, for the customs of the country favored the seclusion of women members, and made it important that certain duties connected with baptism, the visiting of the sick, and the religious instruction of women be performed by women members who were deaconesses. As a consequence, the diaconate of women was known much longer in the Eastern than in the Latin

church, and traces of it were still found in the twelfth century, showing that it was a factor to be counted on for nearly two-thirds of the Christian era. As a distinct office it vanished during the Middle Ages, together with other important features of primitive Christianity. Yet it is a singular fact that occasionally the mists of oblivion are dispelled, and we catch glimpses of the office. This is especially true at any period of religious awakening. So we find some traces of a renewal of the ancient order among the Waldenses in the twelfth century; among the churches of the Netherlands shortly after the great Reformation, and among the Puritans of the sixteenth century. These attempts at the revival of the office, sporadic as they were, show that the conception of it still remained as a good to be realized. At the beginning of this century many thoughtful people were impressed with the importance of restoring to the Protestant church this arm of service of which it had been so long deprived. The cloistered nuns had replaced the apostolic deaconesses in the Catholic church, but since the famous labors of the great Bishop Vincent de Paul, that gave rise to the Sisters of Charity in the seventeenth century, the Catholic church had enjoyed many of the excellent features of the work of the deaconesses in caring for the needs of childhood and the infirmities of old age. Von Stein, the famous German minister of the early years of the century, had echoed the complaint of Southey in England, "Why can not Protestantism have its Sisters of Charity?" The answer was given by a humble pastor of an obscure village church in the little village of Kaiserswerth on the Rhine. The pastor was Theodore Fliedner, whose heart was early stirred to sympathy with the poor, the weak, and the erring. It was through his efforts that the first Prison Society was started in Germany. In his attempts to reform and aid discharged women prisoners he was led to an intelligent conception and clear conviction of the value of the services of Christian women. He determined to form a society of deaconesses. A physician's daughter gave her-

self as the first candidate, and a house was opened for the instruction and aid of the sick and friendless poor. The first patient was a Roman Catholic servant-girl. Such was the beginning of the deaconess movement of the nineteenth century. This was in 1836. To-day a visit to Kaiserswerth would be a revelation of the growth of the movement. Instead of the hired house, which gave shelter to the deaconesses in the days of the humble beginning, there is a fine building of vast proportions, the Mother House of Kaiserswerth, to which over seven hundred deaconesses, scattered throughout the nations of the world, look as to a veritable home. Connected with this is a building called the "Feierabend Haus," or "Home of Evening Rest," which is a home for those who have become infirm or aged in their self-denying toil.

There are various schools in which the deaconesses are given practice in teaching; an infant school or kindergarten, where, together with other instruction, great pains are taken that the stories of the Bible shall be told so as to make them clear and interesting to the youngest child. There is, too, a normal school, where deaconesses are prepared for all grades of teaching; an orphan asylum is maintained, where children of the educated middle class, whose fathers were pastors or professors, are received; while an insane asylum, built with every regard to modern scientific equipments, crowns an eminence just outside the village. Here only Protestant women are received, as, singularly enough, there are no questions that insane patients more violently wrangle over than differences of religious faith; but the deaconesses go forth to nurse equally patients of either sect.

At the hospital over seven hundred patients were received and cared for last year. The refuge for discharged female convicts, which was the starting point of the movement, still continues its good work. Over nine hundred women have been sheltered here, given an opportunity to turn to lives of virtue and goodness, and afforded every aid that true

friends could give them. A publishing house is also connected with the institution, which issues religious books and tracts. The institution had only existed a year and a half when some deaconesses were asked to take charge of a hospital in a neighboring town. That was the beginning of work in outside stations, so that now in Germany alone Kaiserswerth deaconesses are at work in twenty-eight different stations. But the most notable extension of the work is in Jerusalem and large cities of the East. The hospital at Jerusalem had five hundred patients last year, and over seven thousand outside patients were treated. There are also hospitals in Cairo, Alexandria, Beirut, and Constantinople. In addition there is a girls' orphanage at Jerusalem, another at Beirut, and prosperous girls' schools exist in Smyrna, Bucharest, and Florence. The homes of eastern lands are constantly being reached through the influences of these schools, and they already have had a perceptible effect upon the cause of woman's education in the East.

But what is tangible and apparent in the Kaiserswerth field of work is the least of its results. Its example has stirred the heart of Protestant Germany. Similar institutions have multiplied all over the continent and have marvelously prospered.

Deaconess institutions now exist in Switzerland, France, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Russia, Austria, England, and Germany, while the countries in which these homes have stations are literally too numerous to mention. Spain, Italy, Greece, Turkey, the countries of Northern Africa, and of Asia Minor, as well as isolated mission stations throughout the entire world, are now served by deaconesses. The institutions that are similar to Kaiserswerth unite with it in a general conference held once in three years at the little German village where the movement first began. At the conference of September, 1888, nearly sixty mother-houses were represented; and seven thousand one hundred and twenty-nine sisters were working in two thousand two hundred and sixty-three different fields of labor, distributed over nearly all countries of the world.

The deaconess performs her duties without fee or reward. This is a main feature of the system. She is not free even to accept personal presents, for in that case unworthy motives might creep in. The deaconess at Kaiserswerth receives from the institution her modest wardrode, consisting of a Sunday suit of dark blue, a working dress, blue apron, white caps and collars. She has also a small allowance of pocket-money. In case of sickness she is tenderly cared for, and when she becomes infirm or aged in the discharge of her holy duties she knows there is waiting for her a room in the House of Evening Rest, the home for aged deaconesses. A deaconess attired in her garb, with the peaceful, gentle countenance that seems distinctively to belong to her, is a pleasant sight constantly seen on the streets of German cities. Her deaconess' attire is not only a protection, assuring her chivalrous treatment from all classes of men, but it is a personal commendation that serves her well as an introduction to opening doors that would otherwise remain closed to her. There are two classes of deaconesses formally recognized — teachers and nurses. The training given to nurses at Kaiserswerth may be said to have transformed the hospital wards of Europe. It was at Kaiserswerth that Florence Nightingale received the preparation that enabled her to render such wise and valuable ministrations in the Crimean War, and to render like service to the hospitals of England on her return. On the battlefields of all the more recent European wars the deaconesses have been found caring for the wounded, ministering to the dying, taking messages for home friends, who otherwise would never know the fate of their loved ones. They perform their holy duties not from any outward motive or command, but from the impulse of the heart that genuine Christian love inspires.

Outside of nurse and hospital duties there is a wide range of activities performed by these devoted women of Christ's church. Some have charge of refuges for magdalens; others serve in penitentiaries and prisons, performing dis-

tasteful and difficult duties with patience and devotion. They do not shrink from positions of positive danger. The Kaiserswerth deaconesses have a right to be consulted before being assigned to cases of contagious diseases, but to the honor of these saintly women it can be said that no instance of refusal has ever occurred, no matter in what form of epidemic or pestilence the duty has been presented.

An important part of the deaconess' work is to serve congregations under pastoral direction. Deaconesses who perform this service are known as parish deaconesses, and their work is held to be the consummate flower of the service of the diaconate, as it approaches most nearly to that of the deaconesses of the early church.

In Paris, on the Rue de Bridaine, is located an establishment under the direction of the Calvinistic church of France, entirely devoted to the training of parish deaconesses. The older and larger mother-house is on the Rue de Reuilly, in the Faubourg St. Antoine, and is under the patronage of both branches of the Protestant church of France. It is situated in a portion of the city that has been the haunt of the turbulent and revolutionary ever since the days of the Fronde. They have under their care a school, a hospital, a reform school, and penitentiary, and from here the deaconesses go forth to the gloomy prison of St. Lazare, to have charge of the women in the Protestant division. The same story of patient love and ministration can be told of the French as of the German deaconesses.

In England the deaconess' cause is making notable extension. It has now a place of its own within the Anglican church, and outside of the London institutions has homes in the dioceses of Canterbury, Chester, Ely, Salisbury, and Winchester. Within the Established church, however, it is not to be denied that the sisterhoods have developed more prosperously than have the deaconess' homes. There are in England many independent institutions that owe their origin to the loving faith and persevering effort of individuals. Such are the establishments of Dr. Grattan Guinness

at Harley House in East London, the prison mission of Mrs. Meredith, and Doctor Lascron's Hospital and Deaconess House at Tottenham. Perhaps, however, in the United Kingdom there is no institution so widely known or so extensive in its beneficent operations as the Mildmay establishment in North London; outside of Kaiserswerth itself none occupies a greater field or is doing more to commend woman's work in the line of practical benevolence to the church.

In the German deaconess' houses the larger number of the deaconesses are from the social grade that furnishes domestic servants, although there are also among them ladies of education, of cultivation, and of better social position.

But the English deaconesses, in the large majority, are ladies of gentle birth and manners, often of noble families, who put aside lives of ease and pleasure to devote themselves to the suffering, sick, and poor "for the love of Christ and in his name." In the midst of the slums, the crime, and destitution of the most wretched parts of London, these holy women pursue their calling. The course of training is thorough and complete. Candidates are received the first month at the Probation House, that their fitness may be tested and that they may examine themselves as to their motives and the strength of their calling. Those who are retained are sent to the training-school, where a course of two years' training is generally pursued. Those who are to become trained nurses attend medical lectures and have hospital practice. In addition to the studies pursued it is expected that a portion of every day will be spent in practical work under the charge of an older deaconess. The Mildmay deaconesses, who are engaged in parish work under the direction of the clergyman of the parish, visit from house to house among the sick and poor, hold mothers' meetings, teach night-schools, conduct Bible-classes separately for men, women, and children; hold special classes for working-women and girls who are kept busily employed

during the day, and during the winter months have a weekly average of more than nine thousand attendants at their services.

They are solving the problem of "how to reach the masses" by resolving the masses into individuals, and then influencing these individuals by the power of personal effort and love. Besides the hospitals under their care, there are Convalescent Homes in the country, a Nurses' Institute at Malta, and a Medical Mission at Jaffa. There is also a railway mission for men on duty, and special work for policemen and postmen, besides other lines of useful work that we can not take space to enumerate.

From England the deaconess idea extended to Scotland, where it has found a secure lodgment in the old historic church of John Knox. With true Scotch foresight and prudence the committee appointed by the General Assembly spent nearly three years in studying the entire question of woman's work with reference to the church, and at last evolved a scheme which was reported to the Assembly in 1886, and after further consideration by the Assembly of 1887 was adopted and made a part of the organization of the church. The entire work of women in the church is divided into three divisions; the first and broadest is the Woman's Guild, that embraces members of Bible-classes, mission bands, school-teachers, and workers of whatever kind within the church. The next higher grade is the Woman-worker's Guild, into which none are admitted who have not attained a specified age and who have not worked at least two years with the approval of the kirk session. The third and highest grade is formed of the deaconesses who must engage to make Christian work in connection with the church the chief object of their lives, so long as they shall occupy the position of deaconesses. A Deaconess Institution was soon after opened in Edinburgh, and in the winter of 1888–89 three deaconesses of the church of Scotland were solemnly inducted into the office. By its action the Scotch church has formally recognized the deaconess

as an officer of the church, being the first of Protestant churches to take that measure.

A plan similar in operation to that of the church of Scotland was laid before the London Council of the Presbyterian Reformed churches last summer, and was commended to the churches represented in the alliance. Certainly the form of Christian woman's service embodied in the office of the deaconess is assuming an important place in the Protestant churches of Europe. Neither is it without influence in America.

The German Lutheran church, influenced by the example of the mother church in Germany, was the first to endeavor to introduce into America the beneficent services of women deacons. In 1849 Fliedner himself accompanied four deaconesses who came to serve in a hospital in Pittsburg. The work so begun did not increase. The sisters received but few additions. More recently, however, the erection of the Mary J. Drexel Home and Philadelphia Mother-house of Deaconesses has given a new impetus to the movement among the Lutherans. The mother-house in Philadelphia is strictly modeled on the German plan, save that the home is built with such magnificence and so provided with the comforts and luxuries of life that no other deaconess house can compare with it, not even the mother-house of all, at Kaiserswerth. But outside environment is but an incident; the spirit within is the determining quality; and the mother-house at Philadelphia preserves the features and maintains the spirit that constitute the value of the work.

In the Protestant Episcopal church of America the deaconess work was initiated at Baltimore. There are now two orders of deaconesses, and also different stations of work, although in America, as in England, within the Episcopal church sisterhoods are more influential and more rapid in their growth than are deaconess institutions.

In the Presbyterian church the question of the revival of the office of deaconess has already claimed some attention, and a prominent professor, in the theological seminary for

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many successive years, earnestly recommended the revival of the office to the members of his classes at Princeton.

The Methodist Episcopal church has gone further. It has already taken action that places it first among the evangelical denominations in America, and second only to the church of Scotland in Europe, in that it has accorded to the deaconess a distinct status in the organization of the church. In May, 1888, the General Conference passed the measure that effected this result, and it is doubtful if any other measure taken at the Conference will be more far-reaching in its results than that which instituted the office of deaconess. The full and complete recognition accorded by the highest authority of the church commended it to the people, who have already shown a remarkable readiness to accept its provisions. Deaconess houses have already been started or projected in Chicago, Cincinnati, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Detroit, and many earnest Christian women have presented themselves as candidates.

Viewing the facts that have been presented to you, do they not awaken in your mind heightened respect for the aid that capable, devout Christian women can give to the religious uplifting of the civilization of our times? And is it not fitting that a world's congress of women, which concerns itself with a wide range of subjects touching the welfare of the Christian church, should give careful consideration to this phase of woman's work in the modern church? As ancient as the days of St. Paul, it is yet so modern that we in America are looking upon it as an innovation, and speculating as to its future.

It has a future; we may be sure of that. Firmly fixed in the working forces of the Protestant Episcopal church, and protected by its highest dignitaries; cared for by the German Lutherans in America with a generosity and magnificence that its fatherland can not equal; become a working power in the Methodist denomination, and recognized officially by the highest authority of the church; adopted already by the Presbyterians of Scotland and England, and

favored by men of influence in American Presbyterianism — the diaconate of women is bound in the near future to become a factor of church life in America.

Organization among Women Considered with Respect to Philanthropy — Address by Mary E. Richmond of Maryland, Read by Harriet Taylor Upton of Ohio.

A word first of all with regard to organization in philanthropic work, leaving women out of the question. Religion and education, between which philanthropy has its logical place in this programme, have been recognized always as great organizing forces in human development. It is only very recently that philanthropy has deserved to be so recognized. Tradition and a perverse interpretation of detached scriptural texts seemed to have established a permanent lawlessness in the region of charity, and every man did, in alms-deed, what seemed to him right in his own eyes. Love is not in itself a disorganizing force, and yet the expression of it has been placed more and more, as civilization advanced, under restraints the most sacred and inviolable. That particular form of love which we call, for lack of a better name, "philanthropy" needs, like all other forms, to be strengthened and deepened by restraint, by enlightened self-denial, by coöperation, by organization. In what follows I am compelled, for lack of time, to take the value of such coöperation and organization largely for granted.

In casting about for the causes which have broadened women's charitable activities, one of the most important seems to me the new classification of charities — a classification which will be a distinguishing mark of the century so rapidly drawing to a close. Within these hundred years, for the first time in human history, the criminal, the prostitute, the insane, the vagrant, the idiotic, and all other

defective classes have become objects of care and solicitude, not only to the individual philanthropist, but, through him, to the State. In the most civilized communities there are still survivals of our old carelessness and inhumanity, but these survivals are doomed. With this tendency to include many things in the list of charities which were not before so classified, has appeared a counter tendency to exclude a large class of the higher educational charities — to call them charities no longer. Now, they resent, and rightly resent, this classification. Many of the higher forms of helpfulness will not allow the word "charity" to be associated with their work.

But the new dispensation has included on the one hand far more than it has excluded on the other; and this inclusion has multiplied many-fold the number of new institutions and the sum of public and private charitable expenditure. The increasing complexity of our charitable system brought about an artificial division of labor between the sexes. Men monopolized official and impersonal service, women cared for the private and more personal side of the work. For many years the women of our country contented themselves with private efforts in homes for children, in hospitals, and in relief societies. In some States this still is all that they attempt to do, and even here their work is supplemented frequently by "advisory boards" of men, who take charge of the financial investments, and lend to the institutions an air of respectable solidity.

This is a transition stage. Advancing civilization demands that official charity shall become more and more personal; and the increasing responsibilities placed upon them require, on the part of our private charities, more practical and business-like methods. Individual women like Dorothea Dix, Josephine Shaw Lowell, and Katie Fay, who concerned themselves with the larger issues of official relief, not with the aim of "advancing the cause of women," or with any aim, however worthy, which was aside from the main issue of effecting the specific reforms which they

had in view — individual women like these have proved, with single-hearted devotion, their ability to administer public charitable trusts. Such examples were instructive, and as other women showed a devoted interest in the work, they were appointed in a number of States to official positions which gave them a voice in the management of public institutions for women and children. The higher education of women is destined to play an important part in the future of public and private charities. Charitable work in the future will demand a trained mind and an intimate knowledge of social science and economics. Good intentions are no longer the only essential of philanthropic leadership; in this, as in all departments of serious work, the best of good intentions will not be good enough until we have patiently learned before we attempt to teach. The social science departments of our universities offer to women the best possible training for a useful and honorable career.

Two years ago a committee of the National Conference of Charities and Correction — a gathering where women have received equal recognition with men for twenty years — sent letters of inquiry to all the States and Territories about the philanthropic work of women. From the replies received I gather the following facts: In six States women serve with men as members of State boards of charities, having supervision of State charitable institutions; in eleven States women have a semi-official recognition, being appointed by the legislatures or the courts to visit and report upon certain institutions; in fifteen other States women are reported as taking a very prominent part in the administration of private charities; in eleven States their administrative functions, both private and public, are reported to be very limited.

The line of probable development is indicated by these returns. It must be a question of only a little time when women will be actively engaged in every department of charitable activity, and not even a special tag can then indi-

cate what percentage of the glory is theirs in a work done side by side with men. In the South, where their progress has been most tardy, they are beginning to take a more intelligent interest in problems of pauperism and crime. The existence in any community of a group of women who care intensely to make things better, and who know how to do so, will bring them their opportunity. The true *open sesame* for women everywhere, as it seems to me, is simply this, "I am ready."

Are women to have any monopoly of philanthropy in the future? By no means. The division of labor will no longer be a question of sex, but of capacity. I know men, and am proud to know them, who think it only a small part of their duty as citizens to sit upon boards and vote away charitable cash; who are not content when they have sent their checks upon the bank to the various charities in which they are interested; but who contrive to take some time from busy days for personal service in the homes of the needy; who know and care for individual cases of weakness, temptation, and misfortune. If we have ever believed that it was woman's peculiar function to be a ministering angel, we have learned better. Men of the younger generation in our large cities are realizing more and more the pressing need and the privileges of personal service.

There is always danger that women may hope for larger results from the more attractive, "poetic" charities, as some one has called them, than the facts warrant. The vicious and the idle were too long neglected for the more lovable classes of dependents; and one can not put too great emphasis upon the importance of prompt and thorough treatment of neglected evils which are a continual menace to society. All the wisdom of men and women both is needed to cope with the difficulties of institutional life and management. Wherever imbecile women are allowed to become mothers in our almshouses, we need both men and women — the wisest and most devoted — to prevent this crime. Wherever vagrants are permitted to

use our poor-houses as temporary retreats to recover from one debauch before beginning another, we need both men and women to enforce compulsory educational work. Wherever juvenile reformatories, so called, are made the feeders of our prisons, we need both men and women to reform these reformatories. Wherever little children are kept in large institutions until they become hopelessly unfit for the battle of life, we need both men and women to place them in country and childless homes, where their young lives may be replanted in a healthful soil.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED — ADDRESS BY CLARA C. HOFFMAN OF MISSOURI.

The world has always confused philanthropy with charity. Charity is the act of giving; philanthropy is the act of love; of seeking to do good to the individual, and to the whole race to which each individual belongs. Charity is the giving of a loaf of bread to the hungry; philanthropy is the teaching the women how to make the bread, provided the men have earned the wheat to make it with. Philanthropy is deeper, brighter, richer, and higher than charity. If the millions of dollars and the years of labor that have been given to works of charity had been given to the broader and more Christian work of elevating humanity, and broadening their ideas, and teaching them how to do for themselves, the world would be better off to-day than it is. Again and again have the nerves of self-respect and of self-support been cut by the large outlay for charity in the great city — an outlay which amounts to millions, and does not benefit humanity beyond the present hour. We are to talk about the value of organization in promoting philanthropy. I want to say there can be no doubt in the mind of any sensible man or woman that organization advances any cause. I shall illustrate by speaking of an organization that has not appeared as prominently as it would have done if our

beloved chieftain, Frances E. Willard, had been here. We can benefit humanity best by teaching humanity to live rightly. It was Oliver Wendell Holmes who said that if a man wanted to be born right he had to begin two hundred years back. I think, if you want to promote the cause of humanity, you have to begin, at least, with the children. We must teach the children to come up into sober, earnest, honest, and thrifty manhood and womanhood, and then we shall not so much need all the display of philanthropy that we have. The organization I am always proud to represent, the Woman's Christian Temperance Association, struck the key-note in the kindergarten system that they have been establishing in all our cities. They teach the little girls the very things they must do in domestic life — to sweep, to make bread, to lay the table, to cook beefsteak. Many men get drunk because they never have any decent cooking; there is no doubt about it. But it is not the wives' fault that they do not have their meals well cooked. How can the wife cook meat or bake bread well when she has never been taught the art? And especially how can she do it when she has to spend the most of her time trying to make a living, just as the husband does? Reform in these things can not be accomplished except by organization. No one society can do it. It must be a great organization spread over the country. It must be given prestige by women of culture and women of standing.

We struck the key-note again when, in thirty-eight States and all the Territories, we succeeded in compelling by law the education of children in the effects of alcohol and narcotics upon the human system, laying a foundation there that could be laid only through organization. No single society, no woman, no matter how conscientious and earnest, could have accomplished it: it required a great national organization of women.

The Organized Work of Catholic Women — Address by Lily Alice Toomy of California.

The purpose of this paper will be to consider the organized work of Catholic women in respect to religion, philanthropy, education, moral reform, and political liberty.

In considering these various departments of woman's labor, each branch of work leads into and is the forerunner of the next, its natural successor, thus forming a chain of evolution full of suggestive thought to the student of sociology.

In the early ages of the church there were no public or State institutions of charity, such as almshouses, hospitals, orphan-asylums; all these were the work of the church and of religious houses. Throughout all the centuries until our own, almost all the work of women in organizations was carried on in cloisters. These places of seclusion and protection were made necessary by the turbulent and warlike spirit of the ages in which most of these associations of women were founded. Hundreds of Catholic sisterhoods having various benevolent works for their object grew up and flourished in the early centuries after Christ. Many of these organizations, such as the female Templars, and other orders of women who followed the Crusaders, to nurse the sick and wounded, have ceased to exist with the need for their work; but hundreds of these societies continue to-day among us, though comparatively unknown. Such is their spirit of humility and self-abnegation, that these noble women are reluctant to have the world know of their devotion to the service of others. There is no kind of loving service among the poor, the sick, the aged, the homeless, which is not the life-work of many organizations of Catholic women.

Until the sixteenth century all European civilization was Catholic; hence all the work of women in organization was the work of Catholic women.

Early in the seventeenth century was founded an organization of women which is to-day one of the most extensive and widely known among societies of Catholic women. In 1630 Louise le Gras, a devout young widow, under the direction of the noble-hearted Vincent de Paul, the Father of the Poor, founded the Sisters of Charity. In this, as in all Catholic sisterhoods, the members voluntarily bind themselves to their order by vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, either made for life or renewed at intervals. By these vows these women give up all that, from our worldly standard of the independence of the individual, we call happiness in this life. They voluntarily renounce wealth, home, position, friends, and family, all to serve God and his needy suffering children. Perhaps the hardest thing in the life of the religious orders is the complete surrender of the will in obedience to those placed in authority. In each country, State, or province there is a head, or mother house, whence are sent out missions, or colonies of sisters, to establish branch houses wherever necessity calls them. The government of these sisterhoods is that of a republic, the superior, or mother-general, being elected for a term of years by the whole community. Implicit and prompt obedience to the superior, as to the voice of God, is the magic power which controls these vast organizations of women. Every hour of the daily life of the average religious sisterhood, from half-past four or five in the morning until eight or nine in the evening, is spent in continuous hard work, lightened by an hour's recreation after the midday meal and another hour's recreation in the evening. We, in the world, can form no idea of the heroism of these sisters, who for the love of God give their whole life to this service. One of the chief works of the Sisters of Charity is the care of the sick in hospitals.

Of organizations of Catholic women who devote themselves to the nursing of the sick there are more than thirty in the United States. In one of our large cities alone there are twenty-three orders of Catholic women, each having

one or more establishments for the care of the sick. There are more than three hundred hospitals in this country entirely under the charge of Catholic sisterhoods. Several organizations of women, such as the Sisters of *Bon Secour* and the Little Sisters of the Assumption, devote themselves to nursing the sick in their own homes.

The Sisters of Charity and several other orders of Catholic women take care of foundling asylums. The sisters who devote themselves to the service of the "least of these little ones" give their adopted children all a loving mother's care and devotion. At six or eight years of age each child is adopted into a good Christian home, and the sisters' work is done. The sisters have a kindergarten connected with the foundling asylum, and usually, also, a maternity hospital. There are between three hundred and four hundred foundling and orphan asylums in the United States under the charge of Catholic sisters.

A more advanced stage of the foundling asylums is the protectory, or industrial schools, which are also the work of Sisters of Charity. Some estimate may be formed of the membership of this order when it is stated that in New York State alone they number over two thousand five hundred. At the protectories, or industrial schools, are received orphans, foundlings, and the children of parents unfitted to take care of them. These boys and girls are received in every stage of depravity and disease. Under a system of moral and physical cleansing and training, these children are brought up to be good and useful citizens. In the boys' department is taught every branch of mechanical work and trade, from shoemaking to engineering. The girls are trained in household work, and are taught dress-making, glove-making, stocking-making, typewriting, etc. So that when, at the ages of eighteen or twenty, these young people are sent out into the world, and are given positions in shops, factories, and offices, they are able to earn their own support.

One of the most beautiful works of philanthropy is that

of providing homes for the aged poor. The Little Sisters of the Poor, in their homes for the aged, shelter and care for all who come to them, regardless of nationality, creed, or color. The life of the Sisters of the Poor is a daily martyrdom. They support their aged charges by what they beg from door to door in the form of broken food and cast-off clothing. By their wonderful French economy and management they are able to set an excellent table from the refuse food they are given.

Besides the special organization of Catholic women for the care of the aged, the Grey Nuns, the Sisters of Mercy, and many other associations support the aged poor. The Sisterhood of Saint Francis was founded many centuries ago by its holy patron, St. Francis of Assisi. Among the many beautiful works to which they devote themselves — such as the care of hospitals for the deaf and dumb, the blind, and the insane — is the care of the lepers. There are many hundreds of these sisters in this country. The Order of Grey Nuns is the oldest organization of Catholic women in America. The Grey Nuns were established in Montreal one hundred and fifty years ago, their work being the care of aged men and women, invalid soldiers, incurables, orphans, and magdalens. The Sisters of Saint Francis and the Grey Nuns, following the example of the sainted Father Damien, are indefatigable in their efforts to relieve the suffering of the Hawaiian and the Canadian lepers. The sisters establish schools, hospitals, asylums, and homes, and give the tenderest care to their charges, inevitably falling victims themselves sooner or later to the loathsome disease, through their self-imposed martyrdom. Truly are these sisters disciples of the great Teacher who said, "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friend."

There are several organizations of Catholic women who devote themselves to the care of the blind and the deaf-mutes. Notable among these orders is a society of lay women known as the Nardins, so called from their founder,

Ernestine Nardin. These women make a special study of the physical and mental peculiarities of the blind and the deaf-mutes. The Nardin ladies establish homes and schools where the boys are taught printing, tailoring, shoemaking, carpentering, baking, and gardening. The girls are instructed in dress-making, hand and machine sewing, and housework.

A beautiful philanthropic work is that of the Young Ladies' Charitable Association. In one of our large Eastern cities the organization numbers over one thousand members, who, by a monthly subscription of ten cents each, are able to maintain the Free Home for Consumptives, and to give their patients every care and comfort. Besides the Home, the association conducts diet kitchens in poor quarters of the city, where the sick poor are daily supplied with milk, beef-tea, eggs, and delicacies. The city is districted, and a band of twenty or thirty young ladies has charge of each district. Consumptives are placed in the home; and patients with other diseases are supported in the general hospitals. Every week each district band takes its turn in caring for the patients at the Home, in amusing them and reading to them, and in providing them with fruit, flowers, and delicacies. Patients are admitted to the Home regardless of creed or color, and may be visited at any time by clergymen of their own choice. The only qualifications for admission are poverty and consumption. A matron and trained nurses are in charge of the Free Home for Consumptives, and connected with it are a children's library, a working-girl's club, and an employment bureau.

In the United States there are more than fifty orders of Catholic women devoted to education. The numbers of women in these orders may be counted by the tens of thousands. In most of our cities there are from five to twenty of these orders of women, each having one, or perhaps half a dozen, educational establishments. Each of these associations of Catholic women undertakes some especial training or is suited to some particular need. There are about four

thousand six hundred schools in the United States under the charge of Catholic sisters. There are half a dozen organizations devoted to the teaching of the Indians and the Negroes. Notable among these is the Order of the Blessed Sacrament, recently established by Katharine Drexel of Philadelphia, to which she has devoted her life and large fortune. The sole purpose of Miss Drexel's order is the instruction of the Indians and Negroes. The foundation house of the Order of the Blessed Sacrament is near Philadelphia. Mother Drexel proposes to establish branch houses throughout the South and West wherever such schools are needed. Many other orders are also carrying on this work with great success. Notable among them are several orders of colored women, such as the Sisters of Providence and of Saint Benedict. Saint Frances Academy, Baltimore, is a school for colored girls conducted entirely by colored women.

To give an account of the almost numberless educational organizations of Catholic women would be tedious. A few of the leading teaching orders will serve as types of the others.

Probably the first society of Catholic women bound by their rules to the work of educating the young was the order known as the Ursulines. This sisterhood was founded in the latter part of the fifteenth century by a young Italian maiden, Angela Merici. The disturbed conditions of those times made it dangerous, if not impossible, for women to go about, manage affairs, or mix with the world, unless under the protection of father, husband, or brother. Hence arose the cloister, and naturally most of the orders of Catholic women founded during the Middle Ages were cloistered or inclosed societies, whose rules forbade them to leave the inclosure of their convent.

Such cloistered orders were the Visitation Nuns, founded in 1600 A. D., by a pious young widow, Jane de Chantal; and the Presentation Nuns, established in the early part of the eighteenth century by an Irish lady of wealth and position, Nano Nagle, who saw the disastrous effect of the "Penal

Laws" on the people of her beloved country, and formed the order of Presentation Sisters to carry on schools for the poor. The School Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur were founded in France in the sixteenth century, also for the purpose of teaching the poor. Another long-established order is that of the Sisters of Saint Joseph, who number over two thousand in this country. Two other organizations widely and favorably known in this country are the Sisters of the Holy Cross, of whom there are one thousand five hundred members, and the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur, who number more than three thousand in the United States Both of these orders were founded in France, in this century, and have adapted themselves to the wants and conditions of our day. In all of the academies or parish schools under the charge of any of these teaching orders, the most careful attention is given to the mental, moral, and physical training of the children. Visiting one of the many thousand of these educational establishments, one is struck by the spirit of love and harmony, and by the admirable discipline.

Before bringing this paper to a close, some mention should be made of the extraordinary work accomplished in the moral reform of fallen women by the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, an order founded at Caen, France, three hundred and fifty years ago.

The sisters use no compulsion in dealing with their charges; the whole relation is that of love and confidence. They seek to carry out in their work the spirit of our divine Saviour toward Mary Magdalen. In the industrial schools the sisters teach the fallen women and girls trades and handicrafts, to enable them to earn their own support in honesty. Above all, the sisters seek to teach these women the principles of virtue, and that true self-respect which comes from the consciousness that life holds for them unlimited possibilities in careers of purity and integrity.

I should like to say a few words about the great good work that is accomplished by the Sisters of Mercy and

other organizations of Catholic women in visiting jails, penitentiaries, hospitals, reform schools, etc.

In the limited space of this paper I have been able to make only the briefest mention of a few out of the thousand works of religion, philanthropy, education, moral reform, etc., carried on to-day by organizations of Catholic women.

Whole volumes might be written on any one phase of these works of benevolence. Gradually the world is learning what it owes to the Catholic church and to the work of Catholic women.

Woman's Place in Hebrew Thought — Address by Minnie D. Louis of New York, the Representative of the Hebrew Women of America.

In the Hebrew cosmogony, the world was incomplete without woman; with her creation her organic equality with man was at once assured. As soon as she had shown her ingenuous desire that they should "be as gods, knowing good and evil," had fearlessly sought knowledge at the threatened sacrifice of life, and had generously made the man share with her what she had found so good and pleasant, she was accorded a higher plane, and was acknowledged "the mother of all living;" the mother of all the quickening powers of mind and body; the maternity-element in all that lives; she is recognized in this "philosophic legend" as the divining, exploring, discriminating component of the universal mind.

In verification of these statements, the Hebrew fathers, in their narration, present her as an integral part of their plan; not an accessory, but a prime force, not directing, but shaping in her intuitions the development of that mission for which they felt themselves chosen. In the pictures of patriarchal life drawn by the Scripture writers, without bias of praise or censure, we feel that the accomplishment of the divine promise to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob was

ascribed by them as much to the sagacious insight of their women as to the rigid obedience of the patriarchs themselves to Jehovah's commands.

The Mosaic code, which by common consent has anticipated the thought and experience of mankind by many centuries, and is surely not antiquated even to-day, has bestowed equal rights and imposed equal duties on women with men, wisely, however, regarding the necessary and salutary boundaries of the sexes. No woman who impresses upon her child the commandment, "Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee," can for a moment doubt her allotted place on the universal dais. Side by side she rules with man, side by side she shares his dignity and his honor. And from the sanctity with which the Hebrews invested the function of mother was doubtless developed, in later times, that aureole that was made to encircle the head of the Jewish woman Mary, the Mother of Jesus.

Woman took no part in the priestly services, as the laws for purification debarred her from continual entrance into the sanctuary; but this did not interfere with her privilege to study the law, to prophesy, and even to administer the civil government. And never did queen or empress rise to higher eminence than Deborah, who dwelt under a palm-tree in the mountain of Ephraim, and to whom the children of Israel came for judgment. And in the days of King Josiah, when the admonitions of strange gods had supplanted the worship of the God of Israel in the land, when no man could explain the book of the law that had been found in the temple while it was undergoing repairs, a woman was sought out who possessed the knowledge of the long-forgotten book —"Huldah, then studying in the college at Jerusalem." In those ancient days, among the Hebrews, the "higher education" was already open to women. She seems to have enjoyed all the privileges, even to assessments for the repairs of the temple. We have denied the women of the temple to-day, who are subject to assessments, any greater representation

in its government; though it is the sentiment of some leading rabbis of the present time, as also of many laymen, that "woman suffrage" should become an article in the constitutions governing temples and synagogues, extending, however, only to women without husbands.

After the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity, and their rehabilitation in their own land, they were long in a colonial state. Their women remained quiet; it was not until the fierce Syrian persecution attempted to force Greek idolatry on the Jews that the strength and steadfastness of woman's pious heart were brought into notice. The heroism of Hannah in exhorting her seven sons to suffer death in her presence rather than forswear the God of their fathers, the God of Israel, could not fail to inspire her people with a determination to die before they would yield their sacred inheritance.

Though the Maccabees achieved independence for Judea and restored the glory of their ancient kingdom, it was but an *ignis fatuus*, the phosphorescence of a decaying state.

In the conflict between Greek and Judaic culture, parties arose, known as the Pharisees and the Sadducees, whose strife often reached such violence that it menaced the safety of the nation. During these contentions a woman appeared, Queen Alexandra, who not only maintained peace for ten years, but, apprehending the danger of extraneous influence on the Jewish polity, so closely interwoven with the Jewish religion, established throughout her realm schools for youths of sixteen and upward, where they could study their sacred law and become its maintainers and defenders. She also endeavored to suppress in her kingdom all panderers to superstition — that moth of religion. That noble work was continued and improved by another woman, Martha, wife of the high-priest Joshua-ben-Gamala, who instituted schools for little children, that they might not grow up in ignorance of their history and their religious duty. Thus, along with learned men, who, amid all the turbulence of the internecine quarrels, never aban-

doned their study of the law, there were women who adopted more practical means to preserve it by instilling it into the children — the parents of the coming generation.

The policy of cosmopolitan Rome was rather to absorb her captives into her own state as contented subjects — aggrandizing her supremacy — than to separate them by intolerance. Hence, but for the lamentations over the loss of their territory, the Jews dwelt in peace, involuntarily disseminating by their advent among the pagans the germs of new thought.

Up to the eleventh century the Jews enjoyed, though fitfully, the immunities of the various countries in which they settled. In the ambition of Christianity to become the dominant power in the world it adopted the aggressive policy of conquest by force as surer than the peaceable one of conquest by conviction; the Jews, who found in it only strange accretions to their own religion, and no fulfillment of the Messianic rule of love and peace, were stolidly tenacious of their rational, monotheistic faith, and never surrendered it. Hence, they were driven from place to place, thrust out of one country to await the same fate in another, and robbed of some privilege with every banishment; they were pushed back to the Ghetto, and their intellectual and material activity beyond its narrow limits was asphyxiated. During this period of insecurity and apprehension men, much less women, had no heart to cultivate anything but resignation; yet the preparations for religious observances, multiplying in proportion to the exclusive attention bestowed upon them, demanded such special knowledge that in the thirteenth century a rabbi issued a manual of religious duties for women, which he deemed it as necessary for them to study — inasmuch as they had charge of all the preparations for these duties — as for the men to study the Talmud. The wives and daughters of the rabbis became the chief students and teachers of this branch; many of them also studied the Talmud; and so learned did they become that their decis-

ions on certain points acquired rabbinical authority. Noted among them was Dolze, the wife of a rabbi in Worms, who knew every rule concerning forbidden food, and the entire service as chanted in the synagogues, and gave open lectures on these subjects on the Sabbath. In Bagdad dwelt a daughter of a rabbi, so versed in the Bible and the Talmud, that she gathered around her thousands of pupils to whom she publicly lectured.

The Protestant Reformation gave an impetus to the profounder study of the Bible. Christian women gained such proficiency in the Hebrew language that they read and wrote it fluently. What wonder, as Kayserling says, that Jewesses studied their own literature with more zeal, gaining power with knowledge. Thus in 1709 A. D. Sara Oppenheim wrote a prayer-book for the home, called the "Esther-roll"; Krendel Steinhardt, wife of a distinguished rabbi, received the name of "Rabbizin"—female rabbi—on account of her scholarly acquirements; she understood so thoroughly the ritual for festivals that on one occasion her husband, unable to explain clearly a passage in it, sought her assistance. Bienvenida Ghirondi, who lived in the eighteenth century, while a young girl, held Talmudic disputations with the greatest Hebrew scholars of her time, and later taught her son and other young people the Hebrew grammar and Bible, and the commentaries of Maimonides and Raschi.

In the forced wanderings of the Jews they sought refuge wherever a liberal rule permitted. We find them in Prussia, under the Fredericks, in whose successive reigns enlightenment was encouraged; and this enlightenment was in no small degree accelerated by the Jew, Moses Mendelssohn. This "golden age" of German literature brought into the field Hebrew women of culture; the most famous salons in Berlin were those of the Jewesses, Dorothea and Henrietta Mendelssohn, Henrietta Herz, and Rachel Lerin Varnhagen; also in Weimar did the salons of Fanny von Arnstein and her sister rank among the first. Though

the substantial, sparkling intellectuality of these women attracted to them the master-minds of the age, they contributed apparently nothing to their own religion, yielding to a vanity which prompted them to cloak it. Yet it is recorded that Rachel Varnhagen, the most noted of them, said in her last hours, "With a sacred joy do I think of my origin, and of this whole vast destiny by which the oldest remembrances, the most distant times and places, are with the newest conditions bound together. What for so long a time was to me the greatest ignominy, the sorest sorrow and misfortune, that I was born a Jewess, I would not now part with for any price." As ideas float in the air before they are condensed into positive shape in any single mind as a basis for action, it might be possible that this free intercourse between Christian and Jew had some vague bearing on the movement for "Jewish Reform," which originated in Germany, and which is nothing more than a nearer assimilation with modern customs, without sacrificing the essentials of Jewish belief.

Judaism had no firmer, more trustful, more hopeful, yet lethargic, adherents than its English followers; but it was the women who were first responsive to the awakening spirit of progress. Anna Maria Goldsmidt, Grace Aguilar, Hester Rothschild, and others have transmitted with rekindled ardor the pure glow of their ancestral faith to succeeding generations; and in the noted house of Rothschild their women have made the worth of Judaism permeate and sustain the benefit of their great wealth. In our own fair land the Jew finds his soul in consonance with the heavenly refrain of liberty. His religion reaches out to the farthest border-line, and his women bravely help him. Already in the early part of this century did Miss Rebecca Gratz institute the first Jewish Sunday-school in this country; and since then the religious school, presided over largely by women, has become an adjunct to every Jewish congregation. Among women conspicuous in this work are Emma Mordecai and Alice Dalsheimer. In these schools patriot-

ism to country and constancy to religion are inculcated as the bases of all enduring worth. Probably, in the present age, nowhere have Jewish women battled so valorously for her people as here. Emma Lazarus, well known to the English-speaking world, again swept the Hebrew lyre, that its passionate tones might reach the heart of her suffering people, to bear unto them hope, and to bear unto the hearts of others, tenderness and compassion. An innovation in the Jewish service, due to a Jewess, Miss Peminah Moise of Charleston, S. C., was the singing of English hymns. Miss Moise wrote a book of English hymns for the first Reform congregation in her city; many of them are embodied in the various hymn-books now in use in most of the temples and synagogues, to which also Emma Lazarus and Deborah Kleinert have contributed. And now the Hebrew woman, for the first time in her checkered career, will soon assume the priestly office. Already two intrepid women, marshaling the way, Ray Frank of Oakland, Cal., and Lena Aronsohn of Hot Springs, Ark., are studying for the Jewish ministry in the Hebrew Union College at Cincinnati.

The rabbis have said: "The world stands on three pillars — law, worship, and charity." In private life the Jewess has always helped to strengthen these pillars; but now she too "lets her light shine that they may see her good works"; and with her kindergartens, her industrial schools, her homes for the orphan and friendless, her sisterhoods of personal service, she enlists in the great "army of peace" which is battling to-day under that old Mosaic command, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." In every humanitarian path does she enter. The first female resident physician in a general hospital in New York City, under male governors, was a Jewess, Dr. Josephine Walter; the first female dentist of Germany was Dr. Fanny Sternfeldt, a Jewess of Munich; the fifth training-school for nurses established in this country was founded by a Jewess, Mrs. Alma Hendricks of New York; the largest scholarship ever bestowed on an art student was given by a

Jewess, Mrs. J. H. Lazarus of New York; a Jewess of London, May Abrams, has become the first female factory inspector there; and the latest projected movement in New York City, to empower trained female nurses to become inspectors of tenement districts, has been started by a Jewess.

I feel that I have been called to-day, insignificant as I am, not only to speak for my Hebrew sisters, but also to speak to my Christian ones; to say that we Hebrew women, with all our pride in our origin, our prophets, our poets, our warriors, our statesmen, our artists, our scholars, our philanthropists, our Moses, our Isaiah, yea, *our* Jesus, know that we belong to the roll of the world's worthies; and we dare claim the just recognition due us. In culture, in labor, in charity, in every virtuous walk, we are in step with you — nay, our shoes were already worn when you began the march; and am I too bold when I say that in martyrdom to us belongs the palm?

It is the history of a religion, its inspiration, its motive, its strength, its efficacy, that must decide for or against it. We no longer live in a mist of superstition, in which natural phenomena are accepted as miracles. The necessity to find a new country; the judgment to select a fruitful one; the courage to conquer and hold it; the ability to govern it, making it a light unto mankind, under the faith that there is a guiding, ruling power — in all this, Hebrew history is a prototype of American history. Shall the Jews and their descendants be hated for it? Shall they be ostracized as aliens instead of welcomed as heirs?

We ask you, our Christian sisters, to study our history; and let enlightened reason aid you to perceive and obliterate the misconceptions of the Christian mind; even as to-day you are obliterating that other misconception, through which your just recognition as co-workers in the world's advancement has been so long withheld.

Woman as a Religious Teacher — Address by Ursula N. Gestefeld of New York.

Of all the departments of activity now open to woman, none is more important than the office of religious teacher. The requisites for this office, and what it entails upon the one who fills it, should be considered.

Woman at present, more perhaps than man, leads by example. Her influence, like the greatest forces in nature, is silent and subtle. What she is within makes itself felt without. Grand as are her achievements in art, in science, in literature, in all lines on which humanity climbs, a noble, exalted womanhood outstrips them all. All education and experience, therefore, which tends to enlarge her nature, develop her latent powers, bring to her recognition the best of herself, are valuable. The education which comes from study and the education which comes from life are equally important in the training of woman as a religious teacher. While the education of the schools may make woman a preacher, it must be coupled with the education which comes from living, to make her a religious teacher.

Woman needs to grow and ripen through experience to minister to souls. She must be able to say to the suffering and sorrowing, "I know"; to the wearied and wandering, "I see"; to the hopeless and despairing, "I feel with you." She must be able to stand on all levels, to descend to all depths, to show the way. For her there must be no high and no low. She must see in every soul only the child of God, only a member of the one body, even as she is. She must have this religion of the heart as well as a religion of the head, that she may not give to the hungry ones who clamor for food, a stone, instead of the living bread which alone can satisfy.

It is the essentially feminine, the motherly, element which makes the religious teacher, as it is the masculine that makes the theologian; and souls need instruction far more

than they need theology. Where theology ends, religion begins; where the theologian fails, the teacher succeeds; where the arbitrary and unyielding decisions of theological creeds repel, the feminine intuitions invite; where dogma drives through fear, the teaching which is the impulse of the feminine soul wins through love.

Woman can not be a religious teacher and a dogmatist. Her instincts are naturally above her creeds. They lead her to serve her God by serving her fellow-men. How she can best do this is the kaleidoscopic problem continually confronting her; and she sees a clearer road and larger possibilities before her when she elects to be the teacher rather than the preacher.

As this teacher she will perceive the truth in science as well as in religion. Recognizing the injustice of the divorce which has existed between these so long, she will bring them together, uniting them in the marriage which shall beget an offspring — the science of divinity. The world has waited long for its ecclesiastics to perform this marriage ceremony, and the time has come when woman assumes the rôle of officiating priest.

Instead of "Believe, only believe," she cries, "Understand and prove, and you may know."

It is no disparagement to the masculine nature to affirm that the feminine is nearer to the Infinite, and more closely in touch with it. That is the most successful clergyman to-day in whom the feminine quality is well developed, although he is the one most likely to be tried for heresy. He has his own revelation, which often stands opposed to his doctrine, that Zacharias revelation, from the right side of the altar, which strikes him dumb; for, filled with the God-knowledge which floods his being, he can no longer expound mere man-made creeds.

Doctrinal theology is the formulation of the masculine intellect, and is hard, rigid, and unyielding in its limitations. God-knowledge is direct from the Oversoul, and woman is its receiver and transmitter. One of her first

requisites as a religious teacher is to keep herself receptive, to seek more in the within than in the without. Then, instead of wrath, judgment, and retribution — the masculine view of God — she will proclaim love, charity, and peace.

The coming religious teachers of the world will be the feminine souls, whether these be found in men or in women. The divine descends into the world only through them, and of them only can the Christ be born. For the masculine souls, developing only on the plane of the intellect, the divine remains the unknowable.

Another requisite for woman as a religious teacher is fearlessness. She must not be afraid to teach what her whole being recognizes as truth. If she makes the purest and noblest womanhood her standard, the ideal to which she bends every energy, she will not lead her people astray.

If, with all her heart, mind, and soul, she desires only truth for the sake of truth; desires it that she may impart it; desires it that she may point the way for seeking feet to follow; she will not err.

Courage is a most essential requisite for a religious teacher; the courage of conviction and self-abnegation. No one is fit to hold that office, man or woman, who can not put his cause before himself, content to be veiled by it.

Woman, more than man, can be self-sacrificing. She can lay all upon the altar, keeping nothing back, asking no reward for herself, though demanding all respect for her work; content if mankind be helped forward through her efforts; if the cause she represents be uplifted and honored.

To-day woman is able to pursue power, in large measure, along the same lines with man, competing with him as an individual, asking no special consideration, only equal opportunities and privileges. As yet, enjoyment of political power is largely in anticipation, but she is tasting the delights of the intellectual sufficiently to have a vigorous appetite for more. Through intellectual development she has become comparatively independent, where before she was helpless; and she enjoys, as only centuries of repres-

sion can enable her to enjoy, the larger freedom which is now hers. Financial independence is possible to-day for the young woman who has brain and determination enough to secure it. It enables her to cultivate and develop her intellectual faculties, and makes her less inclined to enter any relation which does not give her scope for their exercise.

We have brilliant women to whom men pay intellectual homage, and whom other women regard with admiration. And yet the religious teachers can not come from these, if moral and intellectual ability is all they offer. Intellectuality without spirituality is a flower without perfume, to be admired but not enjoyed. Intellectuality without spirituality first blunts, then covers, then smothers woman's intuitions; and only the intuitive woman can be the greatest religious teacher. Intuitions are God's method of speaking to the soul. They contain the highest wisdom. But the purely intellectual woman, for whom everything must be objectively demonstrated, is first deaf and then dead to them. Her city of refuge is not "the secret place of the Most High," but, at the best, a liberal agnosticism.

Neither can the religious teacher come from the ranks of the mere religionists, those who are ruled by their emotions and make no demand upon their thinking faculties; for to live in the feeling only, is also to deaden the intuitions. From these come exhorters, and their work, as far as it goes, is good, a part of the whole; but they are not religious teachers.

The ideal religious teacher will be the woman who can unite the ideal and the practical; who can find the essence in every aspect of truth offered by the scientific, the philosophic, and the religious world, and, inspecting it in the light of the never-dying flame upon the altar of her own soul, bring it forth again with the divine seal upon it. She will teach principles more than personal views, insist upon deeds rather than theories, proclaim right-thinking the basis for God-like living. She will be the woman whose

intellectuality does not stifle her emotions, whose feelings do not dwarf her intellect; one in whom both sides of her nature are well-developed and held in equilibrium; strong, courageous, with fine moral sensibilities, unselfish, neither seeking commendation nor fearing condemnation; a new humanity will be born of her labors, composed, not of Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians and Catholics, but of those who, conceiving the Christ ideal the divine pattern to which all mankind is to conform, press forward as one body to actualize it. Charity for every form of belief, loving kindness for every traveler in this King's highway, whatever gates he elects to pass through on his journey, will characterize the members of this body.

DISCUSSION OF THE SAME SUBJECT BY ALICE MAY SCUDDER OF NEW JERSEY, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED SOCIETY OF CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR.

All thoughts of woman as a religious teacher can be brought under the four words, pulpit, press, pedagogue, and parent, and these four P's we shall briefly consider.

First the pulpit: Woman was first admitted to the ministry in this country in the year 1853, and while she has since then become better fitted for this vocation, through higher education, yet comparatively few of her sex present themselves as candidates for this office. This is well, for not many women have the necessary qualifications.

A good preacher needs to be fearless, not afraid to doff the garments of tradition and don such as are in keeping with the religious fashions of the times. The conservative and sentimental nature of woman unfits her in a measure for this work. The nineteenth century preacher must also be an explorer; and our clerical women must be willing to search for truth everywhere—"in the heavens above, the earth beneath, or the waters under the earth"—if they are to obtain an intelligent hearing. The work of the ministry

demands so much time for study that women ought not to undertake it unless they are willing to remain single. Domestic cares and maternal duties are too absorbing for preachers.

Consider next the press: It seems that the people of to-day are all eyes, while in the Middle Ages they were all ears. There was comparatively little reading done then; but nowadays most learning is acquired from the printed page. Now, young and old, ignorant and wise, jump for books, magazines, and newspapers, much as a bluefish leaps for his morning meal at daybreak. In the realm of literary production, woman has a high place; and she teaches religion as truly through the printed page as she can in the pulpit, and far more extensively. To prove woman's power through the press I need but mention the names of Frances E. Willard, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Jennie June, Frances Ridley Havergal, Louisa M. Alcott, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Susan Coolidge, Lucy Larcom, and Alice and Phœbe Cary.

Third, let us consider woman as a pedagogue: We have seen that some are fitted for the pulpit, and that more are qualified to write for the press; but into the field of instruction multitudes may enter. Ethical culture has not been so banished from the school-room that the power of a life resplendent with Christian virtues, can not be felt. A holy life is a mighty religious influence, but of course it can speak with more power in the Sunday-school or junior endeavor society, for there the children meet to drink copiously from the fountain of ethical knowledge.

Our last consideration is woman as a parent or mother. In the sphere of motherhood she reaches her climax of opportunity and usefulness. Woman should never delegate religious teaching to others, for no one can instruct her children so well as herself. This ought not to be transferred even to the church of God.

When the late Victor Emanuel sought to remove the nuns of the Sacred Heart, some noble ladies waited upon him and implored him to let them stay, declaring that their

daughters could not receive proper religious instructions if the pious sisterhood were removed. The king listened attentively, and then said, "I know that there are at this moment many ladies better qualified to educate children than are the Sisters of the Sacred Heart, and these pious teachers," continued he, bowing courteously, "are yourselves, their mothers."

DISCUSSION CONTINUED BY SARAH B. COOPER OF CALIFORNIA, PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL KINDERGARTEN UNION.

I rejoice in the larger life of women in the church. The church has a right to the best gifts of noble women — the mothers and the sisters who are doing the great work of life. "It is gold too precious to be lost, and we are dying for want of just such material." Yet in days not very remote, "on a mere punctilio," they excluded from active service in the church feminine elements that would have increased its power. As a noted clergyman said, "and so we have our bean-poles of propriety, but not a single morning-glory twining about them and blossoming out to the glory of God."

The Creator hath set the sons and daughters side by side at the hearthstone. It is a prophecy that the sexes are to work together.

You too, dear workers, have a high and holy mission. The best way to teach the suffering that God is their father is to show them that we are their brethren and sisters. Sometimes a loaf of bread will do more to convince a soul of the reality of religion than all the arguments you could offer. A kind action will often do more than a spiritual suggestion. The church must prove its religion by its philanthropy. It was Christ's way. In all his miracles Christ said, virtually: "That ye may know what I would do for your soul — for your higher nature — let me show you what I would do for your body."

And we know that this matter of doing good needs tact, wisdom, love, knowledge, and strong common-sense. To do the best work there must be a lighthouse in the head, as well as a lighthouse in the heart. It is a curious fact, that until very recently the church seems to have taken it for granted that anybody who truly loved the Lord could go right out and do wise and hard work. The supreme hindrance is not so much a lack of talent as a lack of energy and willingness to work.

The hindrance above all other hindrances is the failure to recognize and accept the mighty agency of the Holy Spirit's power. It is a lack of faith in this heavenly impetus which makes so many good causes stagger. There is a spritual momentum. God's power in the soul of man, like God's power in the physical frame, springs it to healthful activity. We are like tropical plants in a frigid zone. There is in every one of us a capacity for unfolding which needs only the kindling rays of the Holy Spirit of God. The only way to wait for this grace of God is as sailors wait for the breeze — expand the heart to his favoring gale, and let him fill the sail.

Just one other point, and I am done. There is no greater hindrance to the training of workers than the distinction which is drawn, even by professing Christians, between secular and religious work. Just as if one must go apart from his secular tasks to get at his religion. A religion that has everything for a future world and nothing for this world has nothing for either. A religion that neglects this life is a mother who neglects her babe, thinking that manhood will set everything to rights. Genuine religion is not alone a preparation for some future world, but a grand instrument for the improvement of this. Workers must be trained to understand that God's laws in nature are as sacred and obligatory as are his laws in revelation. Obedience to both brings happiness. Disobedience brings misery. Teach workers to remember that great fact in sociology, that "pain and disease, destitution, vice, and

crime — the great evils of our social condition — are the results of violated laws; and that a good Providence will answer our prayers for relief when we do our part, by teaching the ignorant to obey physical laws, on which health depends; moral and spiritual laws, on which happiness depends; and social and economic laws, on which plenty and comfort depend."

DISCUSSION CONTINUED BY LOIS A. WHITE, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CHRISTIAN WOMAN'S BOARD OF MISSIONS.

Woman teaches that which she believes. Sometimes she does this in the class-room where she is publicly recognized as a regularly employed instructor. No biography of Garfield fails to include a most honorable mention of Miss Almeda Booth. To her came the blessed privilege, as a teacher of James A. Garfield, on Hiram Hill, of deepening and strengthening in the growing boy those well-rooted, clearly defined, and firmly believed principles of the everlasting gospel of the Son of God that were first given to Garfield by the example and precept of his mother, and afterward crowned him the universally esteemed, Christ-anchored statesman. Miss Booth taught what she believed.

In Portland, Ore., the Christian Woman's Board of Missions sustains a Chinese mission. The instructor is a native Chinese, Jen Hawk, who has received a college education in this country. By invitation from the Union Ministerial Association of that city he holds membership in that body, and is eagerly and respectfully heard in their proceedings. Last October, in a national missionary convention at Nashville, Tenn., this Chinaman, from a full heart of gratitude, testified before the hundreds assembled that a woman, Miss Sue A. Robinson, years ago, in the city of St. Louis, where he had come a lad with his father from China, patiently and prayerfully sat by him and taught him not only to speak and read in English, but to look to the Saviour of souls who

alone can give any lasting value to intellectual attainments. So we see woman sometimes a religious teacher in the Sunday-school. Always she teaches what she believes.

How vitally important it is that woman shall use all of her now limitless privileges for learning, in all directions, to seek and to possess the correct religious belief, that her teachings may be the truth which alone can really train the men and women of character who are to-day the world's greatest need.

DISCUSSION CONTINUED BY ZINA D. H. YOUNG OF UTAH, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S RELIEF SOCIETY.

I wish it were possible to express in words the gratitude I feel in associating with you on this happy occasion; yes, with those who have sought to elevate humanity, in the removing of prejudice, in the battle for right, in the great advancement for womankind which has been effected through the efforts and energy of these noble women assembled in this Congress and those they represent throughout the world.

I wish to refer in brief to our people in far-off Utah, to tell you of the blessing of God that has been upon our efforts, in the midst of a desert country, in sustaining our poor, gathered from all nations. We acknowledge our Father's care through it all, and give him the honor and praise. I appreciate the grandeur and dignity of this august assembly, the order which prevails, the earnestness of the speakers. I wish I could tell you of the inspiration that filled my soul as I looked upon those assembled here, whose souls beat in harmony with my own to do good, by maintaining honor, and uprightness, and virtue, which is acceptable to God, and which results in true happiness.

HELEN H. GARDENER.

MAUD BALLINGTON BOOTH.

KATE BOND.

REV. ANTOINETTE BROWN BLACKWELL.

JOSEFA HUMPAL-ZEMAN.

DISCUSSION CONTINUED BY ELIZABETH B. GRANNIS OF NEW YORK, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL CHRISTIAN LEAGUE FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL PURITY.

Here we come together as a great body of women. We intend to close our exercises on Sunday. But the one thing for which the disciples met is going to be absent. We are not to have the Lord's Supper celebrated, but many of us want that great international service. If woman has any place in the pulpit she certainly has a right to administer the ordinances; as evangelical believers we have no right to omit that supper, for Christ has invited us to show forth our love for him by celebrating it, that we may live unto life everlasting. I want every earnest, praying woman, believing in prayer and in God, to have that celebration, that we may show forth to the world our love and faith in that ordinance.

DISCUSSION CONCLUDED BY FANNY M. HARLEY OF ILLINOIS.

Jesus gave us a religion, but not a theology. Paul clothed the religion of Jesus with a theological garb. So long as the masculine principle was dominant in the race we had a theology, but we know now that theology is short-lived, for the pendulum is swinging to the womanhood of the race, and the feminine principle is working to promote religion.

The standards or ideals established by theology were so remote that men despaired of reaching them, and were content with a lip-service, throwing the responsibility of conduct upon the church and the priesthood. "The woman tempted me and I did eat" has always been the plea of the individual for his misconduct under the theological régime.

Woman is gladly laying down the power which she has had over man during ages past; the power born of dependence, of sex indulgence, and of carnality, and she is recog-

nizing that her power is of the Holy Spirit: that as sin came into the world by her, so by her must come redemption. She must demonstrate that love to God includes love to man. She must prove that love is divine, and not carnal at all. She must depart from intellectuality and realize within herself, and give forth, a religion for men to live by. Theology is of the intellect, and the intellect is cold. Religion is of the heart, and the heart is warm; from its wellsprings comes life eternal. Emerson says: "Great thoughts come from the heart;" and Ruskin says: "All true science begins in the love, not in the dissection, of your fellow-creatures, and it ends in the love, not in the analysis, of God."

Love is the attracting power of the universe. Man must follow where love leads. As surely as the magnet attracts the needle will womanhood, ascending Godward, draw man after her. Emerson says: "Whatsoever the woman's heart is prompted to desire, the man's will is simultaneously prompted to accomplish."

The Light in the East—Address by Eliva Anne Thayer of New York, Founder of the Order of Melchizedek.

True mysticism is rarely understood; it is not the contemplation of Deity alone, after the devout manner of the Hindu, but putting into immediate active work the knowledge of the Christ within, so as to give us the glorious results of the incarnation of this light which lights the whole world in every age and every clime. I speak always of the grand message which Jesus Christ delivered, not of poor imitations. All literature, art, and science shall be re-made under the teaching of the Light, with its amazing energy and infinite power. The body alone represents the soul. Jesus healed both soul and body, and the effect of this alchemic light and life was so great that Professor Drummond states that "day by day his disciples grew, and

the people whispered, 'They have been with Jesus.'" The body is a great mirror, reflecting the state of the soul, and therefore not to be despised.

To overcome all things as Jesus overcame is the light and life of true Christian mysticism, the work of the Holy Spirit; all else is astral; and the hour is approaching when its mighty Babylonian fall is decreed, and its reign will be gone forever. Christ says, "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end." This completes the circle. Is there any other religion or philosophy which is not elliptical, which has not something left out? The climax of language is reached when we read what Jesus sent through his angel to Saint John, the mystical revelator, in the twenty-first chapter of Revelations.

In the third and the eighth chapter of Proverbs is given a picture of the female principle of Deity, and as we uplift our eyes to this resplendent womanhood, the motherhood in God with the fatherhood is calling on us, as no other voice can call, to "come up higher; work for woman." It calls woman to a remarkable destiny, as joined to the incarnated Most High, to Christ Jesus, for the regeneration of the race. Following this light around the whole world we shall become blessed, radiant, crowned with many crowns.

But shall woman go forward alone? Shall not man share this glory and blessing with her? Can she not be an instrument in helping him escape from his terribly intense activity in the accumulation of wealth? She desires the divinity and elevation which flow from the Christ-refined home, the love to God and one's neighbor, wherein both love and gospel reign, rather than the luxuries which come from the enslavement of man to the mammon of unrighteousness. To woman this message has come, and not in vain. As surely as the white cross has been planted on our flag — this highest mystic symbol of equality (preceding the crown) — so shall all nations move forward and upward. There shall be no more want and poverty, but peace and plenty throughout all lands.

As this light is so closely related to the Order of Melchizedek, in fact coming through it, it may be interesting to many to hear a few words concerning that order. Mrs. McPherson, a distinguished literary mystic of Scotland, says: "There have been three utterances of Melchizedek, Genesis, Psalms, and Hebrews, in the Bible, and the fourth utterance is now at hand." As this order was organized in 1872, her prophetic saying is verified. In the working of this Order of Melchizedek the fourth light has been placed in the north, which means woman. In Masonry the north is still a place of darkness. Thus we see the progressive character of the Order of Melchizedek concerning woman as she will be under the full glow of this universal light. The equality is established; the even cross has its completion, around which the circle, the Omega, can be drawn. Plato affirmed that God geometrizes; thence this white even cross must move around the globe.

I approach this fourth utterance with awe and reverence, and any word of mine is powerless to convey all that is meant by Melchizedek. This power is spirit, and emanation from Deity; its very essence is eternal. If the greatest preacher, Saint Paul, did not convey fully to us all the prophecy of the fourth utterance, I deprecate criticisms of my feeble tongue. It remained for Saint John the revelator to look down the stream of time and give us the consummation of the ages, the paradise again restored to earth, into which the power of evil shall not enter. Immortal youth awaits the race. Unto you, women, I call again to make yourselves ready; for, "Behold, the bridegroom cometh," and through you, as transformed within this divine union with Jesus Christ, the only light and life, a race shall be born with whom God will dwell and go no more out forever. Sickness, sorrow, pain, and death, the last enemy, shall be destroyed; there shall be a new heaven and a new earth, wherein shall dwell righteousness.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED — ADDRESS BY ELLA DIETZ CLYMER OF NEW YORK.

When Jesus spoke to his disciples concerning his second coming, he described the suddenness of it as comparable to the lightning "which cometh out of the east and shineth even unto the west; so," he said, "shall the coming of the Son of Man be."

Is the light in the east of which we think to-day that swift symbol which is indicative of the Lord's sudden appearing? Jesus rebuked the hypocrites of his day because they understood the physical signs of the face of the sky, and of the earth, and yet saw not the spiritual significance of the time in which they were living.

"The judgments of the Lord are just and righteous altogether;" and this great land which he has given to us for our inheritance, rich in all mineral wealth stored in the earth for man to appropriate to his legitimate uses — do you not know that the Lord will ask us to render an account of this stewardship? America is rich in all that is needed to bring comfort to the physical nature of man; is she also cultivating that spiritual wealth which alone can bring comfort to the heart and soul? Man is a complex being; "he does not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." His soul must be fed; and in this age of the world the soul-hunger is increasing daily as the friction of civilization develops more and more the spiritual consciousness of mankind. To those who are watching, many signs appear indicative of a change in the race itself.

The growing interest in psychic phenomena in all countries and among all peoples shows that the race is rapidly discovering within itself a new set of faculties, a new species of power; thought-transference, hypnotic suggestion, and occultism in various forms are absorbing the attention of many, and are becoming popularized with other phases of

science in these democratic days. The question before us is, What use will the race make of these newly discovered powers? They are instruments of spiritual warfare which may be consecrated to its uplifting, or desecrated to bring about its downfall. The greatest production of a nation is its noble men and women. The greatest promise to Zion was that it should be said of her, "This man was born in her." No nation can be really great without the quality of ideality in the individual and in the race.

I verily believe we are even now entering upon an era of this world's history more important than the earth has ever witnessed since our Saviour Jesus Christ was born at Bethlehem; for the destruction of Jerusalem which followed after his first ministry on earth was but an epitome and a type of the destruction which is doomed to come upon all governments or institutions of any kind founded upon force, and not upon the divine attribute of love to God and man.

The watchers on the mountain-heights proclaim the dawning of a new day. There are streaks of morning redness in the sky which declare that "the Son of Righteousness shall rise with healing in his wings." The light in the east to-day is the light of the world, "the light which lighteth every man which cometh into the world." The commandments which Jesus gave to a few fishermen in the land of Judea nearly two thousand years ago have become the standards by which kings must rule; for in the commandment, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, with all thy strength, and with all thy mind, and thy neighbor as thyself," is concentrated all the wisdom of the ages — wisdom which, if carried out in the governments of the world, would speedily transform this earth into a paradise.

"The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us," and that dwelling of the Godhead in the flesh of humanity was in itself the prophecy of the reconstruction, purification, and redemption of mankind, and its final restoration to all the powers and attributes of sons and daughters of God.

It behooves women of this present day to study the part which woman enacted so nobly eighteen centuries ago.

It has been truly said that woman knew her Saviour. Jesus is called the "desire of women" and the "desire of nations." The Blessed Virgin accepted her election at the hands of God, exclaiming, "Be it unto me according to thy will."

Women followed their Lord through his life, and ministered unto him of their substance; no woman denied him, no woman betrayed him. Pilate's wife protested against his condemnation, while the daughters of Jerusalem wept. At the foot of the cross stood three women and one man — John, the beloved disciple, most loving and feminine in his nature. Mary Magdalen, first at the tomb, beheld him after his resurrection, and proclaimed the joyful tidings to his disciples. Are not these significant facts that we should do well to ponder? Seeking to know God's will to us in this our day and generation, what may our ministry be in his second coming to the earth? Are we waiting, like the Blessed Virgin Mary, until the Lord shall regard the lowliness of his handmaidens? May we seek to know the will of the Lord, and to do it in the coming days of trial; and by our visions of the heavenly Jerusalem may we inspire the hearts of men with that divine faith which may remove mountains. O women of this bountiful land! unto you are committed unseen treasures which you should bring forth for the world's uplifting. The spiritual forces of the universe are at your command, through your power to ally yourselves with the Son of Man, Immanuel — "God with us." That is the name that we should seek to know him by; and we should make our houses of earth so pure, so sanctified, that he may dwell in them as he dwelt in the home at Bethlehem.

Is this a heavy task that is laid upon us? He said, "My yoke is easy and my burden is light." Is not the world weary of sin? Can we not bring down Jerusalem — the vision of peace — and let its holy walls encompass this fair

land? "Where no vision is, the people perish." For the sake of the perishing world, let us hold to the vision of that heavenly and eternal peace which follows, and is the crown of righteousness.

Organization among Women as an Instrument in Promoting Religion — Address by Mary Lowe Dickinson of New York.

What is the value of organization, first, to the individual religious life? and second, to the problems of human helpfulness?

The second includes the first. Human helpfulness presupposes love for humanity. Love, the one divine and godlike attribute, upspringing in the human heart, is a stream whose source is the heart of God. The stream of our religious life is brighter for running so near to other streams as to catch the music of their flow. Alone, we may wander, and drift, and dream; united, we gather the joy of companionship, the grace of sympathy in service. It is blessed to find other prilgrims traveling on the same journey; to go on by their side; to halt where they halt; to get broader and sweeter glimpses of the glory of the way by seeing through others' eyes, and from others' points of view; to find one's own work more blessed because others rejoice to help; to grow into gratitude that in the great tasks God has set to nobler souls than ours, each little life may have its little share.

Still further blessed is organization in religious life, in the stimulus of emulation that comes in work that many share, and in which each must do his part. Great strength, too, is there in the consciousness of one's own forces many times multiplied in the larger hope of high accomplishment, and the gladness of greater success.

Yet these most shadowy outlines are only a few hints at

the answers that might be given to the question of the value of coöperation to the individual religious life.

And as to the value of coöperation on the part of women in Christian helpfulness, what are we to say? Simply, that almost all the results of womanly Christian helpfulness, since first the world began, are due largely to the coöperative principle, working upward and outward, until the tendency to economize the highest forces crystallized into one form or another of organized work.

In order to note this tendency to multiply power, first by sharing and then by combining, we need not go back to listen to the song of Miriam, who, stirred to the depths of her soul by her nation's peril and its victory, gathered the maidens together to sound with her the timbrel, and to join with her in the song, "to him who triumphed gloriously." The song was never her own, and by herself she never sang it; but the one thing she did do was to call the women together, and that fact has kept the timbrel sounding down through the ages even from that day unto this.

Even in the dimness of the medieval days, whenever the truer instinct changed women who were rivals into allies, there followed progress in refinement, and pleasure, and power. Women learned, without the higher motives, how to win and use the world for herself; but it remained for religion to win and use her highest forces for the world. Witness the noblest of patrician women, the proud daughters of Marcellus, following Saint Jerome; witness the women in the army of martyrs; witness the Roman church's calendar of saints.

There is no time and no need to dwell upon the cloistered communities, about whose chapel-altars beat the love and longing of womanly hearts, like one long, unbroken wave of worship, a wave that, ebbing, overswept many a saintly soul with the mystic's solemn joy. Neither is there need to trace the development of the later orders of mercy, and service, and charity, which, says a famous modern divine, have done more in the last three hundred years to make

converts to the Roman church than all the theologians and the clergy put together.

The reaction against the cloistered life was not a reaction against coöperative labor. It sprang from a recognition, on the part of the wisest, of the fact that common and not isolated service is good, not only for those who are ministered unto, but for those who minister as well.

The Reformation emphasizes this fact. The Protestant church had its tradition of Phœbe, and its hints at an order of widows. The Lutheran church held a man large enough to apprehend woman's underlying heart-principle of mercy and love, and to see that the world had only to avail itself of her unused forces to find in her an all-embracing motherhood, that made her outstretched arms an orphanage for the world. It was a man who had the wisdom to use what the Lord had provided, and so he founded the Order of Deaconesses, under whose united labors, in their early fields, pauperism was banished, idleness passed away, and pain soothed by their loving care became a blessing. They were not dispensers of soup and bread alone, but students of that problem that vexes the world to-day, as to how to stem the ever-rising tide of destitution and of sin.

How well they wrought in that early time, the spirit that has descended upon the modern deaconess bears witness. A spirit that, like a strong stream, running for a time underground, has again burst forth to the light, and goes on its way with all fresh, new, and lovely life for body and soul.

And all this, and much more, is true of the foreign mission societies. What a coöperative force they are, these women who, staying at home, have organized every hamlet in the land, have created in every church its woman's auxiliary, its young people's union, and its little children's mission bands.

There is a great temptation in this subject to follow all organized movements of workers down through the years and to trace the thread of Christian principle on which their beads of good works have been strung. In the limita-

tions of our space this is impossible. We may, however, give a moment to the evidences of the power of the Christian spirit as shown in one of the largest organizations in the world.

That the Woman's Christian Temperance Union is throned to-day at the center of the world's encircling organizations of women, is not so much because its battle is against the foe of childhood, motherhood, and the home; not because its grand crusade is one of rescue to lost manhood; not because of its numerous departments of human helpfulness, but because it struck this one chord to which the hearts of women answer. It made a union; that was great. It made a temperance union; that was greater. It made a Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and that, and that alone, made success in the highest degree possible.

It was the voice of Christ that called together the white-haired and white-souled women of that first crusade, and it is the Christ in the union, the Christ in the temperance, and the Christ in the woman that has been, in all this movement, the secret and source of its success and power.

One glance at our civilization shows that there never before was a time when, at the heart of every movement, large or small, lay such consideration for the welfare of human beings as exists to-day. Never before were so many school-houses built, and so much money expended for the education of the illiterate. Never before were there such wise projects for preventing pauperism and disease. Never before was the spirit of Christianity so active in human affairs; never was religion so patient with ignorance, so pitiful to suffering, so lenient toward superstition, so ready to shake off the shackles put upon it by bigotry, and to represent, by its living activity, the power of the love of Christ.

Notwithstanding this, we are forced to recognize that still the whole world groaneth and travaileth in pain, and the problems of race conflict, of human freedom, of education,

of labor, of social economics, of whatever touches the restoration of human souls and human bodies — these problems beat against the heart of humanity to-day as they beat against the heart of Christ in that far-away time when men questioned how, in spite of all this misery and sin, could come the kingdom of God.

For generations pulpit and press and reformer have been, as they are to-day, striving to arouse a sense of responsibility, and induce woman to take her share in the regenerative forces of her time. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union recognized that a large class — and its membership of two hundred thousand also shows this — are no longer in need of this exhortation. They were ready for work — not for all work, not for every work, but for some work — if only the right place could be found in the mighty mosaic of God's temple, built of human lives, for their bits of precious stones.

To seize the already existing tide of aspiration and desire, to save it from exaggerated and sentimental self-spending, to guide it to the highest uses, and to make it one of God's regenerative agencies has been the effort of the Union.

There are two oriental proverbs, one of which says, "A woman's wisdom is of the devil;" and the other, "Ignorance is a woman's jewel;" and there is a glint of truth in the saying, for the measure of a woman's knowledge must always be the measure of her responsibility; and her carefree brightness, the *sans-souci* sparkle of selfish existence, must ever catch a shadow from a sight of the world's woe.

But, as once a queen stood ready to part with her jewels for the faint hope of adding a new domain to her kingdom, so the women of this nineteenth century part cheerfully with that comfortable ignorance that knows no burden, for others' weal, for the chance of adding a new domain of truth and justice to their country, or of opening a new hope to a race.

It matters little how we classify our work; as social, scientific, legal, educational, philanthropic, secular, or religious

— the light by which we have seen the world's need, and the power by which we adapt woman's work to the need, both radiate, directly or indirectly, from the cross. To rally multitudes of women to work in its spirit, until the world is drawn to its feet, and its principles become the renovating, redeeming power at the heart of human work and life — this is the ultimate power in organization, and this is doing in very truth what Columbus did in words, claiming, not in the name of one, but of many, queens, the nation's work for God.

ADDRESS ON THE SAME SUBJECT BY REV. IDA C. HULTIN OF ILLINOIS.

As a distinctively woman's work there has not been so much organization in religion as in other branches of activity, and until woman is organized in every church there will not be much organized work. Of course woman organizes in church affairs — in raising money, in doing the kitchen-work at oyster-suppers, the painting and papering and carpeting of the church, and holding church fairs; but this is not distinctively church work, although it has a great deal to do with that which paves the way to religion. The clubs that women have entered for industrial and philanthropic work have helped them to know how to work together. Woman has been the great organizer in home life, and because she has been so successful in this organization it has come to be said, "Home is her only sphere." But she has begun to realize that outside of this there is a larger sphere for organization, by which she will be enabled to do better work in religion.

What is religion? It is not a theory; it is not a creed; it is not a gathering of certain formulas. Religion is the underlying current of human life which carries it upward. It is the science of the highest development of humanity. It is that something which makes life worth living. It is that something which puts the key in the gate and lets us

into the so-called heaven. It is that which saves you and me, and forgives the universe. It has to do with the morning, noon, and night of life. It helps men know how to trade, and talk, and how to look up into the heavens, and see that God is there, and feel the divinity in the stillness of the night.

Truth and goodness are not parts of religion; they are religion. Religion is that which makes us know not only the fatherhood of God, but also the brotherhood of humanity; it sees God in the clods as well as in the stars, and makes us know that in every atom we shall find a divine purpose and a divine inspiration. There is no place where God is not.

The Elevation of Womanhood Wrought Through the Veneration of the Blessed Virgin — Address by Emma F. Cary.

"There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." So says Saint Paul in the third chapter of Galatians; and a few verses below he adds, "God sent his Son, made of woman, made under the law; that he might redeem them who were under the law; that we might receive the adoption of sons."

"Neither Jew nor Greek" — yet to the present day nation rages against nation; "neither bond nor free" — but centuries passed before the voice of the church could procure for those in servitude more than a slight mitigation of their wrongs. How has it been with the third part of the prophecy, "neither male nor female"? From the first days of Christianity we can see the beginning and the course of its fulfillment. Softly as the dawn, gentle as the power of that woman of whom Christ was made, arose the influence of women in the church. From the earliest days of apostolic times we see them, in all modesty, but with the valor

of men, taking their share of work, of peril, and of commendation.

To prove by quotations from great authorities that this recognition of the just claims of women was the natural as well as the supernatural result of the Blessed Virgin's place in the scheme of the redemption would be to fill the short space allotted to this paper with a list of illustrious names, and to leave that list unfinished. Beside the figure of the sacred humanity of Christ there stands his Mother, the feminine impersonation of wisdom, fortitude, grace, mercy, purity; as far below her Son as the created is below the creator; yet offering a standard of womanly perfection so exalted that it urged forward to maturity one element of civilization, while others toiled for centuries, only to have their importance acknowledged by the noblest, most enlightened spirits of each age. Nay, to this hour there are claims of humanity which cry vainly, in the name of Christ and his church, for recognition, and the crimes against them hide behind the shield of virtues, such as justice, prudence, liberty, patriotism, and valor.

I will not touch on the dangerous ground of theology; I appeal to history to show that public opinion was so purified by the veneration felt for the Virgin Mary as to lift at once the service of women in the early church to a position of dignity; to hold it at the same high level when the simple relations of Christians toward each other became involved with social and political combinations; and in time to make the protection of distressed or oppressed women one of the holiest duties of the clergy and of the patrician class. We have the women of the apostolic age, beginning with those halcyon days when, "continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, they took their meat with gladness and simplicity of heart." The Blessed Virgin was the direct guide of the women of the earliest church. Tradition tells us that "she spoke little, but she spoke freely and affably; she was not troubled in her speech, but grave, courteous, tranquil." Who in

reading this does not recall the manners of religious women of our own time? In convents are still found the exquisite manners which spring from a perpetual consciousness of God's presence. We often see in pupils of convent schools the same deference, sweetness, and dignity. Perhaps they have not as yet in perfection the "higher education," but time will soon bring that about; and they have the highest education to-day in possessing a perfect standard of womanly behavior, drawn from the household of Nazareth.

But the scene changes; political problems become entangled with religious questions; a more active participation in the trials and perils of men is called for, and in the arena, on the scaffold, in banishment and persecution, we find that there is in Christ neither male nor female.

In the thirteenth century, painting, poetry, and theology all united in lifting on high the ideal of womanhood through the veneration of "Our Lady"; for then she was OUR LADY, so called through the devotion of the knights of chivalry, who saw her in all women, and found for her a thousand lovely epithets. "Our Lady of Liberty," cried captives; "Our Lady of Sorrows," moaned the afflicted; "Our Lady of the Cradle," prayed mothers; "Our Lady of the People," cried those who saw in her the elevator of labor.

Dante calls her "Ennobler of thy nature" in that magnificent apostrophe, which so satisfied religious feeling that Chaucer and Petrarch, nearly one hundred years later, paraphrased it in words as beautiful as Dante's. Saint Thomas and Saint Bonaventura among theologians, Giotto and Cimabue among painters, were her panegyrists. No wonder that in the succeeding century we have two women of transcendent gifts — the Saint of Siena, controlling the youth of her city and molding the political events of the day; and the Saint of Genoa ranked among the theologians of the church.

Meanwhile, through the ages preceding the thirteenth century, three phases of civilization had tended to develop

LILLIE DEVEREUX BLAKE.
MARGARET WINDEYER.
BARONESS THORBORG-RAPPE.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.
J. ELLEN FOSTER.
BARONESS ALEXANDRA GRIPENBERG.

the talents of women and to show their powers. The feudal system, though in after times it was flung off as a most grievous yoke, was the creator of domestic life in distinction from wandering life. The wife of the lord was of consequence; his companion when he was at home, his representative when he was absent, especially in the Holy Land, for such separations lasted perhaps for years. Thus the crusades formed a second influence upon the development of women; for, the head of the family being absent, the wife was forced to bear great responsibility and to act as regent in a sphere more or less extensive. The third external influence was chivalry, which made all women objects of romantic devotion, either as inspirers and patronesses, or as sufferers, to be defended against the evil part of the human race.

We can not linger over the period of the Renaissance, familiar to many through descriptions as various as the minds which have delineated its wonders. It brings us to the culmination of art, and to the close of the ages of faith, so called by those who had but little of the gift of hope. With the decay of religious art there came a spirit of luxury, far more perilous to religion than persecution can ever be. The extravagant self-indulgence of the upper classes aroused rebellion on the part of the people; revolutions changed the face of the civilized world, and, while tearing off veils from hidden evils, checked civilization, and, above all, retarded the intellectual development of women. A spirit of scoffing and cynical incredulity possessed society. Many of the clever women of that day recall to our minds the dissolute women of pagan times. The average position of a good woman was merely that of a notable housewife or of a frivolous belle in the gay world. Where was now the spirit of chivalry, which should have defended women from the mocking spirit which prompted the farcical drollery of "*Les Précieuses Ridicules*"?

But, beautiful to record, the heroines of religious life sustained the best traditions of their sex, and showed them-

selves daughters of Mary. Many new congregations arose founded by women, and the ancient orders were preserved in their integrity. Education of a simple and wholesome kind was given in convent schools, and a foundation laid ready for the best development of feminine training when time should be ripe for it; and, in imitation of our Mother, religious women were always to be found at the foot of the cross. Wherever there was adversity, hard work, or danger, they stood ready to meet the crisis. Tabor could do without them, Calvary they claimed as a right. For women living in the world the pure ray of light which streams from the first century to the twentieth has been sometimes obscured; but for religious women there has been no mist rising from the miasma of self-indulgence, no smoke from the fires of vanity to hide that light; and that it still shines for us all is due in part to their heroism in preserving unbroken the noblest traditions of womanhood. In the present century we owe much to women who have used their great gifts as nobly as any of the heroines of the early or medieval church — to Madame Craven and Madame Swetchine, Lady Georgiana Fullerton and Miss Mary Stanley, and in our own country to Mrs. Petre, Mrs. George Ripley, and Miss Emily Harper.

We stand at the threshold of the twentieth century, and muse on the future that it holds for spiritual and intellectual women. Does the church ask less of them than of their ancestors in the faith? It asks more, for the privileges which formerly belonged only to a few are now generally diffused. There is not a material invention of the present day which can not be bent to a spiritual purpose. The girdle put round the earth by electricity binds the world and the nations of the earth together, and the great deeds done in one quarter of the globe belong to the rest of humanity. Shall we lose courage while there are Christian colonies in the heart of Africa and martyrs for the faith in China? But we have no thought of losing courage; we claim all that is highest in modern education, in modern

ingenuity, and unite ourselves to the traditions of the past, going back nineteen hundred years to the household of Nazareth, to study the spirit which should animate domestic life, life in communities, and that complex existence led by those who have not the protection of either the one or the other.

Once more let us look toward her who is, in the words of Saint Sophronius, "the exaltation of humanity." We will not take as our interpreters Newman, Faber, or Mr. Aubrey de Vere. We will look where there might seem small chance of finding sympathy. We will let Shelley speak for us:

> Seraph of heaven! too gentle to be human,
> Veiling beneath that radiant form of woman
> All that is insupportable in thee
> Of light and love and immortality!
> Sweet benediction in the eternal curse!
> Veil'd glory of this lampless universe!
> Thou moon beyond the clouds! Thou living form
> Among the dead! Thou star above the storm!
> Thou wonder and thou beauty and thou terror!
> Thou harmony of nature's art! Thou mirror
> In whom, as in the splendor of the sun,
> All shapes look glorious which thou gazest on.

The Sisters of the People — Address Prepared by Mrs. Hugh Price Hughes of London; Read by ——.

I have been requested to give an account of the work done by the Sisters of the People, which is the organization that I represent. Before I do so, however, I think that in a few words I would better describe the origin of the sisterhood, and the way in which it is conducted.

Previous to my husband's appointment to the West London Mission, five years ago, we had both felt the want of organized work for women in connection with the Christian church. We had deep respect for the sisterhoods of the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches, and recognized

the magnificent work they had done; but were anxious that places should be opened to earnest Christian women, where, free from life-long vows and cramping discipline, they might engage in the form of religious or social work to which they felt specially drawn.

We were told by many people that it was utterly impossible to establish a community of women who would work together on lines such as these; that vows, in some form or another, for at least a limited period, were necessary; and that work could not be properly conducted and carried on without rigorous discipline.

The attempt to establish such a sisterhood as ours was an experiment, and even those who had the matter most at heart had their doubts and fears; but after five years we can honestly say that the experiment has met with a success such as we hardly dared to hope for, even in our most sanguine moments. I do not deny that an organization based upon principles so broad and free as ours has its special difficulties and drawbacks. A system of complete subjection and rigorous discipline is in some respects more easy to work. But we distinctly recognize the rights of women to their own individuality; we wish to give them free scope to use whatever powers they may possess, and to develop themselves on their own lines and in their own way. We began with four sisters, including myself, and we have now about thirty-four actively engaged in work.

In my travels about the country I had been struck from time to time with the number of refined, educated women, who were interested in the condition of the masses of the people in our great cities, who took to heart the social problems by which we are surrounded, and who longed to do something for the spiritual and physical well-being of the poor and unprivileged. It was this class of women especially whom we wished to enroll in our ranks. I know that many humble and devoted women have toiled as Bible women and visitors, and many more have done noble work in the ranks of the Salvation Army; but, after all, there is

a work that can be done by those who have enjoyed the privileges of refinement and culture, and by them alone. Hitherto I had observed that anybody, even if she had failed in everything else, was thought good enough for mission work, but we wanted to bring home the idea that no one was too good for mission work. I had seen many women of the educated classes, who were longing for some useful work to do, who were spending their lives in comfortable and luxurious homes, engaged in an aimless round of trivialities, when they would have been thankful if they could have joined in such work as ours.

We chose the name "sisters" advisedly. We had no wish merely to copy the name used by the Roman Catholic and the Anglican churches, and we wished it to be understood in a democratic rather than in an ecclesiastical sense. It was the name that most perfectly expressed the idea that we wished to embody. We intended to establish an order of true sisters of the people; we wanted women who would lay aside all pride and snobbery, and who would go among the degraded and unprivileged as their true human sisters and friends. Our idea is that we must share all we have and are, with those among whom we work, and that those very privileges of refinement and education are given to us in order that we may employ them in shedding sweetness and light upon other lives.

Every candidate for the sisterhood comes at first on probation, which lasts for at least three months. At the end of that time, if everything is satisfactory, she is formally received, wears our uniform, and enjoys all the privileges accorded to members of the sisterhood. The greater number of our sisters live together in one large house in Fitzroy Square, though we have two or three other branch establishments where one or two reside. The community life is as simple and homelike as it can possibly be. We have no rules except such as would be maintained in any well-ordered house, and every sister is trusted implicitly and absolutely. We encourage individuality, and each is

free to carry on her own work in her own way, provided that she succeeds.

When we find that a sister has capabilities for some special work, we allow her to devote herself entirely to it, and to develop her own ideas and methods. In this way we get a high degree of thoroughness and efficiency, because, not merely does the sister perform a round of duties, but her whole soul is given to her work, and she is determined to make it "go," somehow or other. If one plan does not succeed she tries another, and is constantly on the *qui vive* for fresh ideas and new experiments.

The cost of the sisterhood has been partly met by the general funds of the West London Mission. In addition to this we have a special sisterhood fund, which is maintained by small annual subscriptions from those who sympathize with us in the work we are doing. This is gradually increasing, so that we hope, in a short time, the sisterhood will pay its own way, and will be quite independent of the general fund of the mission.

We do not allow any difference to be made between rich and poor sisters. All are treated alike. No one is allowed to pay for board and lodging, although if she has the means and chooses to do so she can give whatever subscriptions she thinks fit to the sisterhood fund; and to a sister, who has no private resources, we give a small sum, just to cover necessary personal expenses. We admit members of all churches so long as they are in sympathy with the objects and aims of our mission; and they are perfectly free to attend the services of their own churches when not on duty in our mission.

We have at this moment in our ranks several members of the Church of England, as well as members of many Nonconformist churches; and we have so far solved the problem of reunion that we all work together most harmoniously. I think it hardly occurs to us even to ask to what church the different sisters belong.

I must now, however, try to give you some idea of the

work that we have done during the last five years. It is a difficult task, because in the short time allotted to me it is almost impossible to give more than the barest outline of our different branches of work. Our sisters all begin with visiting in the districts surrounding our various mission centers, and so far as the very poor are concerned we consider this personal visitation and influence the very backbone of our work. The typical district visitor is generally looked upon as a person who goes about distributing tracts and soup tickets, and who tries generally to ram religion down the people's throats. Our aim, however, is to go among the people as their real human sisters and personal friends, to make them feel that we really care for them and love them. We get to know their characters and surroundings, their difficulties and temptations, their errors and sorrows, and to be so thoroughly in touch with them that we can understand the point of view from which they look at things. The ideas of life, morality, and religion held by people who have lived all their lives in one room are somewhat different from our own; and there is a tremendous distinction between downright, deliberate sin and that fatal weakness and degradation brought about by the terrible circumstances of their lives. In our experience, by far the greater number of people are weak and helpless rather than wicked.

This knowledge is not gained in a day, or a year, and at first it was difficult to make the people believe that we had no motive of self-interest behind all that we were doing. But when once you get poor men and women really to believe that you care about them just as you care about your own personal friends in your own class of life, your influence over them is unbounded, and their confidence and affection are touching in the extreme. True Christ-like love is the only power which can bring about moral reformation and advancement.

We have had striking proof of this in the work of one of our most valued sisters, who had great power with the

lowest and most degraded type of women. They were so low that it was almost impossible to get them to any church or mission hall — they were drunk and immoral — but with infinite patience and tenderness, Sister Agnes visited them and cared for them; and gradually they grew to love her, and to believe in her love for them. She told me that she had often to visit a woman for days, and weeks, and months, before it was possible to mention religion. But true human love seemed to make it possible for them to realize the divine love, and the power which God does give to those who look to him; and as a result their lives in numerous instances are completely changed; they have become sober and more self-respecting; new hopes and aspirations have dawned; and they are trying to live up to the light they have.

It is, of course, absolutely forbidden ever to proselytize. Those who are in the habit of going nowhere on Sundays, as is too frequently the case, we invite to our halls, but we never attempt to induce those who go to churches or chapels to come to us. We are welcomed by Roman Catholics, foreigners, socialists, and infidels alike. They look upon us as their friends, and trust us.

Besides this moral and spiritual influence, we interest ourselves in the questions of the hour, which so deeply affect the happiness and welfare of the working classes. We enter heartily into the temperance movement, and are allied with the British Women's Temperance Association for that purpose. We talk with the men in the workshops, get to know the papers and books they read, and discuss social questions with them.

We have actively assisted in the formation of women's trade unions, and endeavor to interest women in social and political questions that specially affect the position of women and helpless children. We help in the school-board and county-council elections, and we took our part in the general election last summer.

All the different branches of work that we have started in order to help the people and brighten their lives, have

arisen out of the personal knowledge we have thus gained of their wants and surroundings. We soon found that the poor women who were obliged to go out to work needed a day nursery, where the babies could be taken care of during their absence. We have therefore established a flourishing crèche, which is under the charge of a sister who gives her whole time to the work.

We have also established a nursing department, and have among our sisters six fully trained hospital nurses, who nurse the poor in their own homes. They work also under the guidance of our medical director, and spend their time in ministering to the sick and dying. It is difficult to realize how much the poor suffer in times of sickness. Living all together in one room, without any of the most ordinary appliances for the sick, often unable to provide either nourishment or medicine, their sufferings are terrible. No work that we have done is more blessed than that done by the nurses. From our own dispensary they can supply medicine, clean sheets, old linen, and sick-room appliances; and, in cases of poverty, as long as the illness lasts, they provide suitable nourishment. We have another branch of work in our convalescent country home in Gloucestershire, also under the charge of a sister, where we send people to recover health and strength; and where we give hundreds of tired workers who are not actually ill a pleasant fortnight's summer holiday. Our medical director has also conceived the beautiful idea of opening a home for dying people. It is impossible for the London hospitals to retain hopeless cases, and many poor sufferers return to their wretched homes, where they linger for weeks in agonies till death mercifully releases them. We have had awful cases of consumption, cancer, and other lingering diseases; and we shall shortly open a hospital containing about sixteen beds, where patients in a hopeless condition will be received; and where everything that medical skill can do to alleviate suffering will be done; and where the consolations of Christ, and loving, womanly care, will soothe the last hours of the sufferers.

We do all we can to bring brightness and variety into the gray, monotonous lives of the dwellers in the back streets. Time fails me to dwell upon our numerous clubs and social entertainments, both for grown-up people and children. We have boys' clubs, girls' clubs, lantern lectures, and concerts of all kinds. At one of our halls we have established what we call a coffee-concert, on Saturday night. The hall is arranged so that people can walk about, or sit in little groups and talk. Coffee and refreshments are served at a charge of a few pence, and we have a regular jolly, lively programme. This has proved an immense success. The hall is crowded every Saturday night. Our two girls' clubs are also most successful. Those who know anything about such work understand the difficulties of dealing with the wild, untamed London factory girl. We certainly had some lively experiences at first. But the London factory girl, with all her lowness and coarseness, is an affectionate, leadable creature, if only you can take hold of her in the right way. It is not every one who can do this. Four of our sisters give up the greater part of their time to this work. Last June they took a large number of the girls for a holiday down to our country home in Gloucestershire. They lived with them for ten days, sharing all their meals, and going with them on their rambles and expeditions. They had a most delightful time. The sisters said they had never enjoyed a country holiday so much before, and the happiness of the girls was pathetic. During the whole holiday the sisters told me they never heard a word nor saw a look they could object to, though many of these girls came from the lowest courts and alleys in west-central London. Every now and then we give a sort of "At Home" at the club, to which the girls invite their men friends. We invite some of our men friends at the same time, so as to give the girls a kind of object-lesson as to the way in which men and women ought to behave to one another. This has not been without its effect.

We encourage every kind of thrift society, and in one of

our women's slate clubs, alone, last year the sum of four hundred and six pounds passed through our hands.

Another branch, that is conducted almost entirely by sisters, is what we call the "Relief Department." We had not worked for many months before we found we were overwhelmed with applications for help of all kinds. We therefore appointed two sisters, who were specially interested in this work, to sit every morning from eleven to one o'clock in a room in one of our halls, there to interview every applicant for help.

Full investigation is made in every case, and then, at a weekly committee, composed of all the sisters, we discuss each case, and decide what is the best way of rendering efficient help. We refuse to deal out charitable doles of money, which will just leave people in the same position at the week's end; but we endeavor to render such assistance as will enable them to help themselves. In this work we have been assisted most generously and kindly by the various branches of the Charity Organization Society in our districts, several of our sisters being members of the various committees. We find work for the unemployed wherever it is possible, and considering all things we have been tolerably successful, though it is very hard work. We look after servants who are out of situations, take care of them, and find them fresh places, helping them with their clothes if necessary. We look after families where the bread-winner is laid aside by illness, and get the patient to a convalescent home upon recovery. We help the boys and girls out into their first places. We have often and often mediated between landlord and tenant. We are in touch with the sanitary inspector, the Board of Guardians, Mr. Benjamin Waugh, and other authorities. We look after girls who have gone astray and are trying to do better. We entertain the old people in the workhouses with afternoon teas. Their lives above all others are the most hopeless and dreary. To our Sunday services at St. James' Hall and Prince's Hall come hundreds and thousands of respectable

young men and women who are employed in the West End houses of business. For the last two years we have had a sort of Sunday evening "At Home" at Prince's Hall, for the young men and women in houses of business, at the close of usual services, which all end at nine o'clock. Tea coffee, cake, biscuits, and bread and butter are served at a table at the end of the hall, and we all move freely about and talk to everybody. Occasionally we have some sacred music performed, but there is nothing of the nature of a meeting or service. We close the proceedings at ten o'clock with simple family prayer, a few verses from the Bible, the evening hymn, and short prayer.

We also carry on a small and quiet work among the upper classes in the West End. In the very nature of things, it is impossible to give details of work of this kind. We have found, however, that the rich, and titled, and privileged, often need the knowledge of Christ more than the very poor, and they also need the love and help of the sister. The poor have much more done for them than the rich ever have. There are more broken hearts and terrible tragedies in society life than one has any idea of. Our work in this direction is steadily increasing, and now that we are becoming known, people often come to us to pour out their hearts' anguish, and to seek comfort and help. We feel that wherever there is a human being to be helped, whoever it may be, there the Sister of the People has her work.

I have spoken mainly of the outward and visible in our work; but all that we do is based upon our belief that Christ is the great need of every man and woman who is born into this world. His is the only power that will reform society and regenerate the world; and behind all that we do for the social, moral, and political advancement of the people, we believe that the highest duty and privilege of all is to bring the individual man, or woman, or child to a knowledge of the love of Christ, and to personal trust in him.

CHAPTER VII.—MORAL AND SOCIAL REFORM.

PREFATORY COMMENT BY THE EDITOR — COPIOUS EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESSES DELIVERED IN THE GENERAL CONGRESS BY JULIA WARD HOWE, ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, JOSEFA HUMPAL-ZEMAN, ALICE TIMMONS TOOMY, PROF. ELLEN HAYES, VISCOUNTESS HARBERTON, MAUD BALLINGTON BOOTH, KATE BOND, AND HELEN H. GARDENER — BRIEF EXTRACTS FROM THE DISCUSSION OF THESE ADDRESSES BY REV. ANTOINETTE BROWN BLACKWELL, MRS. JOHN F. UNGER, JOSEPHINE C. LOCKE, MARGARET D. PARKER, M. LOUISE THOMAS, DR. EMILY HOWARD STOWE, DR. JENNIE DE LA M. LOZIER, MARGARET WINDEYER, LAURA ORMISTON CHANT, OCTAVIA W. BATES, DR. LELIA A. DAVIS, AND PROF. HELEN L. WEBSTER — EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS PREPARED FOR A REPORT CONGRESS BY HELEN TAYLOR — COPIOUS EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION BY MARY H. HUNT — EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE NON-PARTISAN NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION BY FLORENCE C. PORTER — ADDRESS PREPARED FOR THIS CONGRESS BY LADY HENRY SOMERSET — ADDRESS PREPARED BY ELIZABETH WHEELER ANDREW.

TO some readers it may seem that the space occupied in this chapter by the discussion of the dress of women and its proposed improvement is disproportionate to that which these subjects occupy in the public mind. It would appear, however, that these questions must be surveyed from both the social and the ethical standpoints. It is certain that woman's present ability to face all weathers, to participate in outdoor sports, such as cycling and tennis, and her present industrial freedom, curtailed as they still are, are in no mean degree due to overshoes and waterproof cloaks, and to her acquisition of blouses, tennis-shoes, and walking-boots. It is equally certain that woman's ability to engage actively in those moral reforms which demand personal acquaintance with the denizens of the slums, and per-

sonal inspection of their surroundings, presupposes still further modifications of her dress. In the close scientific study of present social conditions, and in the scientific administration of public charities, the race will not be to the woman shackled by corset and train. These considerations suggest the reason for including the discussion of woman's dress in this chapter.

Of the seventy-one papers presented in report congresses, at least ninety per cent treat subjects that come properly under the head of social and moral reform, and the same is true of at least seventy per cent of the hundreds of addresses made in department congresses. Therefore the attempt has been rather to exclude from this chapter all addresses that *can be* classified under another title.

As in no other department of social and moral reform are women so numerously organized as in what is termed the temperance movement, and inasmuch as temperance reform is preliminary to many other moral reforms, it seemed proper to regard women's work for temperance as representative, and give it a place in this chapter. The other topics discussed in this chapter, such as "The Moral Initiative," "The Civil and Social Evolution of Woman," and "The Double Moral Standard," are universal in application and fundamental in character, and should be united in thought with all specific social and moral reforms proposed.—[THE EDITOR.]

THE MORAL INITIATIVE AS RELATED TO WOMAN—ADDRESS BY JULIA WARD HOWE OF RHODE ISLAND.

This title indicates a topic which has come to me in hours of thought and of study, attracting me both by its philosophical and its practical aspect. The present century has seen great progress in these two departments. The old philosophies have been taken up, sometimes in a reverent, often in a skeptical, spirit, and the critical procedure has

acknowledged no barriers beyond which it is forbidden to pass. Rules of life, on the other hand, have also been sharply reviewed and amended. The salient points of morals have been distinctly sought out and emphasized, and the two great orders of thought, philosophy and ethics, have been brought into new relations of nearness and dearness. Religious teaching has passed from the observation of rites and the inculcation of metaphysical views and doctrines to the illustration of the intrinsic essence of Christianity; and the subtleties of mysticism, ritualism, and what not, have been forgotten in the sympathetic uprising of the heart of the multitude. When ten thousand people waited in the square around Trinity Church, in Boston, for the last glimpse of Phillips Brooks' coffin, when they joined in the Lord's prayer and in the hymn led by trumpets, which constituted all the outdoor service on that memorable occasion, those who were present saw the triumph of cordial over formal Christianity — saw, and thanked God for what they saw.

Something of this process of integration appears to me to have gone on with regard to the powers and offices of women during the last twenty-five years. I can remember when it was not deemed improper to plead in excuse for foolish and even wicked conduct, "She is only a woman." Only a woman — only half the human race, and the mother of all mankind! This reminds me of a bigoted European Catholic whom I once met in traveling, who, learning that we have no established state church in America, inquired: "Well, what provision have you then for religion?" I replied, "We have the doctrine and example of Jesus Christ." "Nothing but that?" he answered with contempt.

Well, we do not often hear this phrase to-day, "Only a woman," and gradually we have been led to discard the fragmentary and imperfect views of our sex which their enemies have taught us; for low-minded men are always the enemies of women, and always desire to see them in a position of subserviency and dependence. High-minded

men, on the other hand, have tried to give us high ideas of what women ought to be and to stand for in social economy, and some of them have had much to do with the present awakening and rehabilitation. For lofty ideals of womanhood the literary world has not wanted. The tragedians of Greece, and her great philosopher, Plato, the writers whose treasures are gathered in our Bible, the poets of the Renaissance — noticeably Shakespeare, Milton, and Dante — have shown us, with other types, the women of noble stature and august character. But the common world of men about us has not appeared to take much stock in these. A feebler and more frivolous type has been more congenial to them, and while expecting and exacting from us a stricter morality than that required of their own sex, they have been at no small pains to obstruct in us the sources of moral inspiration, and to make us feel that to please them is our highest duty and our greatest honor.

The times of this ignorance we may say with St. Peter, "God winked at." In the old mythology Mars and Venus went together, the fighting man with the woman whose beauty is her chief endowment. But Mars is going out of high fashion. The soldier is no longer the supreme example of heroism, but simply a necessary evil. The thoughtful, the life-preserving virtues are in the ascendant to-day. Character attracts, character rules, and we have learned at last that it can not rule unless men and women have it equally, unless in both sexes its aspirations may rise to their own height and work out their own development.

Now, what do I mean by this moral initiative as belonging to woman? Is it a wise phrase that sounds metaphysical and means nothing? My thought of it is simply this: The world has had much good to say of its women, and much evil, and both with reason. The first woman has been credited with all the woes which have befallen humanity, and with all the sins into which it has fallen.

Buddhism considers the principle of evil in nature as resident in the female sex, and ascetics in all lands have

held the same view. The legends of the mother of Christ have no doubt exercised a potent influence in elevating the moral position of the sex; yet in romance and stage-play to-day, as well as in ordinary society pleasantry, the question is common, Where is the woman who is at the bottom of the mischief? I think that wise people now ask an opposite question. When we meet with a man who is without fear and without reproach, whose blameless life seems to have gone on from strength to strength, up-building the community, and honoring humanity by his own noble image and conduct, we are apt to ask where the woman is. And our thoughts go back to the cradle in which his helpless infancy was tended — even further, to the heart to which his own was the nearest thing on earth, to the breast from which he was fed with the essence of a pure life. Happy is the man whose mother has been a tower of strength to herself and her family. The first precious lessons it has been hers to give. No matter what storms may have raged without, how mean the home or how wild the street, he has first seen the light in an atmosphere of celestial purity. The mother love has watched at the gates of his childish Eden with a drawn sword. No evil counsel or influence has been allowed to come near him. And when in the necessary course of things he has passed out of her keeping, he has gone accompanied by the Christ-prayer, "I pray not that thou shouldst take him out of the world, but that thou shouldst keep him from the evil." This I call the moral initiative, the man's start in life. The nucleus of all that he is to believe, to aim at, and to do, has been delivered to him, like a sealed packet full of precious things, by a mother who honors supremely all that honors humanity, who dreads and despises all that dishonors and deforms it.

No one will deny that this type of woman is most precious. The question will rather be how we may maintain and multiply it. And here the whole horizon of the past confronts us, as well as the veiled heaven of the future.

In this past we read that all that is slavish in human institutions is demoralizing; that while discipline forms and exalts, despotism degrades and deforms, appealing back to the lower instincts, which have their place in animal life — fear, cunning, low self-love, and the low attachments of mere habit and interest. From the tyrannies of the old order into the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free the world is slowly passing, but all that detains humanity on its lower levels retards the progress of the race. Oh, that men, themselves enfranchised, should wish to detain their women in the bondage from which they themselves have been delivered! In true Christianity there is no moral distinction of sex, neither male nor female; but in the political life even of free America the man opens the door for himself and shuts it against his wife, opens the door for his son and shuts it upon his daughter. And this, I say, is demoralizing. It compels one-half of the human race to look back toward the old barbarism, while the other insists upon looking forward to the new civilization. The man to whom the woman's freedom of soul is the first condition of his own, puts on that freedom a fatal barrier, and defrauds himself thereby. His mother should be his superior; his wife should be his equal and companion. He invites them to acquiesce in a lower position, to exercise a self-control which he does not dream of exacting from himself, but also to sacrifice the self-respect out of which should spring this very power of self-control, of self-sacrifice, of subordinating the pleasurable to the ethical, the caprice of self-indulgence to the steady purposes of duty.

I do not say that any of these thoughts are new, but I do say that as life goes on, and the world with it, they present themselves to me with new power and completeness. In reviewing my days, I recall the noble women whom I have known, deep-hearted and wise-thoughted. I have revered them as individuals, as stars in a dark sky, as striking exceptions to the poor average of feminine attainment, intellectual and moral. But I see them now as partial

revelations of a glorious whole. The germ of all that I have admired in any woman surely resides in every woman; and if you can reach the true woman in her you will call forth something of it. Men and women are alike cheated by the frivolity in which most of us are bred and educated. We are taught to be content with suiting the tone of our life to the careless pleasure of thoughtless men.

Now, I say, let there be an uprising among us. Let thoughtless men take, on the contrary, their attitude from our nobleness of mind. Let them recognize in us not only a moral sentiment which they must respect, but a moral determination to which they must conform.

Oh, women! let your sons see in you only what shall raise you in their esteem. And while you inspire them with tender respect, and train them to all that is generous and truth-loving, remember that you have a double duty to your daughters. They are to be the companions and inspirers of men. Oh, see that the source of moral power in them be not corrupted by cowardice nor impeded by senseless tradition. Let man that is born of woman be also trained by woman to the attainment of his fullest manhood, corresponding to her fullest and freest womanhood. God has joined the sexes together in the highest spiritual, as in the simplest natural, need. What he hath joined together let not man put asunder. The woman has slowly conquered the right to education, both as learner and as teacher. Let the mother instruct the daughter to keep, above all else, the impregnable fortress of her own strength, faith, and purity. Let her find and follow the terrible right whose victories, adjourned but certain, are written all over the world. With deep reverence for father, brother, husband, let her yet revere and obey an authority deeper and far beyond theirs, the dictates of an enlightened and ever-studious conscience. Let her keep her own moral initiative. It is from God, and not from man.

I believe in the political enfranchisement of women

because I see in it the key to all that is rightly expected of them in the world's economy. I believe in it because I believe in logic; not so much in the short-sighted syllogisms which we teach as in the great logic which life teaches us, in which effects follow causes, and moral principles confirm themselves in moral results.

May we not suspect that a latent sense of the superiority of service underlies the master's expectation that his slave or servant shall surpass him in patience and benevolence? I find something of this element in the feeling of men toward women. "You are our subordinates, bound to serve and obey, and you should therefore have certain inestimable qualities which we do not feel obliged to possess. You *should* be better than we." And this brings me back to that fragmentary view of great things of which I have already spoken. Men have had their glimpses of what is right and proper. They have guessed well at the truth here and there. Women should exercise some virtues which for men are less obviously requisite, such as patience and endurance in forms peculiar to their life and constitution, and, above all, affections which it is hard to wear out, and faith which never flinches from its loyalty.

But the progress of the great order reveals truth in its wholeness. These broken views of good and of merit are but parts of a great whole whose outline is now becoming visible to us. In the political world these great unifications are matters of familiar history. Macedon and Rome each produced a certain sense of unity from the chaos of differing tribes and nationalities, but Christianity brings us this unity in the moral world, and shows us that there is one right and one wrong for all. What a human being would not himself endure he can have no right to inflict upon others; of what he finds supremely precious he has no right to deprive any one.

Lastly, women must be free, if freedom is to be enjoyed by men and safeguarded for them. Ignorance is the first condition of enslavement, and ignorant women will always

be the tools of the men who are the enemies of freedom. To all that society expects from women let us then add the enlightened mind, the liberal and resolute will. This will secure to them the moral initiative.

THE REV. ANTOINETTE BROWN BLACKWELL OF NEW JERSEY INTRODUCED THE DISCUSSION AS FOLLOWS:

Coming much closer to childhood and youth, and through them to the moral perils of the world, toward which they so heedlessly venture, and into which they are lured at every turn, the woman is, I reason, the earlier foreordained moral factor in human progress. To her we may look for the moral initiative in many directions. Man's battle has been more largely with the untamed physical forces, hers with the perverted moral instincts.

Intellect is needed in both. The savagery of neither domain can be subdued except by wise, rational warfare, except thought, tact, and judgment are strenuously brought to bear. Morals and physics are not two, but one larger unity. Men must work on both sides of it, and so must women. But if women do not more readily turn to moral than to physical engineering, why are their first ventures in public work almost universally in some phase of reform or benevolence? There are many large associations and business firms of women whose objects are philanthropic; very few and small ones which seek to grow rich. Human nature is both one and two, but the masculine and feminine sides are very unlike in their manifestations.

Some of our best friends insist that in civil and political life we may not count upon any saving or elevating influences derived from special qualities or virtues of women; but we appeal to the prisons, where men outnumber women as criminals, and to the churches, where women outnumber men in the quest for moral and religious truth — to every State or municipal election in which women par-

ticipate — which all offer evidence that social order is introduced more readily by the hands of women than of men. Chivalry is not a lost art. Wherever masculine and feminine influences combine on any high plane of honor and integrity, they support each other in securing peace, decency, and progress; but, that social order is more domesticated with women than men, we call to witness the bachelor domicile, with its chronic untidiness, and the old maid's surroundings, spick and span with precision and shining cleanliness.

Until we find that women bring no fresh moral attributes to the new fields in which they are rapidly securing a foothold, we shall still believe that the self-forgetfulness which nature forces upon them first and most continuously, was adapted to bear the first fruits of altruistic love.

Then let them be moral and religious teachers, not merely of childhood, but also of manhood. We make no claim that, all things considered, women are better than men, only that their virtues arise in a different order of unfolding. They feel more sympathy for others' sufferings, and they have more time and inclination to apply the needful remedies. To women gross immorality seems to be a needless vice. Right principles, and justice to others, would banish it from the earth in a generation; and most women are ready to "lure to brighter worlds and lead the way."

MRS. JOHN F. UNGER OF PENNSYLVANIA, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WOMAN'S FOREIGN MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF THE REFORMED CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES, THUS CONTINUED THE DISCUSSION:

The moral initiative, as related to woman, is indeed a most suggestive subject. Where is woman's place in such relation? Who shall answer this question satisfactorily? Who understands it? Does man? Does she herself?

Man was originally created in the image of his Creator, of whom he is said to be the "express image." But God created man in his own image, male and female. Therefore, man and woman are included in the divine type. Yet we are accustomed to contemplate man as reflecting the image of God when we think of the fatherhood of God, and also of the second person of the Holy Trinity, in the person of the man Christ Jesus.

But woman! What does she signify who has been so dragged into the dust, so degraded, so sullied in the history of mankind, that except as she has been raised up by a higher power, she is wont to fear, in her extremity, even to lift up her eyes to heaven and ask why she was brought into being? But she need not thus shrink away from the eye of God and man; she, too, has a place in the Holy Type.

The Christian faith is triune. Besides the Father and the Son there is a third person, the Holy Spirit, who also is an object of faith and worship. This holy third, the very mention of whose personality is almost sacrilege, is the Spirit of God — the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, the Sanctifier, the Holy Paraclete, that spirit who, by the promise of the risen Christ to the infant church, should abide with it, and nurture, teach, and guide it to full maturity, until he should come again to claim her as his own, his beloved, against whom the gates of hell should not prevail; — as his bride, who should sit with him on his throne to judge the nations of the earth and to dwell with him in power.

But when we consider the peculiar characteristics of woman in distinction from man, in all her finer and more delicate and spiritual tracery of body, soul, and spirit, does not this seemingly contradictory subject find its solution in the *unself-revelation* (if I may be permitted the coining of the word) of that holy one who came down from heaven to dwell in the church of Christ, to inspire her unto a truer understanding of Christ?

MISS JOSEPHINE C. LOCKE OF ILLINOIS CONCLUDED THE DISCUSSION AS FOLLOWS:

Humanity keeps on repeating its fairy vision of an ideal woman and an ideal love. The eternal-womanly leads us ever onward. Long ago, in the thirteenth century, a man loved so desperately his ideal woman that he drew her from the heights of the empyrean to his rescue. Lost on a desert slope, perplexed and distressed, he meets a company of wild beasts. Suddenly one approaches him, who greets him thus: "A lady from heaven descended has sent me to thee." Thus, Virgil, the highest good of the intellect, appears to the help of the bewildered and lost Dante.

The man, by reason of his wanderings, is slow to appreciate spiritual things, and the vision of his highest womanly is not at first revealed. But in the still silence of the universe, from the very throne of God, it sees him and hastens to his salvation. It meets him on his own plane, and sends him the teachings of human science, of moral and political philosophy, under the guise of Virgil.

The woman soul has stooped to the needs of the man she loved. Virgil, who personifies the intellect, guides him through the Inferno. He tells him, "Twixt Beatrice and thee there is a wall;" but that soul which is created apt to love is mobile unto everything that pleases. Soon, as by desire, she is waked to action.

"Love is that inclination. From necessity springs every love that is within you kindled; within yourself the power is to restrain it by the free will. This noble virtue Beatrice understands."

Virgil is aware of his limitations, the limitations of philosophy and of the intellect. He fails when he tries to explain that men's mistakes are not remedied by prayers, "when prayers from God are separated."

The intellect can not realize how man may swallow fate and cancel destiny through "*free* grace." Virgil says,

"Verily, in so deep a question do not decide, unless she tell it thee, who light, twixt truth and intellect, shall be. I speak of Beatrice."

Then he begins to apologize, as he feels the inadequacy of himself to meet the wants of a soul so passionately in love as Dante is, and offers this consolation: "If my reason appease thee not, thou shalt see Beatrice, and she will freely take from thee this and every other longing."

Finally comes the farewell. Before the ascent of Purgatory is finished the man has outgrown the teachings of the intellect; and Virgil says good-by to him in those wonderful, prophetic words, which the race has kept studying and reading for hundreds of years, but which it has never thought of applying. "The temporal fire and the eternal Son thou hast seen, and to a place art come where of myself no further I discern. By intellect and art I here have brought thee. Take thine own intuition for thy guide henceforth, until, rejoicing, come the beauteous eyes which, weeping, caused me first to come to thee."

Virgil leaves him, and the Lady Matilda — the enlightening grace of God — becomes his guide. She baptizes him in the lethe of self-forgetfulness. His self-condemnation is washed away; he is born again in Eunoe, the stream of regeneration, "pure and disposed to mount unto the stars."

Can this be the same craven soul that shrank in fear from the panther, the lion, and the wolf? Redeemed from his false ways and himself, he waits for the vision of Paradise. This he attains through another, the divine Beatrice, the true praise of God. "With eyes upon the everlasting wheels stood Beatrice, all intent, and I on her fixed my vision."

So they journey from star to star. One glory after another passes before his enraptured gaze, but always "upward gazes Beatrice," and Dante looks at her. She sees God; he sees her. Does she look at him, it is to flash lightning into his soul, and deathless aspiration into his heart. "This is the love that makes fair, that lifts up"—

the love that fears not to tell her lover: "Turn thee around and listen: not in mine eyes alone is paradise." The highest womanly sees not herself, but the face of God, and she desires the same for her beloved — the beatific vision alone can satisfy. Seated on her throne, in the glory of the eternal light, the man sees her and continues his supplications, and implores her, by all the love she hath borne him, "Who for my salvation didst endure in hell to leave the imprint of thy feet." In return she smiles on him; "then on the glory of the light supernal fixes her steadfast gaze."

Her wise love knows the law that woman is the initiator — that if her love would lift her beloved, it can only be done by desiring for him higher things than he seeks for himself; for "the desire of woman's heart is the measure of the choice of man's will."

This is law, poetry, religion, philosophy — man will not rest until he regains paradise. But the good of the intellect will never open its pearly gates to him; only by the love of the eternal-womanly may he enter in. Grecian art, science, philosophy, and the knowledge of the brain will not wash away one stain of self-condemnation, or whisper peace to the storm-tossed soul. Only the eternal-womanly, made concrete in the woman he loves, can inspire him to be "pure and mount unto the stars."

What man is, what woman is, nobody knows; but everybody would like to find out. Let us join in the search. The story of Dante and Beatrice is the solution of the mystery. "The fair, saintly lady, with eyes brighter than the stars," was then, is now, and ever shall be the magnet by which the race and the individual are blessed and redeemed; for Beatrice is deathless aspiration after goodness, beauty, and truth — the eternal-womanly.

The nineteenth century will be known in history as the age of Helen, the age of self-activity, of self-consciousness, self-contemplation. But the sun and the stars are already whispering that the twentieth century shall be known as the reign of Beatrice — the age of God-activity, of God-con-

sciousness; of God-contemplation — when the ideal woman shall be made real in the lives of the women of earth; the age when there shall no longer be a separation between the woman in art and the woman in life, when it shall be as the laws of the Medes and Persians, "He loves not me who loves not honor more"—the age of applied idealism.

The Civil and Social Evolution of Woman — Address by Elizabeth Cady Stanton of New York; Read by Susan B. Anthony of New York.

It has often been stated that if the majority of women really wanted their civil rights they could have them. This is doubtless true, since a whole nation could not, in the nature of things, be decapitated, nor the combined and persistent claim of a whole class in a community be ignored.

But the majority of women do not as yet appear to desire civil and political privilege. It seems, in fact, that more men than women are in favor of granting such privilege. The men who are of this opinion believe in citizenship, and recognize that strength comes from the resolute shouldering of responsibility, as the long, slender stem of the date palm grows steady when the leafy crown becomes heavy. They regard the suffrage as an expression of the true republican sentiment that those who obey the law should understand it, and help to frame it. They believe that with the help of women civilization would move on with faster and longer strides.

What is the reason that so many women are indifferent or averse to the assumption of civic duties? I think their natural conservativeness and their conscientiousness stand in the way. They already find in the complexity of our life numberless demands upon thought and strength. Their aspiration for increased knowledge and culture, their esthetic cravings, urge them to the limits of physical and mental endurance, and they feel that they can undertake

nothing more. If man is a little world, woman is expected to be a little universe — "all things by turns and nothing long." A woman must be versatile, and ready to fill any niche at a moment's notice. She must sew on a button or write a poem, must roast herself in the kitchen or receive guests in a drawing-room, with equal grace and facility; and what with keeping up her geography and her accomplishments she will beg to be excused from what she thinks the dry and uninteresting subjects of business, current events, and politics.

It is easier under such circumstances to lead the natural, old-fashioned life of daughter, wife, and mother in a sheltered home than to strike out upon the sea of life as a bread-winner in business or profession.

The former course keeps us in the beaten track of precedent, and holds us in what is particularly agreeable to timid and conservative people, a good fellowship with the majority. In Howell's "Undiscovered Country" we notice that the heroine gets tired of being phenomenal, and throws herself into the pleasures of dress and luxury with keen zest. It takes courage to go against the stream, to be independent and ahead of your generation; it needs a strong moral muscle to snap the withes of prejudice; it demands heroism to obey a law higher than the laws of sympathy and imitation; and if women, somewhat by nature and certainly by education, are lacking in such fiber, we can not be surprised at their slowness in rising to the emergencies of the hour.

How can we hasten the social and civil evolution of woman? Only by an education as to her true position in the physical and moral world, and as to her duty and her destiny. These views of women are not founded upon sentiment nor sentimentality — they do not take cognizance of her beauty and her helplessness, which are incidental merely — but they are founded upon the broad basis of philosophy and ethics.

Herbert Spencer and John Stuart Mill, the greatest phi-

losophers of our day, find women to be structurally the converse of men. Botany and biology prove that differentiation into sex is a secondary step in development; that the woman must be brought to a common denominator with man, and be considered invariably as a human being. If we once settle that truth for ourselves, every deduction we make comes easily, naturally, and forcibly.

Then women are to do whatever they find to do with all their might. They are to be properly trained for business, profession, or art; they are to be protected by public sentiment and law, and to be encouraged until they can stand alone.

Either obstacles must be removed or women must cultivate strength to overcome them; and, more than all, they must be made to see that they are of the people, and that the state belongs equally to them with men, and therefore must claim from them intellectual recognition and moral support.

MARGARET PARKER OF SCOTLAND OPENED THE DISCUSSION AS FOLLOWS:

I feel this to be one of the greatest privileges of my life to be able to follow your dear saint, Susan B. Anthony, as much revered in our country as she is in yours. I remember the time when these women were everywhere spoken against, and now you see this magnificent gathering is the result of their efforts. Let us, who are treading the flowery paths to-day, be thankful for the labors of those women who trod, with bleeding feet, the thorny paths forty and fifty years ago.

Now, your president has wished that all the discussions shall be both amiable and reasonable. I will try to be both.

In the old Jewish days the men used to say every Sabbath morning, "I thank thee, O God of my fathers, that I was not born a woman;" and the women said, "I thank thee,

O God of my fathers, that thou hast created me according to the good pleasure of thy will." And so to-day, when we look on this grand women's council, never possible until to-day, I think we may say, "I thank thee, O God of my fathers, that thou hast created me a woman." I was once taunted by the saying, "Women will never be equal to men," and I remember the retort of Ernestine L. Rose on one of our platforms in Edinburgh. She said to the chairman: "Mr. Chairman, I believe it is a law of nature that no stream can rise higher than its source."

It is but twenty years ago since Josephine Butler, the leader of the social-purity movement in my own country, was hooted in the streets of Liverpool, and people used to draw aside their skirts as they passed her. It was only eighteen months ago that in London there was a great meeting on this social question. The bishop of London was in the chair, and Josephine Butler sat at his right hand; and I thought of the time then and the time now. When Josephine Butler rose to speak all who were in the hall rose to their feet, and gave her what you call the "Chautauqua salute." But they were not content with that. Three times they rose to their feet, and the men waved their hats, and many of them sat down and hid their faces in their hands, thinking of the old times and of the new.

I was in the city of Edinburgh when the women students were trying to get a foothold to qualify themselves as physicians, and do you know that these women were hooted at, and had rotten eggs thrown at them?

The old University of St. Andrews, in Scotland, has opened every door to women. There is no section of philosophy or science that is not equally open to men and women, and that is owing to Prof. Knight, of St. Andrews. We like to remember those who have helped us.

I want to say now that fifty-one of the distinctions in the art classes were gained by the women in October last, and eight of the association students were kept for the M. D. degree on the 10th of October; so we are steadily advanc-

ing, and this old world is growing brighter. I can not restrain my emotion when I think of the glorious opportunities that are open to women. Let us rise to a sense of the importance of entering every open door.

Now, dear friends, let us women in Great Britain, and you women in America, and the women from every land, clasp hands, while we pledge ourselves that we will labor and pray for the early dawning of that day when women as well as men shall be free politically, socially, and in every department of life.

M. LOUISE THOMAS OF NEW YORK, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WOMAN'S CENTENARY ASSOCIATION, THUS CONTINUED THE DISCUSSION:

We seem to see the fulfillment of the prophecy, "The meek shall inherit the earth." A victory has been won by patient, loving women, whose souls have been stirred from the earliest days by suffering under inequality, while patiently bearing the limitations, and waiting for this hour. I can not help thinking to-day of those who wrought without even hope of final success in this world; who waited for the fulfillment of their desires in that better land where all is perfect justice. In the early days of California I remember being told of a miner, who took up a claim, saying, "The signs here lead to gold." He worked on until one by one his fellows fell apart from him. Still he wrought on alone until the months ran into years, and his fellow-men said he was becoming insane. He was growing old and his arms were growing feeble. The time was drawing near for him to rest, when other men, won by the power of his enthusiasm and his patience, said, "We will take his place." These new men, with the power which capital gives, placed their improved machinery at work, and soon the marvelous riches of a Comstock mine lay spread before the world.

Now, gentlemen and ladies, that early worker typifies the

women who wrought alone in the darkness. The capitalists who came in to gather the gold, and spread it upon the earth, represent those of to-day who, seeing the work of the women, see, also, the need of women's influence upon the earth. Let us then not seek to win fine praises; let us not ask men for their applause; let us only ask that our work shall be measured, and that justice shall be done.

DR. EMILY HOWARD STOWE OF CANADA, PRESIDENT OF THE WOMAN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT ASSOCIATION OF CANADA, CONTINUED THE DISCUSSION IN A BRIEF ADDRESS, READ BY DR. AUGUSTA STOWE GULLEN OF CANADA.

Man, and I use the term in its generic sense, is preëminently a social being, but to be entirely companionable there must be on the different planes of our being that equalized social evolution which alone can result in harmony. I believe that the social element in woman has been choked and stifled by the ignorance, the stupidity, and the selfishness of man, as also by her own indifference to the demands of her higher self.

A person can not evolve what he has not involved; and whatever women en masse lack in their social development is the direct result of the barriers placed in woman's pathway to such development by her brother man, who viewed her as standing only at the level of the lower or physical plane of his being. I need not substantiate my statement by illustrations to this intelligent audience; I need not go back and refer to man's antagonism to woman's acquiring knowledge, even of the alphabet. Every progressive, at least every professional, woman of to-day knows right well how much energy and time she has been forced to sacrifice in her efforts to secure the means necessary to her evolution; and even when her efforts have been crowned with success, how tardily the recognition has been awarded her. Herculean have been the efforts that have won for the woman of to-day her social and civil standing.

Primitive man, having acquired ascendency over his fellows through muscular power, relegated woman, with her less objective and less material forces, to an inferior plane; and this fact has been an active factor in the long, dark past, ever tending to depress woman, who is eminently the conserver of the subtler and higher powers.

The nineteenth century has brought a reversal of the old order, has discovered woman's potentialities, and to-day is using them wisely and well. She has found her true place in the realm of the ideal, and by the force of her great love-power is bringing man, the offspring of her love, up the mountain with her. Neither men nor women are as yet developed, socially or civilly, to the highest of their capabilities. One can not very far transcend the other, linked as they are by the common ties of nature and blood. Humanity is a unit, and the sooner we all discover the problem of life, and work for the equal and harmonious evolution of universal humanity, the sooner will an all-round social and civil evolution be attained.*

Woman as a Social Leader — Address by Josefa Humpal-Zeman of Bohemia.

In the very beginning of the human race woman had the care of children and the home, or whatever might serve for a home. As the race developed, passing from one stage to another, from simple to more complex, her home duties enlarged, and soon formed a nucleus of society, so that in the early history of the Egyptian and Hebrew peoples we find woman already a great factor in social life.

This influence grew until the age of Greece and Rome was reached, where usage, more despotic and tyrannical than law, exacted of matrons and other women a life of

* Dr. Jennie de la M. Lozier concluded the discussion with an admirable address, of which, however, no report is obtainable.

extreme seclusion, forbidding them to live in society, to cultivate the exquisite social arts which give intellectual interest to the female sex. Yet, had not these women burned with noble aspirations and patriotism Greece would never have had her greatest patriots. And even where such strict effort was made to keep women out of wider social influence, women like Sappho, Aspasia, Lais, and Phryne held a preëminently brilliant position, being courted by philosophers, poets, politicians, and princes. In Rome there was a decided change in the position of women. The Roman matron possessed all the patriotism of the Spartan, without her cruelty and coarseness, and all the purity of the Athenian without her extreme seclusion; and yet, as Mr. Higginson says, "She fell short of the modern European in that intellectual refinement and high accomplishment which, combined with virtue, belong exclusively to Christendom."

In the social life of the Roman woman we see a decided step forward, for her influence outgrew the limits of her family, and she became a factor in national enterprises. The oft-quoted Cornelia, the inspiration of the Gracchi; or Tullia Attia, the genius of Octavius; or the women of Rome, during the siege by Brennus and the battle of Cannae, giving their jewels for the service of the republic, testify to a great interest in the national crises, and comprehension of them.

Again we find in the history of the French Revolution that society seemed to be disorganized. When men were intoxicated with the thirst for blood, women, like Madame de Staël, Madame Necker, Madame Tallien and others, used all their power to reorganize the social system, opening their salons, in which men were inspired to nobler efforts, rescuing the unfortunate victims from the guillotine, and bringing with them peace and order.

While man acted as the provider and protector of home and society, woman was the leader and inspiration of it, serving always where she was most needed. Her life and

influence were not isolated from the lives of others of her day, and she in her own way carried out the motives of her generation. In great emergencies, from the days when Boadicea ruled the Iceni, to the late Civil War in America, women have been brought forward.

But that was only in critical times; otherwise her influence was hampered by established customs, and whenever she branched out from her so-called sphere there was a great uproar raised by her brothers, which forced her back, and so prevented her from serving society more effectually. This has decidedly changed in our century, and the most forcible proof of this change is the Congress of Representative Women.

With the dawn of this wonderful century woman's influence in society has broadened, and not only does she wield power in her home, but her influence has spread on all sides. She has entered the domain of letters as a novelist, like George Sand and George Eliot; as a philosopher, like Harriet Martineau; as a scientist, like Maria Mitchell and Miss Edwards; as a poetess, like Mrs. Barrett Browning. She has entered the jealously guarded university, the church, and the various professions, and she is proving herself a great factor in the history of the human race.

We wonder why society has not been revolutionized; why there are so many millions of suffering, forsaken people in this world; why society seems to be on the cone of a volcano most of the time; why there is such dissatisfaction and unrest among the greater part of mankind; why there can not be more idealistic conditions in the present century, when women, who have so many noble aspirations and motives, such wonderful power, have their hands free, and could do so much for humanity.

These questions have puzzled wiser heads than mine; they are growing more difficult each day, because we are living in a transition time. In no other century have there been more discoveries, opening to men vast treasures of natural forces which may be utilized for the benefit of man-

kind, more changes in government and in society. Caste is gradually sinking away under the brilliant light of education. All classes of men are discovering that they have a value; that their lives are needed as much as those of their wealthier neighbors. The old idea that the useless man was only the poor man is passing away, and sentiments like the following are being expressed:

"We are greatly mistaken if we think that paupers are simply persons clothed in rags, incapable of self-support. They are rather those, rich and poor, who, having strength to be useful, are useless. It is not sufficient to be picturesque; the medieval beggar was very picturesque. Every life must be judged from its relations to society."

The poor, the middle class, and the rich, all are parts of this great organism, each having a function to perform. And the most interesting fact of it all is that these working classes are beginning to know that they are useful to society, and are clamoring for recognition from it. Because they do not receive it they are growing dissatisfied, and even dangerous. All through Europe a strong undercurrent is working among the ordinary people; and while the better classes are feasting and having good cheer the ground under their feet is being dug away by these great currents. The same is true here in America.

This unrest, this dissatisfaction with the present condition of society, is ruinous to progress and development. Especially here in the United States, where society was founded on a democratic basis, where each man was free and as good as his neighbor, where working classes are better educated than in any other country, society has been growing far apart from its original aim, shaping itself into distinct castes, and dividing the nation into separate parts, so that at present we have two very distinct classes — the very rich and the very poor — far apart, almost unknown to each other. The rich, wasting their strength in receptions and calls in the day, and in balls and feasting at night, give no permanent good to society; the poor, frequenting

miserable saloons at night, and sleeping under sidewalks by day, bring no good to society. Both of these classes are wasting a vast amount of intellectual force and energy, which, if used, could be of immense help. But it is not my intention to make a discourse on political economy. I only touch upon these puzzling questions because they are having influence upon that same society in which we live, and which we women can influence. Women, if we wish to be leaders we must have the "understanding of the times," and know what is before us and where our aid is most needed.

"The trouble is that the most effectual, the most charming, the most powerful, and the most intellectual women are too much shut up in their own social circles to know anything about the great currents of existence, even in their own neighborhood. What chance have they to develop as members of this community, as social factors in the wider sense, as American citizens, as an influence for incitement, direction, or restraint?"

These words which I have just quoted were uttered by a woman, Mrs. Van Rensselaer. In them she has touched the keynote, as has also Miss Jane Addams, who has turned prophet, and with the sternness of Isaiah cries out: "The time may come when the politician who sells one by one to the highest bidder all the offices in his grasp will not be considered more base in his code of morals, more hardened in his practice, than the woman who constantly invites to her receptions those alone who bring her an equal social return, who shares her beautiful surroundings only with those who minister to a liking she has for successful social events. In doing this she is as unmindful of the common weal, as unscrupulous in her use of power, as is any city boss who consults only the interests of the 'ring.'"

"How, then, can women become leaders of society during this time of critical unrest and transition?" you ask. I answer, Women have more real influence upon society today than men have. Men in this industrial and commer-

cial age are absorbed in business enterprises, and leave the home, the church, social, and philanthropic enterprises almost wholly in the hands of their mothers, sisters, and wives.

In this way all women, of every class and condition of life, are forming the social character of humanity. I have said all women, and this should bring our minds to reflection, for it includes the rich, the intellectual, the bourgeoise, the working-woman, and the slum-woman. Now, if all these women could have only the understanding of the times, and could comprehend the wonderful influence, power, and possibilities which they possess, could feel the full meaning of the words "mother," "wife," "human being," we should fear no danger; but as it is, since the great majority know nothing of the higher feelings, the greater responsibility falls upon the better-educated women. And in order that these better-fitted women may enlarge their influence and reach these great masses, they must give up some of their hobbies; they must stop priding themselves that they are a part of Euclid, Fifth, or Wabash avenues; they must pride themselves that they are a part of humanity. They should use the talents which their Creator bestowed upon them for the betterment of those who have them not; and if they did this the world would become much larger and more beautiful, because it would be their world.

This is the feeling that is now filling the minds of the thoughtful women, sending them to colleges and universities, and from there to college and social settlements, to working girl's clubs, to slums as missionaries and kindergarten teachers; it is this which makes them patronesses of orphan asylums, of refuges and other benevolent institutions, and gives the modern woman that humane feeling for which she is respected and loved.

But there is not too much of such feeling, and society could endure more of it. Every large city could afford to have from ten to fifteen college settlements, where women would

come to live, not to preach, but with their lives to show what life is for and what it means to live. If we can not all go to live in these college settlements, or work as missionaries, we can keep our eyes and hearts open to the needs of humanity, and at least once a week become general human beings, step off from our society Olympus, and go into the other part of the city, and see if there is any lack there which we can fill. By doing this we should not only be a blessing to those who need us, but we should learn to know life, learn to know mankind, and gain some influence over the masses. We should gradually build a bridge over the chasm which is now dividing the classes of society, and smother the flames that are now blazing in millions of hearts; we should see the needs of society, and then only should we know what it means to be "social leaders."

The woman who is queen of some "four hundred" is not a leader in society, and never was one; the true leaders were always those who contributed to general society some permanent good.

The Ethics of Dress — Address by Alice Timmons Toomy of California.

Woman in her relations to dress seems to belong to one of two classes — the woman to whom dress is a source of real enjoyment, in spite of all its trouble and worry, and the woman to whom dress is simply an obligation, if not a troublesome duty. Most of the busy, earnest women that I know seem forced to belong to this latter class. The continuous changes of fashion, the difficulty of finding what is suitable in fabrics and trimmings, and after this the struggle with arbitrary dressmakers, combine to deaden any lingering satisfaction that dress may possess for women whose time and attention have many worthy claims. I am sure I do but express the wish and hope of every earnest woman attending this great congress that, before its

adjournment, some solution of the dress problem may be arrived at.

The ethics of dress present themselves to my mind under the three heads of comfort, suitability, and beauty. It would seem as though the natural instinct of human beings would be to make themselves bodily comfortable. The natural instincts show themselves in infancy. A healthy baby cries if its bands are tight, if its limbs are restrained, or when an unpleasant covering is put on its head. The baby girl resists restrictions, but centuries of inherited submission to conventionalities and limitations of sphere, bring the tiny girl readily into the bondage of "what people will think"; so that before the little girl of the privileged class is five years old she has accepted proprieties and restrictions as sacred laws, in which, alas! nature and comfort play very little part.

We hinder the little girl from noisy, boisterous play, such as all young animals require. We tell her that she will "spoil her pretty clothes," "muss her hair," or be "unladylike" by frolicking as a natural child should. We compress her physical life as the Chinese lady compresses her feet. We corset her infant activities, and give her jewelry, sashes, and pink shoes in compensation. Thus, it seems to me, is smothered in early childhood the instinct for comfort and nature in womankind.

Loving, devoted mothers, who, on the one hand, are ready to make any sacrifice for the good of their children, accept blindly, none the less, the traditional method of physical restriction for little girls. Is it any wonder that the little girl so early in life settles down to imitate mamma in the cares of doll housekeeping, and learns to find discreet recreation in dress, jewelry, and beaux? Let us for a moment consider the underlying, unconscious motive that dictates this inhuman bringing up of girls. Shall we not find that it springs from what Thomas Wentworth Higginson calls "the lingering light of the harem"; from the same motive that induces the Circassian parents of a handsome daughter to

prevent her from doing hard work, or making her hands rough, so as to fit her the better for sale? Those devoted nineteenth-century mothers, who themselves blindly follow the absurd fashions made by the capricious "demi-monde" of Europe, are thus unconsciously following the traditional limitations for women by training and educating their daughters for the marriage market.

Is it to be wondered at that so few women know how to be bodily comfortable, or even try to be so? If great philosophers are led to exclaim, "How shall a man escape from his ancestors?" may not we women, with doubly just reason, ask, "How shall a woman escape from her bringing-up?"

When we recall in our experience the hindrances and follies of our bringing-up, must we not consider the existence of a body of such intellectual and progressive women as I see before me to be a miracle of evolution? We have not reached the ideal comfort in dress, but we are seeking for it, and what a body of earnest women seek for they are apt to find.

In my opinion the same cause that prevents comfort in dress prevents appropriateness in dress — namely, a want of independent and self-respecting study of our true relations to life. We accept custom and fashion blindly. We wear silks and velvets, laces and diamonds, everywhere and at any time, ignorant or regardless of their fitness; partly from a natural love of adornment, but still more, I think, from a desire to seem rich. One frequently hears the question discussed whether women dress to please men or to please women. Either motive seems unworthy. As far as I am able to judge, the real motive in the follies of woman's dress is deference to the old Jewish idea that it was a disgrace to a woman to be unmarried.

Competition for husbands seems to regulate the undress of the ball-room and the rigid adherence to fashion. As regards the consideration of beauty in dress, a sense of true beauty must, I think, always include the idea of comfort and appropriateness. Ruskin says that "the beauty of

anything consists in its fitness to its purpose." No form can be beautiful that is tightly pinioned by bones and steels; velvet and diamonds, however beautiful in themselves, cease to be beautiful when worn in the kitchen.

The world has reached a stage of advancement when reasonable people seem to agree that the desire to be beautiful is a legitimate inclination of the human heart, and can no longer be regarded as a sign of sinfulness or depravity. The love of the artistic and the beautiful has made an immense growth in the past few years. Combinations of fabric and color that are a delight to the eyes meet us every day on the street and in show-windows, and are training us to appreciate one form of the beautiful. It is true that there is born of this very contact with lovely fabrics a desire for dress and luxury, which has given rise to the saying that "the fetish of woman is fashion, as the fetish of man is money." Nevertheless there is a controlling undercurrent of good common-sense among us that is always curative when the evil becomes recognizable.

Very few women, and still fewer men, understand the powerful result for beauty or ugliness that certain colors have when brought close to the face. The moral influence of color, also, has begun to be studied. Many physicians forbid nervous women to wear black, because of the depressing influence it has on the nerves. It has been found that color is an important aid in the treatment of mental diseases. Conditions of great excitement are allayed by putting the patient into a violet or blue room; melancholia and depression are dispelled by surrounding the sufferer with red.

By the use of a text-book in schools the general principles of the ethics and esthetics of dress might be learned by young people. Dress might thus become the expression of the individual. What an immense help toward the knowledge of a person it would be if in a sweep of the eye from bonnet to boots one could not only take in the coloring, shape, and ornamentation of a woman's dress, but

gauge at the same time her common-sense and culture. As it is, the relation of many sensible women to dress, nowadays, is pitiful. The instinctive desire to avoid singularity forces them to the adoption of some modification of the prevailing mode, and to a compromise with good sense and judgment. In our day every one seems to be presumed to be young, consequently no fashion is prepared for middle or old age. The mere finding for a middle-aged or elderly woman a head covering which bears an approach to common-sense involves a vast loss of time and effort. One of the climaxes of the folly of fashion is, that tiny "cockatoo" headgear is considered proper to adorn old and wrinkled faces, while broad-brimmed, practical shade-hats crown young, fresh, pretty faces. We elderly women are thrown on our ingenuity and courage, and are forced to waste our time planning some middle ground between the two extremes.

Should you ask me, Does the present condition seem too difficult for remedy? I would remind you that four hundred years ago the cavalier's dress presented more follies and discomforts than does the dress of the woman of to-day. The long curls, the slashed and jeweled doublet, the cloak that hung from one shoulder, and the hat with drooping feathers that would stand neither rain nor wind, in days when umbrellas were not yet in vogue — this dress lasted long because it was most decorative, and man was then an ornamental being.

Out of the cavalier's dress was evolved the man's dress of the Revolutionary era — the curled and powdered wig, the hat with no depth of crown, satin knee-breeches as tight as could be borne, silk stockings, low shoes with jeweled buckles, the coat that left the chest exposed in order to show embroidered shirt and lace ruffles. This dress did not, it is true, include corsets, but in other respects it was as senseless and inconvenient as the most ultra fashions of the modern woman's dress, and gave less evidence of individual judgment or good sense.

This was the man still ornamental, but on whom the sense of a higher manhood was dawning. Imagine a man in such a dress trudging through snow and mud to go to business every day, minus the modern umbrella, rubber-coat, and overshoes. Now, it was just this factor of business that brought man's dress to its present common-sense style. Out of this dress of the Revolutionary era was evolved the practical, sensible clothes of the man of to-day — a dress which is, it is true, almost devoid of lines of beauty, but which enables man to "live, and move, and have his being" without trammel.

As in all nature and among savages it is the male who is most adorned, and most given to folly in dress, because he is chiefly an ornamental animal, so it is the development of self-dependence, the increase of rights and privileges of free manhood, that have evolved the rationally dressed man of to-day out of the powdered-wigged, satin-breeched man of the Revolutionary time. The same causes will naturally bring about the same results in the dress of woman.

So, when every mother gives her little girl full freedom for physical development, and talks to her of the profession, trade, or business she is going to learn; when each girl is taught to look forward with pride to a career for bread-winning which will leave her free to marry the man of her choice, and not make marriage a pursuit and a necessity, as it too often is at present; when the great body of women learn to regard themselves as the guardians of morals, the creators of standards; when a career is sought for a girl, just as it is for a boy; when parents recognize that the only protection to their daughters against unhappy, loveless marriages, and their consequent divorce and crime, lies in having a source of income in the use of their own capabilities — then the present follies of dress will be given up naturally.

MARGARET WINDEYER OF AUSTRALIA, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WOMANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE OF NEW SOUTH WALES, INTRODUCED THE DISCUSSION AS FOLLOWS:

In considering the ethics of dress there are three points I should like to bring before your notice — vanity, economy, and construction. I consider that a greater simplicity in the dress of gentlewomen would lead to a decrease in wrong-doing. It is the imitative faculty which leads one woman to desire to dress as well as another who has a larger share of this world's goods. A foolish consciousness of self, which in this instance we may term vanity, is the cause of the downfall of some women.

It behooves every worthy woman to do all in her power to lessen this kind of personal vanity among young women of all classes. So strongly do I feel on this matter that I have sometimes advocated the adoption of a national dress as a means of producing simplicity.

But in apparent opposition to these remarks I should like to make an apology on behalf of many young women who do think and do talk much about their clothes, and who may therefore seem frivolous. These are girls who with small allowances and a certain amount of position must dress according to their station. These may, by reason of economy, appear as well dressed as their wealthier friends, kinsfolk, and acquaintances; and though a proud knowledge that their economy and careful purchasing enables them to present a good appearance, leads them, perhaps, to think more of dress than properly busy women should have time for, still into their thoughts on dress vanity will not enter. The third point is the interest of construction. To make a perfect article has a charm for some minds, and the question of bias bands or a straight flounce, of stripes or a floral design, then becomes a matter of moment; and this interest, and the talk that follows, are only part of a desire to produce a perfect whole.

REV. ANTOINETTE BROWN BLACKWELL OF NEW JERSEY THUS CONTINUED THE DISCUSSION:

Nature ornaments everything which she creates, but nature makes no ornaments which are not useful. To the specifications given by the last speaker, I have two or three others to add. One is utility. Now, though nature builds us most beautiful things, she makes beauty and utility to go side by side everywhere. Man and woman in this respect have never yet attempted to imitate nature. We should have the beautiful, perhaps, as much in view as ever, but we should not wish, therefore, to weight every woman with useless incumbrances. The many pieces which woman wears, the many ways of fastening, and the flimsy material which is always catching everywhere, may be very pretty, but they are certainly not useful. You know if we wish to sleep at night and wake in the morning at a certain hour, we can set our minds on it and do so, but we wake up unrefreshed. Now, my accusation against woman's dress is that woman sets her mind, or a part of her mind, to look after her gown, and she never has her whole power at her command. A part of her mind is not available. Woman should dress in such a way as to be entirely unconscious of her apparel.

Another point that I should like to speak of is good common-sense applied to our dress. We have simply allowed fashion and circumstances to move us forward. Man has been moved forward, and so has woman, but not because anybody has really studied the subject, and attempted to say: "Now we will adapt the clothing of these people to the people themselves." You know how long it takes nature to give us good fruit, if she is left to herself. She gives us a crab-apple first, but it is man, and mind, and good applied sense which give us our beautiful garden fruits and vegetables; and we should apply to the dress of woman the full principle that, as rational beings,

we should dress according to our character and circumstances, and not go floundering on as we have in the past.

One other point. We know that the great temptation to the poor woman is not only to exceed her income, but even to sell herself, that she may be finely arrayed. We know that the suffering which comes to poor women comes often in connection with their dress; and yet we do not remember that we, to some extent, are responsible for this. Let us apply humanity to the dress question.

There is one good rule which a dear old lady gave in regard to dress. She said: "Let your garments be so good and so near the style that your companions and associates will not be mortified or in any way compromised by your appearance." That seems to be a sensible rule for present guidance.

LAURA ORMISTON CHANT OF ENGLAND, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CENTRAL NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE, THE BRITISH SECTION OF THE WORLD'S WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION, AND THE WOMAN'S ANTI-OPIUM URGENCY COMMITTEE, CONTINUED THE DISCUSSION THUS:

The canon of dressing is that you shall so appear as not to be a nuisance to your neighbors or yourself. The ethics of dress require that you and I shall, as far as in us lies, not wear anything the securing of which has given unnecessary pain to any being in the whole of God's world; and that leads into the great question of dressing thoughtlessly and carelessly. We are made to think, and thinking requires that we should know something of the history of a piece of stuff before it comes to be ours. When I think of how many lives have been darkened by the unspoken sorrow lying in clothing, when I think of how many a heartbreak has been stitched into a bonnet, how many a ruined life has been sewn up in the seams of a gown, it is not too

much to ask women who have had intelligence and power enough to be able to meet in this great Congress, to take their stand among those who will have nothing to do with clothing that has not been produced on the lines of rectitude and equity. There was a color so fashionable eight or nine years ago that every woman wanted to have a little bit of it, which was produced at the cost of the illness, and even the dying, of those who produced it; and to-day we should band ourselves together as Christian, civilized women, and say: "We will not adorn ourselves with what is to be procured by the unhappiness and the destruction of any life in this world." And yet, color is to be a great gospel in the future. We have as yet not trodden on the threshold of what the meaning of color and the harmonizing of colors are to be. God has known it through all the ages. He has been speaking to us about what color means in all the waste places and wild places of the earth. For many a long year every woman that I have met has, to me, taken on a color or a tint. It has been difficult for me to see form, but I think I was born to see color. Form has been a matter of education.

I want also to say this to you, that whenever mankind and womankind are lazy, and dignified in laziness, they are certain to adopt a monotonous agreement. Now I am going to say something heretical about black. Mothers who have children should never wear black. While my children were little I never wore a black dress within their sight. I myself am so dominated by color, so subtly influenced by it, that there are certain platforms upon which I can not speak so well as I can upon others, because of the coloring. That is because I have analyzed, it may be, my own springs of success and failure. A great many of us are dominated in the same way and do not know it.

When the ethics of dress first came up, what great laughter there was about it! How Punch caricatured Mrs. Brown and Mr. Postlewait, and all the rest of the Oscar Wildeists! But we to-day are infinitely better in our cloth-

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ing, in our coloring, and in our ideas of art, because of the crude, rugged violence that those apostles did to our Philistinism. Then there is something else to be said about the ethics of clothing. Men and women are not the only sentient beings upon this earth. The dumb creatures are dumb only because you and I can not understand the language they speak. I am certain that when the animals and the birds pray, God hears their prayers. It is only because we haven't learned their language that we do not know what they are saying, and realize the agony of their crying because of our cruelty. But I do say to every woman here who has a heart of tenderness, an ear for harmony, and an eye for coloring — How can you and I be partners in the great cruelty and dishonesty of robbing God's plaisances of all their loveliest denizens — the singing birds, the jewel-bedecked birds, and the little animals who have never harmed us? I see some hats and bonnets around me with things in them that I was forever cured of wearing two and a half years ago. I had gone down to give a lecture in one of our smaller country towns wearing upon my bonnet an aigrette, and after I reached home again there came a letter saying: "Dear Mrs. Chant, when I saw on your bonnet the other night that aigrette, through my tears I wondered how a woman so tender as you are could be so cruel. I think that you can not know that those aigrettes are taken from the mother and father herons just when the little ones are most needing their care." This was a voice from God sent through a human pen, and I cut the aigrette out of my bonnet. No one has said that my bonnets have not been quite as pretty and becoming since. It is a great pity, isn't it, with such an embarrassment of riches in the way of beautiful things, that we should encourage a great army of men to be ruthlessly and brutally cruel?

One of the worst bargain-hunters I know of is one of the richest women; it is not the poor ones only who hunt for bargains. When you go along the streets of Chicago at

night, and walk behind a girl who looks as if life were not going to be a happy thing for her, remember that very often — poor girl — she is the product of the careless woman who likes to have bargains, and wants to have everything as cheap as possible; who, instead of paying a proper price for one thing, and being able to enjoy it, pays an unrighteous price for a dozen things, and never has any enjoyment out of any of them.

ELIZABETH KRECKER OF PENNSYLVANIA CONTINUED THE DISCUSSION THUS:

Shall we dress according to our own convictions, regardless of the opinions of others? Considering the state of the world, how much time, thought, and money, beyond procuring decent, hygienic clothing, shall go to dress? These are some of the questions we must consider.

It seems to me that we should not compromise on our convictions of beauty, ease, and utility, that we should follow the fashions only so far as they do not interfere with our convictions.

I have found some thoughts of others which fitly express my ideas on this point: "It will be evident to all lovers of nature that no fashions can be in good taste that seem to imply a contempt for the beautiful arrangement of created things." "A dress which is in accordance with the age, complexion, and situation can never be wondered at as out of the way, or laughed at as not being in the fashion."

On the need of beauty in dress: "As if he who so clothes the grass of the fields that even the meanest forms of his handiwork are lovely beyond all our poor imitating, were displeased in our delight in that wherein he most continually delights."

The question of time, money, and thought is treated in this way: "The evil begins where woman is absorbed in clothes, and regards herself as a sort of peg whereon to

hang a variety of gowns." "Let us only so clothe ourselves," wrote Dinah Mulock Craik, "that this frail body of ours while it does last may not be unpleasing in the sight of those who love us; and let us so use it in this life that in the life to come it may be found worthy to be 'clothed upon' with its Maker's own glorious immortality."

OCTAVIA WILLIAMS BATES OF MICHIGAN THUS CONCLUDED THE DISCUSSION:

From observation and thinking about women and their work in the world, and from a thorough study of the literature of the "Reform Dress Movement," it has been my conviction for years that there is nothing which more closely and intimately concerns the well-being of women, and through them the welfare of the race, than their dress — not only in its physical effects upon the woman herself, but in its ulterior and more enduring effects upon the mental and moral status of mankind. If the dress of women has such important influences upon themselves and upon the men with whom they are associated, if this influence extends to the born and to the unborn, as it certainly does, then the question of dress becomes ethical and vital, and it assumes the importance of a subject worthy of our highest thought and our most serious consideration. True Christianity gives encouragement and impetus to this idea, for it teaches that the body is a beautiful temple, to be guarded as a sacred trust and a most precious possession; that it is a noble instrument upon which mind and spirit play; a servant, whose rewards are many and great for kind and intelligent treatment, but whose revenge is terrible for ignorance and willful abuse.

Hence, anything that interferes with the natural and harmonious working of the body is wrong from an ethical or moral point of view. Consequently, as a natural result of this teaching, the wearing of any garment that impedes the

circulation of the blood or hinders the free play of the muscles must be considered wrong.

The wearing of any ligature that keeps the lungs from their full action in aerating the blood is wrong; the wearing of any style of dress that keeps the woman who wears the dress from doing her full share of the work of the world is wrong. These things are all wrong, in that they lessen the health and vigor of the individual, make her a weaker member of society, and lessen her efficiency and usefulness in any line of work.

"The judgments of science pronounced against dress from a hygienic standpoint are judgments against it from a moral standpoint," says Mrs. Ecob, and all right-minded persons must coincide with her opinion. It is worthy of note that the present style of dress for women confines their activities within very narrow limits, and really closes many avenues of honorable and lucrative employment that might be open to them if they wore a different style of dress. Girls in factories are not allowed to tend certain machines because of the flowing garments that they wear. Managers of manufactories say that there are many machines that women could run as well as men were it not for the danger of their clothing becoming entangled in the belting of the machinery. It is not a question here of brains or of strength at all, but simply one of dress. There are undoubtedly thousands and thousands of women out of employment to-day in the United States, who, if they were clothed suitably for such work, might find agreeable and remunerative labor in shops and manufactories.

The ethics of any question is always closely allied to the esthetics of the same subject. Nothing can be esthetic that is opposed to ethical principles, and so we find that the esthetics of dress is continually touching the ethics of dress. A perfectly healthful dress may not be in accordance with esthetic principles, but an essentially esthetic dress must be, of necessity, one that conforms to the laws of health of the body it covers. A trained gown worn

upon the street, gathering up filth and the germs of disease, is an unsightly object, and offends our esthetic sense, because it is out of harmony with the surroundings, and the wearing of it becomes a question of ethics, when we consider the harm it does in crippling its wearer and endangering the comfort and even the life of others.

It is strange that good and thinking men, as a class, do not try to further the study of woman's dress from a hygienic and moral standpoint, and do not endeavor to aid in the evolution of a more rational dress than the one that has fettered woman for so many years, and which now retards her from reaching the full development of all her powers. One would naturally think that every intelligent, conscientious man would immediately recognize the great underlying principles beneath this question of woman's dress; and would use his influence toward freeing women from their bondage to clothes; and instead of flinging ridicule and abuse, and retarding her progress, would extend a helping hand to every effort his sister is making toward gaining a higher plane of life and of action.

On the contrary, it is practically denied among men that there is any ethical principle in the dress of women. Few men have even thought of this side of the question, and but few fathers and husbands have had their attention directed to the fretfulness, ill-temper, and peevishness of women as results of false dressing, to the danger to life and limb that lurks in their gowns, to the dependence and cowardice that inevitably become characteristic of those who wear entangling skirts. If men could be aroused to the importance of this question, they would very soon realize that it concerns more important interests than their pocket-books. They would find that sons as well as daughters suffer from the physical degeneracy of their mothers, and that crime seems to be a necessary concomitant of the physically depraved. To many thinkers the question of the dress of our women has more to do with the question of temperance than prohibition or total abstinence. They

say that the vicious modes of dressing our women, are having their legitimate effect upon the children of this country, and that an unnatural craving for stimulants is one of the results of the physical deterioration of the race.

Surely all these facts point to the ethical principle in dress, and demand the attention and study of the philanthropists and teachers, the legislators and leaders of our time.

Through a recognition of the importance of the ethical principles in dress much ought to be accomplished toward the evolution of sensible, healthful, and esthetic dress for women, and by this means the path would be made easier for the development of the woman of the future, who, assisted by health-restoring forms of dress, ought to be a woman with a more enduring physique than the woman of to-day, and who, with a strong and healthy body, should be in consequence a woman with a better developed brain and a more sensitive spiritual nature — a woman keenly alive to all the beauties and harmonies of nature and strong to meet the opportunities and responsibilities of her world.

Woman's Dress from the Standpoint of Sociology, Address by Professor Ellen Hayes (Wellesley College) of Massachusetts.

Evolution has been defined as the elimination of the incongruous. In the process of elimination, however, an incongruity may be accentuated. It is proposed in this paper to discuss an incongruity which has probably reached its maximum accentuation; I mean the dress of modern civilized woman, viewed in its relation to environment.

Dress originated in decoration. The first stage is one of paint and tattoo. Following this is what we may call the bear-claw necklace period. Later, with the genesis of modesty, man covers some portions of his body. Invading cold

regions, he meets the severities of climate by putting on the skins of the animals which he has slain. In a still higher stage he drapes himself with woven fabrics; and finally the male sex is wrapped in a dress conforming in shape to the outlines of the body. Taking and giving hard blows in battle, leveling forests, and building cities, man learned to dress so as to secure protection and freedom of movement. War-paint did not win battles; drapery proved an impediment. The unsuitable and fragile has been discarded, and a dress has been evolved which meets man's needs. His two legs are plainly and warmly clad in a garment which offers the least friction with wayside objects, and hence occasions least waste of power to the wearer. It is a garment equally suitable for the drawing-room and the deck of a ship; for the street, the forest, and the mountain-top. His two arms are similarly clothed; the dress of those arms is what one would expect in a world scored with railroads and threaded with wires. For his head he has a plain covering, easily adjusted and as easily removed. His feet are well shod. His hands hold onto their ancient privilege of going bare. Primitive man fought to gain and retain; and the desire for possessions, so far from diminishing, has steadily increased. Man has continued to put wealth into such compact shape that he can carry about his person that which represents lands and goods. Besides this he chooses also to carry conveniences which are the symbols of civilization. Thus his garments have been more and more differentiated until they now have from ten to fifteen specialized receptacles. No one will claim that the dress of man is yet perfect; but it is not easy to see how any marked improvement could be made, for there is, from top to toe, a correlation between the clothing and the needs of the body to be clothed.

Consider now the dress of woman; assuming ourselves to be ignorant of the habits and pursuits of the wearer, what might we infer from the conventional dress? We notice that utility is much subordinated to ornament. The motive

may not appear, but the fact is obvious. The head-covering gives rise to doubt whether the wearer ever goes out in it, for it does not protect from heat or cold, from rain or sunshine. Moreover, it indicates that the female head is very different from the male head as to both shape and dimensions. The principal body-covering is seen to consist of a tight-fitting garment, confining the muscles on the outside of the bony framework and repressing the action of vital organs within — this is assuming that the wearer has lungs and a heart and a stomach, as man has. Auxiliary to this fitted body-covering is another contrivance designed to act with the outer one in securing a general smoothness and immobility. Following this is the masterpiece of the entire apparel, a garment not bifurcated, and hence best adapted to a creature with but one leg. It is composed of voluminous folds, more or less ornamented, and of considerable weight. It appears also that this weight is sometimes suspended from that part of the body that probably contains the most delicate and most easily displaced of all the organs. Looking at the entire article, it seems most reasonable to suppose that, whether the wearer has one or two legs, she is not expected to walk much. This hypothesis gains further support when the length of this leg-covering is considered. It reaches practically to the ground. Indeed it has been known to lie several inches upon the ground. The term "ground" is used figuratively, for it is not to be supposed that the wearer goes outside of the house in this raiment. The dust of the street is known to contain disease germs, and surely no intelligent person would consent to trail about after her a garment that could gather up such dust in addition to the filth that is visible to the naked eye. The foot and hand coverings are corollaries to the expression of the other portions of the attire. Last of all, that most insignificant sociologic feature of man's dress, the pocket, is rudimentary or lacking. The dress thus described admits of but one theoretical interpretation. The wearer of these garments can not be a person of much

activity, either physical or mental. Surely she can not travel, making either long or short journeys, because the prevailing systems of transit are not adapted to any one so tied up and helpless. Of course field sports are not for her; she could not be expected to run, or row, or throw. The street, the garden, the market-place are obviously to be avoided. Housework, such as sweeping and cooking, could be done only with much difficulty and fatigue. Going up and down stairs would be dangerous, especially if she were to attempt to carry an important burden, such as a baby or a lamp. How limited must be the employment, how restricted the pleasures, of one who wears this modern costume! So far astray does one go who relies on the scientific principle of agreement between structure and function. Before passing to the sequel, and comparing the real case with our theoretical solution, we shall do well to remind ourselves that there is one human body. From the point of view of mechanics, it consists of a central trunk, mounted on two upright jointed supports, and furnished with other jointed members. The general anatomical and physiological characteristics are alike in the male and the female. They are nourished by the same food, and destroyed by the same poisons. They both require pure air and regular exercise. If man's feet are adapted for walking, so also are woman's. If the mechanism of his arms requires freedom in order that he may work, it is the same with her. In so far as their bodies are differentiated, the argument is wholly on the side of furnishing the female body with a more favorable dress than that designed for the male body, rather than with a less favorable one. These things being so, what kind of a dress should we expect, a priori, to find on woman? There can be but one answer. Since she is anatomically and physiologically like man, if she lives under the same domestic and climatic conditions that he does, whatever, broadly speaking, is most suitable and convenient for him will be found to be most suitable and convenient for her, and a high

state of civilization may reasonably be expected to exhibit conformity to this principle. The failure to meet any such standard has already been pointed out. The incongruity is not in wearing the dress she does, but in wearing it and at the same time attempting to be a sharer in modern life. Where man travels woman travels, and by the same means. She wears that costume on Piccadilly and Broadway. She gets into an electric car with her arms full of bundles; she goes up and down stairs with the lamp and the baby. She appears on horseback, on the bicycle, in the tennis court, everywhere, in that long-skirted, tight-waisted dress, attempting to do what one would pronounce in advance to be unsuitable if not impossible; and custom closes her eyes and the eyes of spectators to the incongruity involved. Nor is this all. In a still more important sense does woman propose to share in modern life. She expects to take the same course of study that a man does; to hold her own in a profession, to assume a business rôle. These things she attempts while handicapped by a dress imposed upon her during the dark ages. Professor Lester F. Ward, author of "Dynamic Sociology," sums up the whole matter when he declares that "the dress of women is the disgrace of civilization." It is a disgrace because of the lack of adaptation of woman's dress to her environment. She has not yet emerged from what we may call the ornamental drapery stage. Costly gems, rare laces, exquisite fabrics can not cover up the fact that this dress, in its fundamental ideas, is the dress of the half-civilized, and not that of one who is master of herself and of the world. What is the explanation? How are we to account for this arrested development?

One of the objects that primitive man sought to gain and to retain was woman. One of the objects of his early bargaining was woman. Marriage by capture and marriage by purchase are undisputed facts of sociology. Might and force underlay early social and political operations, but while man managed by force, experience taught woman

that she must manage by cunning. To win her own ends and secure advantages for herself she saw that she must please. To make herself personally pleasing by means of ornament was naturally her first device. It would appear that up to date, whether as slave, drudge, plaything, or companion, she holds to that primitive plan. It has not occurred to man to regard woman as his equal. The testimony from the history of the state and church and school proves this only too completely. In domestic seclusion, removed from every kind of competition with man, believing that her empire was to please, woman has had neither occasion nor encouragement to improve her dress. The explanation of the delay in the evolution of female dress is thus threefold.

First, it has been assumed, though never proved, that a simpler, more convenient costume would not be pretty and graceful; hence it could not be pleasing; hence on no account could it be adopted.

Second, simple, convenient garments would suggest equality of the sexes, and this would not be pleasing; hence they should not be adopted.

Third, all influences have tended to foster a timid, conservative spirit in woman, so that she is the obedient follower of fashion rather than the independent beginner of rational customs.

Men and women alike desire respect, admiration, and approval; but man long ago learned to scorn personal adornment as a basis of claim to favorable opinion. The decadence of this as a basis has been accompanied by a corresponding growth of appeal to the product of his brain and the work of his hands. It is his book, or discovery, or business enterprise that a man expects you to admire him for, not his coat. What is the sociological meaning of the modern movement on the part of woman for industrial recognition, for legal and political equality with man? It means largely that an additional basis of claim to approbation and honor is now proposed over and above

pleasing ornamentation. In this movement woman breaks with the traditions of the past, and declares herself not content with the status assigned her by primitive man. Around the world she is beginning to want education, and a less humiliating position in the church and the state. She is beginning to grope for her share, as half of the human race. She is beginning to want a pocket. Pockets mean power and independence, because they mean possessions. Not more closely do rings in pierced ears and necklaces point to a former condition of slavery and barbaric adornment than does the absence of pockets betray the fact that woman not only is not accustomed to possess goods and chattels, but has been herself goods and chattels.

About the time that women begin to demand pockets, wide, and deep, and abundant, we may look for another phenomenon — dissatisfaction with property laws which are an indignity to every woman who marries.

The question of immense practical importance now is, Will women recognize that the race is to the unimpeded? Let no one suppose that the woman who wastes her physical strength and nervous force, who squanders her time and dissipates her attention, is going to stand as good a chance as the one who treasures her strength and concentrates her attention. Nature is merciless to the ignorant and the willful. Premiums are for those who utilize every favorable factor and discard every unfavorable one. The women who see this principle most clearly, and who have the greatest wisdom in taking advantage of it, are the ones who in the long run are going to win.

It is beyond question that woman's mode of dressing is an obstacle to her true progress. To the waste of her strength, and time, and attention, and money, add the capital and labor now devoted to producing and fashioning the materials for the dress-display, and it can not be doubted that her present mode of dressing is a large retarding force in the civilization and progress of the whole human race. But that other force which we call public sentiment asks for

us no relief. It says rather to the wage-earning woman: Submit to the great god Fashion, else you shall not teach at our public school desks, or stand behind our counters, or even cook in our kitchens. And to the other it says: Submit, though you have to violate every law of health and good sense, else you shall be ostracized. How much submission there is need not be here recorded. Fashion finds allies in ignorance and conventionality. These powers hold such sway in social life that one can almost believe the law of evolution has been suspended in woman's disfavor. On the other hand, the doing of those things which make woman's dress conspicuously incongruous is exactly what indicates the coming of a better day. The magnitude of the incongruities is the most cheering fact in the dress chapter of sociology. What once seemed the fittest seems so no longer, and nature will see to it that the fittest survives.

The girl who enters upon life in 1900 is going to have a fairer chance than her grandmother's mother had; and who is not glad to think of that woman of the far-off future in whose coming the analogies of science permit us to believe? In larger measure than any that we have experience of, she will possess truth, and truth will make her free. She will demand a knowledge of her own body, and how it is to be preserved in health and long life; a knowledge of the earth on which she lives, and how to manage her living so that the forces of nature shall work for her; a knowledge of the social and political commonwealth, in which she is to be a unit, not a fraction, as is the case with her sister of to-day; a knowledge also of her social and political environment, viewed as a long result of time, connected with causes which have their beginnings in the animal life whence we came. On the intellectual side of her nature she will accept evidence or proof as a directive force, in place of the now dominant emotions. On the esthetic side she will realize that a home should not be a bric-a-brac shop, and that what a woman gives in attention to the adornment of

her person she loses in power to see and appreciate the splendors of the wide world around her.

This is the woman who may be expected to walk the earth before the decay of our civilization sets in, and the Anglo-Saxon starts on the down grade toward a second barbarism. This is the one to whom from the shores of the nineteenth century — none too bright for women — we send our greetings. Let us join hands to hasten her coming; and hope while we work.

DR. LELIA A. DAVIS OF CANADA INTRODUCED THE DISCUSSION OF THE PRECEDING SUBJECT, THUS:

The present dress of civilized women, upon a careful, unbiased examination, is neither healthful, convenient, nor beautiful. It is not such as the intelligent, scientific knowledge and artistic taste of to-day would invent, were it a question of invention, to supply a felt deficiency. But the woman's dress of to-day is not an invention. It is a growth — an unconscious growth — reflecting many of the blind movements, with their mistaken wanderings and false ideals, which have brought the human race to what it now is. But what is the future of woman's dress in relation to great social forces? There are two rapidly developing factors which, in the near future, must modify and later permanently revolutionize it.

These two factors are, first, a rapidly increasing interest in science, and a growing reverence for its teachings; and second, that spirit of humanitarianism which is breathing its life-giving principles into every department of human society.

In science we have the great guiding-spirit of the future of humanity; in humanitarianism, its inspiring emotion. Science recalls the laws which feed humanitarianism — the laws of the common origin of all life, of inseparable relations and of common dependence.

The increase of this spirit of humanitarianism is very visible in all the movements of the day. But it is science alone which can do away with that blind obedience to custom and prejudice which binds us fast. A mind trained scientifically demands a basis of reason for what it does and does not. It is not afraid to investigate and analyze, knowing well that, in the end, it can only reach the truth. Moreover, in the school of science which deals with the mysteries of life, the study of the underlying laws teaches that true reverence for them which can not knowingly consent to their violation.

A stricter regard for truth, and a willingness to sacrifice to it any ideals and illusions, however long cherished, will be one of the most evident results of a scientific education, which demands facts, and trains to exactness. If we in our every-day lives compelled ourselves to the utterance of perfect truth, if we did not allow ourselves to cover our want of kindness with the cloak of the polite deception of the day, the very want of that deception would reveal such a startling chasm of inhumanity that we should be obliged to fill it with the reality. The abandonment of lies would in the end evolve for us the genuine article. And so in dress, the abandonment of deceptions would in the end produce such a sense of the necessity of reality that in time we should revive the physiques of antiquity.

It is to the teachings of science that we must look for the production of a genuine respect for the human body, and for every organ forming a part of it — of a proper conception of the dignity of every physical function — of a reverence which will hesitate to violate the laws of being. Thorough study of the anatomy and physiology of the body will call attention to the common violation of these laws, and its disastrous results. At last the true value of the body, its possibilities and claims to reverent attention, will dawn upon us. Such a knowledge of our own bodies, commonly disseminated, would without doubt do more to change woman's dress than anything else.

It is largely because women do not know how they are constructed that they persist in present styles. Equipped with full knowledge, any woman would hesitate before adopting the fashionable dress of to-day, and another generation would see it virtually discarded.

But science reveals not only the laws of the individual life but also the laws of heredity, and with them the individual's responsibility to future generations, in handing down to them the impaired vitality resulting from violations of physical laws.

If to-day we find but little regard for these laws, is it not largely because, to the great mass of people, this field is not only an unknown one, but also, from a false sense of delicacy, a forbidden one?

When the teachings of science become common, when the youth of our land grow up in them, then shall light have fallen upon that spirit of humanitarianism which is still blindly, although intensely, stirring among the people, and their eyes shall be opened.

What then shall become of the woman's dress of to-day? When the strongholds of custom and prejudice are swept away; when simple, pure truth becomes lovely; when reality is more than seeming, and "the body more than raiment"; when conscience shall have awakened to the call of justice and the claims of others — can it longer remain what it is?

It is then to science and to humanitarianism that we must look for the evolution of a dress for woman, which, while healthful and beautiful, shall also be permanent in its leading characteristics, because founded on intelligent action instead of blind caprice. In so far as we foster these two already developing forces, we shall aid in the inauguration of the social reforms which must inevitably follow in their train.

LAURA ORMISTON CHANT.

PROF. HELEN L. WEBSTER (WELLESLEY COLLEGE) OF MASSACHUSETTS CONTINUED THE DISCUSSION AS FOLLOWS:

The consideration of the subject of woman's dress leads us to the question whether, in the warfare that is being waged between woman and her dress, it is the woman or her uncomfortable and ill-adapted dress that is to survive. For here too, as elsewhere in the natural world, the struggle for life is persistently going on. Here too, inevitably, the stronger will win the day. The question is whether woman shall subordinate herself to a dress that hampers, or whether she shall subordinate her dress to her needs. The issue of the contest is by no means yet apparent.

The salvation of woman seems almost hopeless, when we think of the frippery and airy nothings which we see exhibited in milliners' shop-windows, with the explanatory placard, "Ladies' spring bonnets"; when we reflect upon those artificial, often costly, appendages with which women have been doing the double duty of sweeping the streets and adorning their own persons; when we consider that educated women are no less slaves of fashion than are the ignorant; that it is, indeed, regarded as praiseworthy if a woman can learn something, and yet outrival in dress the society devotee; when we perchance listen for a few moments to the conversation in which almost any group of women will indulge after the ordinary greetings have been said; or when we hear the comments made about any woman who, for the furtherance of any cause whatsoever, appears before the public; — her dress being first discussed, and afterward, if at all, her achievements. If a man appears before the public, it is the merit of what he has done, and not the clothes in which he has done it, that awakens interest. I have searched in vain, in the accounts of this Congress, to find a description of the cut and material of Mr. Bonney's coat. All these things, which we daily see and experience, lead us to the inevitable conclusion

that the love of pleasing by the means of outward attire is inborn in woman, and that, until her education strikes far enough into her inner life to reach the springs of some worthier ambition, she is likely to remain the victim of her capricious and despotic rival — dress.

On the other hand, there are some reasons for believing that woman may yet come off victor. Women are beginning to learn that woman's dress is uncomfortable and unsuitable. Girls are so early placed in bonds that they forget about the freedom they enjoyed in the first few years of their lives; they do not know what it is to have untrammeled arms and legs; they do not know what a long, full, deep breath is; and so they go on half-breathing, half-moving, and consequently half-thinking; thorough in nothing but their ignorance of what they most of all need to know.

It is a hopeful sign that woman is taking a place also in the busy world outside of the home. For here first she learns to what extent her mode of dress is a crippling one; when she tries to do, side by side with man, the things which need strength and freedom of motion; when she attempts to do that which requires long-continued effort, be it of muscle or of brain, she finds that she is impeded. She is confronted by a dilemma; shall she give up the race, or shall the hindering clothes be exchanged for those which are more suitable? Which will she choose? Time will tell. If any women are inclined to think that, in the nineteenth century, they are winning the day, in spite of dress, that they can follow unreasonable fashion and yet win, let them beware lest they deceive themselves. It is true that colleges and universities are opening their doors to women, that opportunities are opening to them on all sides in all walks of life; but this is only the first step. It is true that women have proved that they can learn Greek and mathematics, and, indeed, everything else in the curriculum, and that they can sometimes excel; this is but the second step. There is beyond all this the vast realm of the unknown. I can not believe that women will succeed in entering this realm,

save with untrammeled feet. Whether women realize it or not, their demands to enter the lists with men have bound them to run the race; and the winning is to the unimpeded.

Another reason for feeling encouraged to hope is that some women have already reached, and many others are constantly nearing, that degree of development which enables them to demand a more comfortable, more healthful, more suitable dress; and again, that a few women have already the courage to put on and wear such a dress, and that there is in the United States one woman who is the happy possessor of ten capacious pockets! *

Dress Reform and Its Necessity — Paper by Viscountess F. W. Harberton of England.

The Rational Dress Society in England has spared no means in its power for the last ten years in calling public attention to the errors of the lines on which women's dress is constructed, and to the great evils which naturally follow. The efforts of the society so far have not met with the success which might have been hoped; but that this should be the case is not altogether surprising when one considers that until recently it was thought almost wicked, and certainly "unwomanly," for women, and more especially for young women, to have any definite ideas upon those things in life which most immediately concerned their own welfare, comfort, or health. So we are now simply reaping the fruits of the mistaken teachings and preachings of many generations.

Not that this explanation in the least exonerates the majority of women from their conduct with regard to the question of reform in dress. More particularly one must condemn the attitude assumed by those among them who

* The reference is to Professor Ellen Hayes, author of the essay "Woman's Dress from the Standpoint of Sociology," in which she advocates pockets as the symbol of power and possession.

have leisure and culture; for however absolutely convinced they may be intellectually of the truth of the principles laid down by the society, they will not so much as move one hair's-breadth to help to remove what is truly a grievous burden from their less happily situated fellow-creatures. No, if it is wet they can go in a carriage. They do not so much mind having their dresses inside all covered with filthy dust from the streets, as the disagreeable office of cleaning them falls on their maids. They do have short dresses of some sort for the Scotch moors, and as they are rich enough to have plenty of dresses for each different occasion, they do not care to do anything to help to introduce a style of dress that would be better suited to the lives of the mass of womankind, and which would also benefit themselves immeasurably.

This state of affairs tends to make the work of the Rational Dress Society much harder and its progress much slower than it otherwise would be. At present all women's dress is arranged on "the carriage round the corner" plan. That is to say, the dress assumes that the wearer has gone out for a drive, but, for a whim, has got down to walk a few steps, and will be getting into her carriage again directly. And just as it is probable that, while the majority of women do not imagine every one who sees them takes them for duchesses, still nothing would induce them to wear a dress or mark proclaiming that they could not possibly be duchesses, so nothing could induce a woman so to dress as to make it clear she had not a carriage. Until, therefore, the frame of mind alters which leads all women — even those who work in the fields — to have their clothes made on this idiotic principle, progress in dress reform is likely to be slow.

Another great difficulty is the peculiar notion that women must dress on the lines of a Noah's Ark figure; or, as Mrs. King once wittily put it, that "a petticoat is a divinely appointed garment for women to wear." This Noah's Ark figure, however, is not only the principle on which women's

dress is constructed, but, paradoxical as it sounds, it is at the same time the precise form which every one is most anxious to avoid. Hence the waist-pinching to break the artificially constructed straight line from shoulder to ankles. Hence the huge sleeves. Hence the marvelous skirt developments in the form of trains, flounces, crinolines, and dress improvers. Hence, too, the masses of frills and trimmings of all sorts, which, by their perpetual tearing and coming to pieces, add so greatly to the worry of life.

In some way or other the old idea must be eradicated that two legs are proper for a man but improper for a woman before any change is possible. And women must give up their present abject habit of wearing anything and everything if they hear it is the fashion.

Many persons are just now in a very jubilant frame of mind because, as they say, women have successfully resisted what they call the invasion of crinoline. It appears uncertain, however, whether this is a fact or not, as there is a doubt whether crinoline was ever intended to be introduced. But be that as it may, the dress which is worn at present is not only awkward and uncomfortable to the last degree, but also peculiarly ugly, so that the rejoicing strikes some minds as uncalled for and irrational.

It is strange how little the higher education of women has helped them to improve matters which primarily concern their own well-being. The perpetual hampering of themselves with clothing so constructed as to make the natural functions of breathing and walking artificially laborious, and the latter in many cases almost impossible, is nearly on a par with self-mutilation, and is fully worthy of the contempt and disgust which the latter would excite.

Numbers of people are always ready to write violently condemnatory articles against what they call "tight lacing"; the one published in the *National Review* for March, entitled "Victims of Vanity," by Lady Violet Greville, being a good example. But these writers quite fail to realize what would be the result of the carrying out of

their advice. In the first place, they lose sight of the Noah's Ark figure aspect of the question before mentioned; and in the second they seem to imagine that the wearing of corsets only exaggerates the natural shape of the body, whereas it really aims at producing a new shape which does not exist in nature, but which looks much nicer with petticoats! The nearer to this arbitrary and unnatural form any one can mold her body, the more she is pronounced to have a lovely figure. The natural human figure has no horizontal line around the waist, such as it is artificially forced to assume with any corsets, loose or tight. The falling in over the hips does not begin under the arms like the letter V. The body first spreads out, and only falls in to the hips below the ribs. This falling in over the hips does not go round the body horizontally, but is much higher up in front than at the sides, and also it is very slight indeed. In addition to the alterations enforced by the corset, the perpetual pressure of the piece of steel down the front of the body is most injurious. There are two or three inventions of underclothing now procurable which support the bust perfectly without any of the drawbacks inseparable from our old friend "the corset." Indeed, this instrument of torture, and producer of ill-health, ought now to be relegated to a corner of museums, being as much out of date with our present knowledge of anatomy as is the armor of the Middle Ages with that of modern explosives.

It is a pity all the notions of the beauty of women's dress should be so mixed up as to include the wearing of skirts as one of the necessary adjuncts. The beauty, such as it is, proceeds from the materials and the harmony of colors, and considering the amount of thought and money expended on the subject, it would be strange if a certain measure of beauty were not produced; but the beauty would be quite as great, if not greater, in some of the forms of dresses with which the world is now familiar that are made on the dual, or two-legged, principle. This is truly the one essential point in dress reform, and the one to

which all our efforts should be directed. If it became general, all other reforms must follow as a matter of course. Slight reforms and differences made, while preserving in the main the old lines, will never become permanent, and are only practically a waste of time; but it is quite certain that a generation of women who had once become accustomed to the comfort and freedom of clothing made approximately in the shape of the human form would never consent to return to the cumbrous primitive petticoat.

Organization as an Instrument in Promoting Moral Reform — Address by Maud Ballington Booth of England.

Ever since its inception, the Salvation Army has been known as an organization which upholds to the fullest extent the rights and privileges of women as reformers and apostles in Christ's name to the world. Through the dark days of persecution, when woman's ministry and public work of any kind were so much opposed, the battle was fought with dauntless courage; and in many of the countries in which our flag is planted it is a recognized fact that the Salvation Army has been of good service to all women workers, as an advance-guard who have fought their way through the tangles and difficulties of an untrodden path, and left behind them tracks for the following hosts. Though the very name of our organization is indicative of the fact that we are a spiritual army, and that our main object is to bring the Christ light and message of glad tidings to the hearts of those sitting in darkness, yet in this very mission we can not be other than social and moral reformers. She who brings righteous, holy inspiration and goodness to the heart and home must bring also reformation into all those social and moral relations which through sin have become so chaotic and perverted.

Here, in this our dear country, during the last six years,

the Army has forced itself into recognition by the public; and even those who care little for religion, or who dissent from our doctrines and object to our measures, have learned to hail us as a powerful social factor in the upraising of the criminal and almost hopeless classes. Among our officers we have a larger number of women than men.

That woman is especially fitted by God for this work through the gifts of tenderness, affection, and persistency, is becoming more and more a recognized fact. We make no difference in our work between the man and the woman. We do not give her a separate sphere of the work, or organize her efforts as though she were in any way disqualified for standing shoulder to shoulder with man at the battle's front. Every position that can be held by man — every office and duty that can be performed by him — we throw open to her; and we have but one gauge by which to test the qualifications for responsibility, namely — success.

I have watched the field of labor, and I have seen much energy, much good talent thrown away — much good desire expended without result — until organization has put each worker into her right place and brought to all the one aim and object. Our women are organized for war. In the hardness of the struggle, the devotion and self-sacrifice needed can be understood only by those who have looked face to face with the great social and moral questions, and have wrestled hand to hand with the vice and sin which are our enemies and the enemies of our King. Daily are coming to my ears tributes of praise and admiration to the noble way our women, in the slums or on the street, in the saloons or in their ordinary corps work, are carrying this war — this battle — to the gates, and gaining the laurels of well-earned victory. The New York *Herald*, a little while ago, remarked that it had become an established fact in New York City that two wearers of the poke bonnet could quell a street riot more effectively than a squad of police; while a policeman himself acknowledged to our slum

worker that she and her women could lead with ease a ruffian whom it would take six policemen to drag.

In connection with our slum and rescue work, we have found that it can be accomplished far more effectually by women than would ever be possible to the men of our organization. The very fact that women courageously and lovingly enter these strongholds of vice and iniquity unprotected, so far as the human eye can see — are fearless in the face of what many might consider danger — arouses in the hearts of these criminal and outcast men the little spark of chivalry and honor which lies dormant in their depraved nature. To take into such places our men warriors might indicate fear on the part of women — while courage is one of woman's most beautiful attributes, coupled as it is with less vigor and strength of muscle. It is women who must be organized into battalions to seek out the woman whose honor and purity have been trampled in the dust, for in their pure faces and loving words alone can the outcast woman read that there is hope for her; and they alone are qualified to kneel at the side of the abandoned one and plead with her whose life has been so embittered by wrong and shame. We have proved that women are not only capable of being thoroughly organized to lead, but also capable of being controlled and united to follow. Our opponents say that in organization each woman would want to be herself a leader, and that chaos would result from her inability to obey and follow. We find this absolutely incorrect; for the discipline of army organization has proved to us that woman, as a private, as an officer, or as a commander, can quite as well and methodically fill her place as any man that ever took the field.

Love to God, devotion to the cause of humanity, and the inspiration of the life and spirit of the great lover of the world can add to woman's own qualifications the divine inspiration which makes her more effective than could be any winged angel untrammeled by the cares, anxieties, and sufferings which are our heritage.

Heredity in its Relation to a Double Standard of Morals — Address by Helen H. Gardener of New York.

As a student of anthropology and heredity, one is sometimes compelled to make statements which seem to the thoughtless listener either too radical or too horrible to be true. If I were to assert, for example, that good men — men who have the welfare of the community at heart, men who are kind fathers and indulgent husbands, men who believe in themselves as pure, upright, and good citizens — if I were to say that such men as these are thorough believers in, and supporters of, the theory that it is right and wise to sacrifice the liberty, purity, health, and life of young girls and women; and, through the terrible power of heredity, to curse fatally the race, rather than to permit men and boys to suffer in their own persons the results of their own misdeeds, mistakes, or crimes, I should be accused of being morbid and a "man-hater." But let us see if the above statement is not quite within the facts. I shall take as an illustration the words and arguments of a man who stands second only to the chief police officer in the largest city in the United States; and since he was permitted to present his arguments in one of the most widely read journals of the country, without a protest from the editors, it seems fitting that they should be dealt with as of grave importance. All the more is this the case since they were intended to influence legislation in the interests of state-regulated vice. Among other things, he said, "Of course there are disorderly houses, but they are more hidden, and less of that vice is flaunted here than in any other city in the world. Such places have existed since the world began, and men of observation know that this fact is a safeguard around their homes and daughters. Men of candid judgment, religious men, know too that they had ten thousand times rather have their live, robust boys err in this indul-

gence than think of them in the place of those unfortunates on the island whose hands are muffled or tied behind them. This is a desperately practical question, with more than a theoretical and sentimental side. It ought to be talked about and better understood among fathers. Thank God that vice is so hidden that Doctor Parkhurst had to get detectives to find disorderly houses, and that thousands of wives and daughters do not know even of their existence. Such horrible disclosures as were made before innocent women and girls in Doctor Parkhurst's audience do vastly more harm, in arousing their curiosity and polluting their minds, than a host of sin that is compelled to hide its head. When I was captain of the Twenty-ninth Precinct, I went with Doctor Talmage on his errand for sensational information for his sermons. I know from observation, and from reports which I was careful to gather, that never in their history were the places he described so thronged by patrons, largely from Brooklyn, or so much money spent there for debauchery, as after those sermons."

Now I assume that this police inspector is a good citizen, father, husband, and man. I assume that he is sincere and earnest in his desire and efforts to suppress crime, and promote, so far as he is able, the welfare of the community. I assume, in short, that he is in intent and fact a loyal citizen and a conscientious officer. I have no reason to believe that he is not saying what he conceives is best and right; and yet even he is quoted as openly advocating the sacrifice of purity to impurity, the creating of moral and social lepers in one sex in order that moral and social lepers, or the ignorantly vicious, of the other sex may escape the results of their own mistakes or vices. It impresses me anew that such teaching from such authority, supported positively or negatively by public opinion, not only is the most unfortunate that can be put before a boy, but that it goes further, perhaps, than anything else can to confirm in men that condition of sex mania which the inspector says should be cultivated by means of regularly recognized state

institutions for the utter sacrifice and death of young girls, rather than that it should end in the wreck of the sex maniac himself. But were our statesmen students of the laws of heredity, they would not need to be told that there are, there can be, no "safeguards around our wives and daughters" so long as their husbands, fathers, and sons are polluting the streams of life before they transmit that life to those who are to be our daughters and wives.

But not to go so deeply into the subject for the moment as to deal with its bearings upon heredity, upon what principle his arguments can be valid I fail to see. Why is it better that some girl should be sacrificed, body, mind, and soul? Why is it better that she should be the man's victim than that he should be his own? And then, again, the problem is not solved when she is sacrificed. He has simply changed the form of his disease, and in the change, while it is possible he has delayed for himself the day of destruction, he has in the process corrupted not only his victim but the social conscience as well. Were this all, perhaps it would be still thought wise to follow the advice of the inspector, and, alas, of many physicians, and continue to sacrifice, under the brutal wheel of sex power, those who are from first to last a prey to the conditions of a social and legal environment in which they are allowed no voice.

But this is not all. The seeming cure is no cure at all. It is simply a postponement of the awful day for the sex-pervert himself; and worse than this, more terrible than this, it is the cause of the continuance of the mania, not only in himself but in his children. He marries some honest girl by and by, and thus associates with the burnt-out dregs of his life one who would loathe him if she knew his true character, and his concealed but burning flame of insanely inherited, insanely indulged, bestially developed tendency. But he is now, under the shadow of social respectability and church sanction, to perpetuate his unfortunate mania in those who are helpless, the unborn. Heredity is not a slipshod thing. It does not follow one parent

and one alone. The children of a father who "sowed his wild oats" by the method prescribed by the inspector (and, alas, by social custom) are as truly his victims as is the wreck of humanity who is to be quarantined in some given locality, and made a social leper and a physical wreck that he personally may be neither the one nor the other. But nature is a terrible antagonist. She bides her time, and when she strikes she does not forget to strike a harder, wider-reaching, more terrible blow than can be compassed by a single individual or a single generation. This is the lesson that we have absolutely thus far refused to learn. I do not hesitate to take direct issue with the inspector and social custom, therefore, and say that it is far better for society, far better for the fathers of unfortunate victims of sex mania, far better for the victim himself, that he be "on the island, with hands muffled or tied behind him," where death to one individual will end the shame and misery for all, than that, by applying the remedy of state regulation, the result should be as it is, as it always has been, as it always must be, namely — other generations of sex maniacs, scrofulous, epileptic, or simply constitutionally undermined weaklings. The boys who are encouraged to "sow their wild oats," and taught that it is safe to do so under state regulation, should hear the reports of some of the students of hereditary traits, conditions, and developments. There is to-day in an asylum, not so far from this inspector's own door but that its records are easy of access, one victim of this pernicious theory whose history runs thus: He was a gentleman of good social, financial, and mental status and surroundings. He was a "young man about town." He possessed, perhaps it was an hereditary trait, more consciousness of the fact that he was a male animal than of the fact that he was, or should be, an intelligent, self-respecting human being, who had no moral right to degrade another human being for his own gratification, while he assumed to still retain a higher and safer plane than his companions in vice. He was, in brief, no better and no worse than many

young fellows who — alas! that they are so taught by men who believe themselves good and honorable — "turn out to be good family men."

After his system was thoroughly inoculated, physically, mentally, and morally or ethically, with the tone, the condition, the trend of the life which the inspector and many other good men insist is unfit for the ears of women, but necessary to the welfare of men, and "best" for them, he married a lovely woman from a good family. All went well. Society smiled (this is history, not fiction), and said that rapid men when they did marry made the best husbands in the world. It is said such men know better how to appreciate fully purity at home. Society did not state that there could be no purity in a stream where half of the tributaries are polluted. But society was satisfied to talk of "pure homes" so long as there was one pure partner to the compact which resulted in the home. It does not talk of an honest firm if but one of its members is privately and in his own person honest, while he accedes to the dishonest practices of his associates. But society was satisfied. A child was born; society was charmed. Four more children came; society said that this late profligate was doing his duty as a good citizen of the state. He is now about forty-seven years old. He is a "paretic" in an asylum, and, if that were all, then the inspector's theory might still stand, because he might say that at least the awful calamity had been staved off all these years, while he had built a "pure home," and left to his country others to take his place. The facts are these: His oldest son is an epileptic; the second is a physical caricature of a man; the third is a moral idiot; he has no moral sense at all, although he is mentally very bright. He delights in victimizing dogs, cats, or even smaller children; all things, in fact, which are in his power, are his legitimate prey. Then there is a girl. In the phraseology of the doctor, "She shows only the general, constitutional signs of her inheritance." The youngest son is now less than seven years old; he is such a hope-

less sex maniac, even now, that the parents of other children do not dare allow them to be alone with him for one moment. In telling of this case, the asylum physician, himself a profound student of heredity, said of this last child: "He would shame an old Parisian debauchee." The Spartans were not so far wrong, after all. They killed all such children before they had a chance to grow up and still further pollute the stream of life.

And so our good citizen followed the usual course prescribed by the inspector — and by society. Leaving out the horrible necessary sacrifice of a woman, or of some numbers of women, the result of the plan is this: A house of vice, in a secluded quarter "for greater safety"; a few years of license which he believed to be his legitimate perquisite in the world, and "no harm done"; the association of the later years of his wasted energies, and his vice-soaked life and flesh, with the life of a pure girl; the legacy to society of five more sex maniacs, born in wedlock, which by its present terms, laws, and theories still further develops sex mania in men, and thereby implants the disease in each new generation, to be fought with or yielded to again; a driveling wreck of a man in an asylum at the prime of his manhood; and a worse than widowed wife, with a knowledge in her soul which is an undying serpent, as she looks in despair upon the five lives she has given, in her pathetic ignorance and trust. And this is not an unusual record. Of course its details are seldom known outside the physician and the family. This case is not known. It is the legitimate fruit of a tree which society, and avarice, ignorance, and vice carefully foster. It is the tree the fruit of which fills our mad-houses, asylums, poor-houses, and prisons year after year; and yet we tend it carefully, and keep its roots strong and vigorous by the very methods recommended by the police inspector, and by all believers in state-regulated and state-licensed vice: that is, licensed vice must be systematically continued "for the good of robust boys, who might else be on the island with muffled hands; it

must be kept in certain quarters, and secret, for greater safety to men, and that our wives and daughters may not hear of it." Not hear of it until when? Not until the years come when the honest physician must tell the wife — and at least there are physicians honest enough for this — if not the cause, at least the horrible facts, when it is too late for her to prevent the awful crime of giving life to the children of such a husband. We hold it a terrible crime to take life. Is it not more terrible in such a case to give life? Think of it! In the one instance, the results to the victims are simply the sudden ending of a more or less desirable existence in a more or less desirable world; in the other case, it is assuming to thrust, unasked, upon the helpless children a living death, an inheritance of pollution, which must, and does, develop itself in one or another form as the years go by.

When society is wiser it may be a bit more like the Spartans. It will say, "Far better that they be on the island than that they should lay their fatal curse upon the world, to expand and blight to the third and fourth generations" — and I believe it was the "sin of the fathers" which was thus to follow the children, was it not? What was that sin? Are not its roots to be found in the very soil advocated as good by the believers in state regulation of vice, and in a double standard of morals, and in the ignorance which they say is desirable for "our wives and daughters"? Ignorance that such things exist, the secret, legalized, regulated slaughter — social, moral, and physical — of hundreds and thousands of one sex at the demands and for the gratification of the other. Are there not sex maniacs in more directions than one? Is not this very double standard theory a sex mania in itself? Are not the men who advocate laws, and the legislators who make laws, which recognize these double moral standards, who ignore the plainest finger-board set up by nature in hereditary conditions — are not these in a sense one and all sex maniacs? When they talk of keeping our wives and daughters "pure and ignorant,"

they do not seem to realize that the taint of blood that flows in the veins of that very daughter, which she herself does not understand, and which an ignorant mother does not dream of, and therefore can not stand guard over, flows as an ever-present threat that she shall be one of those outcasts whom her own father is laboring to quarantine in darkness and oblivion.

Nature has no favorites. Heredity does not spare your daughter; and yet men who plant the seeds of sex perversion in their own families have the infinite impudence to cast from their doors the blossoms of their own tillage. They go into heroics about being "disgraced." "You are no longer a child of mine," is a sentiment which rings in a thousand pages of literature; in one hundred cases out of one hundred and one it should be met by the reply, "This act of mine proves, as no other could, that I am indeed your daughter! Blood of your blood, and flesh of your flesh! Nature has told her secret through me. Let us cry quits. You put the cursed taint into my blood, and I could not protect myself. I am the one to complain, not you. Do not cry out for quarter like a very coward. Face your record made in flesh and blood. This polluted life of mine is nature's reply to your life of license and uncleanness. I am nature's reply to your uncontrolled desires, inside of marriage and out; I, the moral or mental idiot; I, the diseased, polluted wreck; I, the epileptic; I, the lunatic; I, the drunkard; I, the wrecker of the lives of others — I am your lineal descendant! You sacrificed others recklessly, by act and by law, to your desires and your arbitrary sex power; you cultivated a taint in your blood. It is true that you took the precaution to transmit it through purity and ignorance to me. That very purity and ignorance of my mother served to save your peace of mind, and enabled you to take advantage of her for infinite opportunity for mischief. It, alas! could not save me, for I am your child also. Her ignorance was your partner in a crime against me, her helpless infant and yours. Do not complain. Dis-

like my face as you will; presented to you in whatsoever form or phase of distortion it may be, I am your direct lineal descendant! Build better, or go down with the structure you planned for other men's daughters, and in which, alas, you locked me before I was born!"

If, because of their sex, men demand privileges, rights, emoluments, honors, opportunities, and freedom which they claim as good for and necessary to their welfare, while they insist that all these are not to be allowed to women — that they would be her damnation — are not these men also sex maniacs? Has not humanity been long enough cursed by so degrading and degraded, so ignorant and so fatally wrong a mental, moral, social and legal outlook? I am attacking no individual, I am using an individual utterance on this subject simply to present better the side of the case which is sustained by all our present laws, conditions, and male sentiment. I wish to present the reverse side of this awful picture. From man's point of view it is often presented and in many ways, but once or twice have I seen the other side in print, where it was looked at from a rational or scientific point of view.

Last year a book was written which touched, to a moderate degree, woman's side as well as the general human side of this problem. It was put in the form of a novel, that it might appeal to a larger reading public than would an essay or magazine article. It had a tremendous sale, and the only, or at least the chief, adverse criticism upon it was that it pictured a type of father which either did not exist or was too rare to be taken even as an illustration in fiction. Now it is this very type of father of which the inspector speaks thus: "Men of candid judgment, religious men, know too that they had rather have their live, robust boys err in this indulgence, than think of them in the places of those unfortunates on the island," etc. That is exactly the point made by the book referred to, which was criticised by one editor as "morbid in its imaginings about fathers." Is the inspector "morbid"? He said, "This is a desperately practical

question, with more than a theoretical or sentimental side. It ought to be talked about and better understood among fathers." And I agree with him perfectly so far. It is, indeed, a desperately practical question for both men and women, and anthropology and heredity teach, in all peoples and in each succeeding generation, that the question has not been solved by the adoption of the double standard of morals. It is so desperately practical that the land is literally covered with the deplorable results, in hospitals, in prisons, in imbecile asylums, and in mad-houses. But when he goes on to "thank God that this vice is hidden, and that thousands of wives and daughters do not know of its existence," it impresses me that the inspector, in condoning the sins of fathers and commending ignorance in mothers, is attempting to still further hedge boys about with a condition which inevitably makes of them sex maniacs in more directions than one.

Is not his mother as deeply interested in her boy's welfare as is his father? Is it not to her eyes and wisdom that his younger days are mostly left, and to her watchfulness, intelligence, and information that he must be trusted, that he may not develop or acquire fatal habits? Or if he has them in his blood as a heritage from his father, by whom vice was looked upon as "safe" if only kept from the ears and eyes of wife and daughter, is it not imperative that the trained eye and mind of a mother who is not ignorant of, nor blind to, the very earliest indications that there is a blood taint should be directed to him, so that, so far as possible, she may labor to modify and control his awful inheritance before it has him in a fatal grip? Instead of this it is advocated as desirable that she be even "ignorant of" the existence of such vice! It is due more to the fact that she has been ignorant than to any other one thing that, later on, the boy's developed hereditary curse or his acquired bad habits have so fixed themselves upon his young mind and body that the inspector and the boy's father find themselves in a position to choose between a straight-jacket for the boy

himself, or first, a wrecked and outraged womanhood, and second, descendants of his that are marked with a brand worse than Cain's.

The inspector says that such disclosures as Doctor Talmage's sermons before innocent women and girls do vastly more harm than a host of sin that is compelled to hide its head. Now, what is the implication? Did he mean to imply that those places have since the sermon been thronged with the wives and daughters of Brooklyn? If not, how does he know that it polluted their minds? Has he not jumped at that conclusion, and cast a slur upon the wrong sex — the sex that did not squander its money in patronizing these resorts? Was not that a rather desperate effort to sustain an argument by a non sequitur?

Are women's minds polluted by a knowledge of vice which they avoid intelligently rather than escape from ignorantly? Are ignorance and innocence the same thing? Does the inspector believe that a knowledge of the degradation into which their sons are led and pushed by just such theories as these, backed by a blind hereditary impulse which has no intelligent care from a wise parentage — does he believe that such knowledge would drive or lure "our wives and daughters" into this polluting vice? And is it not strange to hear of a condition of things which can be spoken of as good and desirable for boys and men which is in the same breath depicted as pollution even to the ears of women? Can good women live with these men and not be polluted? How about the children?

Man has for ages past claimed to be the logical animal. Beasts have no logic at all, and in this regard woman has been gallantly classed, if not exactly with the beasts, certainly not with men. We may say that she has been counted by man as a sort of missing link. She has logic, plenty of it, if she agrees with all he says; otherwise, she is an emotional, irrational, unclassified creature. Now, when it comes to dealing with his fellows, man has, in the main, a fair amount of reason and logic; but the mo-

ment he is called upon to think of woman as a simple human being like himself, to deal with and for her as such, to give her a chance to do the same with and by and for herself, that moment man becomes an emotional, irrational sex maniac. He is absolutely unable to look upon woman as, first of all, a free individual, a human being on exactly the same plane as himself. She is instantly to his mind "wife," "daughter," or "victim" always. Never for one little instant is he able to contemplate her as a human unit and entity, entitled to life and liberty for and because of herself. Always it is her relation with him that he sees and deals with; and, alas for his theories of justice, gallantry, or right, it is always as his subordinate, for his use, abuse, or pleasure, that he thinks of and plans for her.

Why confine guilty houses to one quarter? To keep their vicious inmates away from our "wives and daughters," and the streets which they are on, says the inspector. But this is making sex irregularity a reason for restricting liberty of residence and resort, even of promenade and pleasure. That is to say, it restricts the liberty of one party to the vice.

Unfortunately, it is the wrong partner in vice from whom state regulations seek to "protect our wives and daughters." It is the one who can do the intelligent wife and daughter no harm whatever who is restricted. Man, we are told, is the logical animal. Why not apply a bit of his logic here? Why not set a watch on and restrict the one who does the real and permanent harm to the race?

Men claim that it is necessary to their health, happiness, and comfort to sacrifice utterly the characters, health, lives, and even liberty of locomotion of tens of thousands of women every year. This is simply infamous, and nature teaches its infamy and unnaturalness. From the protozoan to the highest bird or beast there is no distinction of right, of opportunity, or of privilege as to occupation, life, liberty, or the pursuit of happiness anywhere in nature between the sexes, until we reach the one species of animal where

one sex has been subordinated to the other because of industrial conditions — by financial dependence.

It is largely to the ignorance of wives and daughters on all these points that is due the possibility for passing, in some States, bills to reduce "the age of consent," at which a girl is held legally responsible for her own ruin, to ten years. If there were one good woman in the legislature no such bill would have a ghost of a chance to pass, or be kept from the public knowledge and rushed through a "secret session." Yet fathers of daughters pass such bills. It is then true, after all, that men are not so good protectors of woman as woman is of her sister! Ten years of age! A girl is a baby then! Think of your own little girl at ten! Do not dare to stop thinking, and writing, and talking on the subject until such infamous laws are an impossibility! Do not allow any one to make you believe that it is not "modest" or "becoming" for a woman to know about, and fight to the bitter death, any and all such laws.

You have no right not to know about this matter! You have no right to dare to bring into this world a child who shall be subject to such a law. It is beyond belief, but it is true. And then men talk of "protecting" women. Men who hold that a girl is not old enough to give lawful consent to lawful marriage until she is eighteen years old, say that she is at the age of ten to be held as old enough to give consent to her own eternal disgrace, ruin, and degradation.

The ignorance of one sex in almost all of the vital affairs of life, coupled with its financial dependence upon the other sex, has gone far to make of all men, in one form or another, sex maniacs; and to make of many children the victims of a polluted ancestry, and the progenitors of an enfeebled race.

The Moral Reform Union — Address by Helen Taylor of England, Read by Marie Fischer-Lette of Germany.

The education of public opinion by the combined action of men and women, seeking no political or personal aggrandizement, not necessarily agreeing with one another either in politics or religious faith, but agreeing on the necessity of certain fundamental principles, such as Truth, Justice, Chastity, as essential to public and private morality, has been and is the characteristic work of the Moral Reform Union, founded, in London in the year 1881. By all the means in its power it encourages the study and discussion of moral questions, and disseminates as widely as possible leaflets and literature on such subjects. Those who are well acquainted with the practical condition and private morals in our own time will not need to be told that uncompromising hostility to the patronage of vice under cover of official regulation of prostitution (known among English-speaking peoples as the "Contagious Diseases Acts") is an essential principle of the Moral Reform Union.

Some of the most useful work of the Union has been the steady and persistent drawing forth of expressions of opinion adverse to these acts from the religious bodies of the United Kingdom, its colonies and dependencies. And this work is becoming more than ever necessary at the present time, when the advocates of these acts are endeavoring to carry out by indirect means what the public opinion of England forbids them to do openly and avowedly. In combating and laying bare the revolting injustice, the loathsome indecency, and the cynical insolence of these acts, we are necessarily brought to insist upon the great truth of the equal moral standard for men and women, and the promulgation of this equal standard is an essential part of the educational programme of the Moral Reform Union.

At the same time that the Moral Reform Union finds

itself compelled, by the special circumstances of our own time, to join in active, aggressive warfare against this worst form of sexual vice and injustice, it also holds itself bound to give all the assistance in its power to other work in which the moral progress of humanity is involved; such, for example, as the movement directed against cruelty and intemperance; against gambling, and against such gigantic forms of national greed as we English people have to be ashamed of in our governmental patronage of opium in India and China.

But while it is our special work, because it is our special duty, to struggle, and particularly to educate the moral sense of our own compatriots, we recognize emphatically the solidarity of the whole human race, and the common duties of all nations. We therefore take all opportunities to be in correspondence with, to assist and to seek the assistance of, those who are striving to raise the moral standard, in any part of the world.

Believing that this Congress of Women in Chicago in 1893 can not fail to impress upon women that it is their duty to take a leading part in the moral elevation of the world, we send you our cordial greetings; and for this purpose we have selected a German lady as our representative, in token of the union of nations we desire to see engaged in this sacred work.

Temperance Education — Address by Mary H. Hunt of Massachusetts.

A young Hindu gentleman, with that fine command of our language that characterizes the educated classes of India, said to me the other day: "The better classes in India regard everything English as degrading." To my exclamation of surprise he replied: "The teachings of English-speaking peoples are good, but their examples are bad in India. I am a Hindu; the Hindu religion teaches

its followers to drink no alcoholic liquors. The English drink much, are drunken, and our lower classes in India do not discriminate between the teachings and the examples of English-speaking people, but follow the latter. These examples have brought great degradation and harm to many of our people."

I blush for the civilization which produces such results. The story in our own land is no better. It is a matter of common knowledge that alcohol is the greatest criminal force in the world. It has the power to brutalize, barbarize, and besot its consumers. Its use can transform the most accomplished specimens of civilization to worse than savages.

And yet, in the face of these facts, in this afternoon of the nineteenth century, the sale of these liquors is protected by the laws of our free, self-governing people. The tax upon their manufacture is one of the largest, if not the largest, source of our national revenue. As used by unscrupulous men, alcohol is debauching our politics. It is a well-known fact that the purchasable material in all politics is the saloon element.

The answer to the question, "Will the future witness our still greater progress in the ideas of advancement that constitute a nation's strength?" depends upon what the coming American people do with the alcohol question. But why do we refer this problem to you? Why wait? Why not arise and sweep the iniquity from the face of the earth? Who would do the sweeping? Majorities of men make laws in this country, and that majority to-day is not ready for such sweeping. If majorities are wrong, a government like ours is helpless, for a republic has no power with which it can compel majorities. It is one of the weaknesses of a republican form of government that the vices as well as the virtues of the people appear in their legislation. This government of ours is just as strong on any question as the people are, and it is just as weak as they are.

Just as soon as a controlling majority of the people of

the United States do not believe in or want alcoholic beverages, the law protecting traffic in such liquors will be swept from the face of the earth, or rather from our part of it. How soon will that time come? During the last twelve years the question of constitutional prohibition has been submitted to the direct vote of the people of seventeen States. All except Kansas, Iowa, Maine, and the two Dakotas voted, "No; we will not prohibit the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages."

At the Fair the other day I heard a well-dressed woman urge a young man, her son, to take beer, "because it is such a good tonic; it will rest you." Ninety-nine people out of a hundred of those drinking beer there and elsewhere began in that way.

Alcohol is the basis of beer, wine, and the whole foul brood of fermented and distilled liquors. Alcohol deadens the nerves, and thus makes the drinker feel better for a time; while it has the power, taken continuously, even in small quantities, to create an uncontrollable and destructive appetite for more. The people, thinking a little harmless, are taking it, and do not want it abolished: thus they become its victims.

The first step is education of the whole people as to the evil nature of alcoholic beverages, and especially of the danger of beginning their use; and this education must come before appetite is formed, or it is too late.

Popular misapprehension is at the root of this evil. We have spent time, money, and energy in denunciation that should have been devoted to education. But a better day is dawning. In October, 1882, trembling at my own temerity, I pleaded with the Vermont Legislature for a law that should require all pupils in all schools to study the subject of physiology and hygiene, including special reference to the nature and effects of alcoholic drinks and narcotics. The first temperance education law was there passed. Michigan and New Hampshire followed the same year; New York in 1884; Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and eight

other States in 1885; the National Congress, for all schools under Federal control, in 1886; and thus on, until to-day forty-two States and Territories have enacted temperance education laws. There are only five more States to win before this education will be required for all pupils in all the public schools of this land.

When the first law was enacted, twelve years ago, there was not such a text-book in the world as the law demanded. To-day there is a large variety of good school literature on the subject, beautifully graded to the capacities of all classes of pupils, issued by many different publishers. There were no school methods for teaching this branch; that is now remedied, and every year is showing better and more intelligent work done in this study in the schools.

There are twelve million children in the United States under temperance education laws. These are the masses of to-morrow, and, more than that, the leaders, the presidents of the United States, the congressmen, legislators, lawyers, jurors, ministers, teachers, generals, and admirals of the future; these, with the leaders of fashion, of society's gay throng, and of the church of God of to-morrow — these are all in the schools of to-day.

When these shall come to their majority, having all alike been taught in the schools, during the most impressive period of existence, God's law of abstinence from alcoholic drinks and narcotics, then the saloon will perish.

The Power of Womanliness in Dealing with Stern Problems — Address by Florence Collins Porter of Maine.

During the coming weeks many of the brilliant intellectual women of our own and other lands will discuss in the World's Congress of Representative Women the relation of women to the world's work through organized effort, in

respect to religion, philanthropy, education, moral reform and civil law and government.

These discussions will, doubtless, show the great advancement of women throughout the world since the discovery of America by Columbus.

In considering this intellectual evolution, may we not also notice that there has been a great change in the physical characteristics of women?

Family portraits of the average woman of fifty or one hundred years ago reveal a style of feature and form as different from the average woman of to-day as is the tone of the old-fashioned daguerreotype from that of the modern photograph.

In the daguerreotype we see what at that time represented the accepted types of feminine modesty. The shoulders are sloping, the countenance passive, and the hands, demurely folded, are expressive of the deepest humility.

A composite photograph representing a type of the American woman of the present age would show, without regard to prevailing fashions, the shoulders thrown back, the head erect, and the whole poise, in fact, one of independence and self-reliance.

May we not believe that this external change has been wrought because of the broader thought and the greater confidence in her own powers that has come to her through experiencing success in wider fields than her grandmother trod? "As a woman thinketh, so she is."

The temperance work has been an important factor in bringing woman into public life, and revealing to her a glimpse of the kingdom she is to go up and possess. Through organized temperance work, with its unions reaching nearly every town and hamlet in the land, the woman of even average ability, the woman who twenty years ago would declare such actions impossible, has learned how to preside over a public meeting, to treat an amendment, to frame a motion, and in other ways to express in a clear

and parliamentary manner her desires, opinions, or convictions.

The public has listened and applauded, for the art of expression is a magical, beautiful gift; and no longer is it said in woman's praise, "There is nothing wherewith their womanliness is more properly garnished than with silence."

In considering, therefore, "The Power of Womanliness in Dealing with Stern Problems," we are to treat those relations that exist in the public work to which woman seems to be fittingly called.

The temperance work, bringing together as it does in council so many different minds, has proved a most difficult subject to deal with, for upon no other great moral question is there such a diversity of opinions concerning methods and principles. To keep in step with the age there must be progressive thought to meet new conditions, and aggressive action to cope with present ones.

Progressiveness and aggressiveness usually foster a combative spirit, and in seeking for the best methods of dealing with the liquor traffic, and other questions of social and political reforms, there is danger of developing qualities that may detract from true Christian character and womanly worth.

In doing public work what should be woman's highest standard of duty toward her co-workers? What deteriorating influences to a beautiful womanly character may possibly arise, and what types should be avoided as likely to do harm to the cause and bring its advocates into disrepute? The first type to be avoided is the masculine woman.

While woman to-day stands the acknowledged peer of man, and strives to do her work as well, let her not do it after the fashion of man, but let her seek rather to exalt the highest and noblest traits of womanly character.

Another type of character to be avoided is that of the scheming, ambitious woman, who employs political machinery and wire-pulling to bring about desired results. Happily, this class, as yet, is but a small minority, for a

large majority of those who are wrestling with the stern problems that hold in their solution the betterment of humanity are allied with some organization, because it exists to accomplish a great purpose. With utter self-abnegation they seek to be messengers of redemption to those who are in the bonds of sin and misery, and to remove the power of temptation from the pathway of their erring fellow-creatures. To the work they give unselfish toil and ceaseless thought, sacrificing personal ease and pleasure to advance the kingdom of truth and righteousness.

These are the women who should stand at the front and stamp their womanly worth and integrity upon every organization composed entirely of women. The last twenty-five years have brought many changes, perhaps the next twenty-five will bring greater ones. If there are to be, then as now, the best types of womanhood in the ascendancy, women must be large-souled and honest in dealing with each other. Evidences of chicanery, of insincerity even, will quickly disgust and prejudice the honest heart and cause it to seek refuge in narrower circles. The ethics of womanliness does not require a personal following.

It is Emerson who says, "Better be a nettle in the side of your friend than his echo." The great national gatherings that bring together women from the North, South, East, and West develop a broad judicial faculty, and friendship does not mean that any woman is to allow her more brilliant friend to do her thinking for her. Even when differing widely, women have learned to love and respect their co-workers. They should also learn to stand truer and more steadfastly together; for woman's organizations, as distinctively such, must be based upon faith and love, and trust in womankind. Without this faith and trust the foundations totter.

Origin and Early History of the British Women's Temperance Association — Address by Lady Henry Somerset of England.

"What was the origin of the British Women's Temperance Association?" is a question often asked, and one to which I have thought it well to reply.

In June, 1875, "Mother" Stewart, a well-known leader in the Woman's Whisky War of 1873–74 (a crusade against the American saloon that attracted universal attention, and resulted in the closing of thousands of dram-shops and the reformation of tens of thousands of men), met Mrs. Parker of Dundee at a great temperance convention in the city of Chicago. Mrs. Parker was very much interested in the crusade movement in America, having read of its results while in her own home in Scotland, and when she met "Mother" Stewart, was eager to invite her to Scotland. Upon Mrs. Parker's return home a correspondence was begun, which resulted in the visit of "Mother" Stewart to Great Britain in January, 1876. On January 21st a reception was given her in the rooms of the National Temperance League, London, where two hundred and fifty ladies and gentlemen assembled.

At this meeting Mrs. Margaret Bright Lucas, Mr. Robert Rae, and Dr. Dawson Burns spoke with enthusiasm of the women's temperance work in the United States, and a resolution was adopted inviting "Mother" Stewart to hold temperance meetings throughout England, and a committee was appointed to arrange the work. On April 10, 1876, a call for the formation of a national society, which ran as follows, was sent out by Mrs. Parker and "Mother" Stewart:

FIRST BRITISH WOMEN'S TEMPERANCE CONFERENCE.

THE CLIFF, DUNDEE.

MADAM: At the earnest request of the Women's National Christian Temperance Union of America, conveyed to us by Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer, its esteemed president, Miss Frances E. Willard, corresponding

secretary, and others, we hereby convene a meeting of women connected with the various temperance organizations in the United Kingdom, to be held on Friday, the 21st inst., in the Central Hall, Newcastle-on-Tyne, at 10 o'clock, to consider a cordial invitation to the women of England, Scotland, and Ireland to be present personally, or by delegation, at the first international women's temperance convention the world has ever known, which is fixed to take place at Philadelphia, United States, on June 10th.

We trust that the women of Great Britain and Ireland will as cordially coöperate as they do heartily sympathize with the glorious work done by their noble American sisters, and that the forthcoming convention will be memorable for numbers, influence, and results. A number of ladies have already intimated their cordial approval of the proposal to hold this meeting at Newcastle, some of them have signified their willingness to act as delegates if appointed, and the prospects of a successful meeting are assured.

The wrongs that women suffer through the effects of strong drink on their hearts and homes are so many and grievous that every Christian woman in the land should rise in the might and influence God has given her, and in His strength do all in her power to sweep the scourge from the land.

On behalf of the women of the United States,

MRS. E. D. (Mother) STEWART.

On behalf of the women of the United Kingdom,

MRS. MARGARET D. PARKER.

In response to this appeal, the first British women's conference was held at Newcastle-on-Tyne, April 21, 1876, and I give the account in official language taken from the first published report:

"Mrs. Parker, in opening the proceedings, said:

"'In accordance with the earnestly expressed wish of the Women's Christian Temperance Union of America, and the firm conviction in our own minds that God has already prepared the hearts of Christian women throughout the land to do a great work for him in the cause of temperance, this convention has been called. . . . The glorious temperance work accomplished by the Christian women of America has been told to the world, and its beneficent results have spread from the shores of the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, and extended throughout the civilized world. . . .

"'In response to the kind invitation sent by our American sisters to attend the International Temperance Convention

to be held in Philadelphia in June, and with a view of further strengthening their hands and our own, we purpose (with the sanction of this convention) to appoint delegates to represent the temperance women of Great Britain and Ireland in the first international women's temperance convention the world has ever known.'"

Reference was made to the valuable labors of Mrs. E. D. (Mother) Stewart in the cause of temperance in Great Britain, and the meeting requested the president to convey to her a testimonial of their high appreciation of her efforts, and their desire that an interchange of ideas and coöperative measures may be maintained with this association after her return to America.

Included in the resolution passed by the conference to welcome the delegation from the Grand Lodge of England, it was stated, "We have also elected ten delegates to go to America to represent us at the International Temperance Convention at Philadelphia."

Mrs. Parker, as president, in opening the proceedings, stated that "the work of the American ladies in bringing on a Christian and a temperance reformation had found its echoes on the shores of Britain, and she believed had spread throughout the civilized world."

At this conference it was resolved that the name adopted should be the British Women's Temperance Association, and that they at once elect office-bearers and an executive committee. The first president was Mrs. Parker of Dundee, and the twenty-two members of the committee were from all parts of the country, only one, Mrs. Margaret Bright Lucas, being resident in London. At this gathering seven ladies were elected delegates to the International Women's Temperance Convention to be held in Philadelphia.

The first conference of the British Women's Temperance Association was brought to a successful conclusion by a large meeting, where several women made their début in public life whose names have been known and honored from that day forward.

On the 22d of May, 1877, the first annual meeting was held in Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street. The president, Mrs. Parker, took the chair, and in her opening remarks said:

"The result of the American crusade is world-wide; it is one of the most sublime moral movements on which the sun ever shone. History will record it in deathless characters. The magnitude of these results can not be known until the light of eternity dawns. The gentle footsteps of these women are echoing yet, and we on British shores owe our inspiration in a great measure to them.

"Having, as your president, had the honor of being sent as a delegate to America to the first international women's temperance convention the world has ever known, it is due to you and to them to say that I was everywhere welcomed with enthusiasm and affection, and endowed with all the honors it was in the power of those noble workers to bestow. They also deputed me to bear to you their heartiest greetings; and thus, my sisters, hands join hands across the broad Atlantic, and pledge each other to labor and pray for the early dawning of that day when the cruel traffic in alcohol shall be no more. My visit to America has impressed me with a sense of the magnitude and advanced character of the work undertaken by our sisters there; and here let me say that the church everywhere helps the women who labor thus for the good of humanity. A great work lies before us. I trust that from this convention shall go out a power which shall move the people in every part of the British dominions, and that many practical means of usefulness will be suggested."

At the annual meeting Mrs. Clara Lucas Balfour was elected president, and was succeeded by Mrs. Margaret Bright Lucas, the honored sister of John Bright, who occupied that position until her death, in 1890. During her presidency (in 1885) the British Women's Temperance Association was affiliated to the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, which was founded in 1883, and of which

Mrs. Lucas became the first president, it being the year of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, in connection with which the Colonial Congress was held. Mrs. Lucas and other ladies were delegated to attend it on behalf of the association, so that advantage might be taken of the unique occasion which had brought so many of our colonial friends to England, to press the temperance question upon them. The following address was issued:

FELLOW-SUBJECTS OF OUR BELOVED QUEEN: We welcome you with joy to our shores, and we desire still more closely to knit the bond which binds us together, by a union of work for the good of our fellow-creatures. Will our sisters join in our efforts to stem the ravages of strong drink wherever its devastating power appears? We, British women, enrolled under the banner of "Temperance," offer to you the right hand of fellowship. We have joined with the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of America in the World's Woman's Temperance Union, and we earnestly invite you to work with us, heart and soul, in the endeavor, with God's help, to put away this curse, and all evil which mars this fair world of ours, and shuts out the light of the kingdom of heaven.

MARGARET B. LUCAS, *President.*
JESSIE A. FOWLER, *Honorary Secretary.*

In 1886 Mrs. Lucas paid her second visit to America, as a delegate to the National Convention of the White Ribbon Women. Her reception was one that will always mark an epoch in the annals of the woman's temperance movement. The delegates rose in separate groups to give their greeting. First the crusaders in a body, second the women of New England, then of the Middle States, after these, those of the Western and the Pacific Coast, and last the Southern representatives, while English and American flags waved on the platform, and all joined in singing "God Save the Queen." The stirring scene was described by Miss Impey, one of the delegates who accompanied Mrs. Lucas, in the following words:

"While the enthusiasm was at its highest, Miss Willard took Mrs. Lucas by the hand, and they stood together before the cheering audience — a living illustration of the union between England and America, the mother and daughter, in this mighty crusade against strong drink."

Mrs. Margaret Bright Lucas was a Liberal in politics, and was president of the Bloomsbury Branch of the Woman's Liberal Association, working in the interests of that party, as it helps to advance the great reforms for the betterment of the social system. She accepted and indorsed Mrs. Fawcett's explanation of the reason why women require the franchise, viz.: "That the suffrage is the only means of cleansing the statute books of the laws that are oppressive to one sex." Mrs. Lucas lost no opportunity in her public addresses of emphasizing the fact that temperance legislation, to be successful, requires the woman's vote. "In politics," she said, "my principle is that women should work for women until they receive justice. My first duty is to woman, and as long as I can work I shall strive to obtain complete equality between women and men before the law."

After a short illness this veteran reformer, on February 4, 1890, at the age of seventy-one, passed through "the portal we call death" to her heavenly home.

At the annual council of the British Women's Temperance Association, in May, 1890, Lady Henry Somerset was elected her successor.

The Origin, History and Development of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union — Address by Elizabeth Wheeler Andrew of Illinois.

In the year 1883 Miss Frances E. Willard, of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the United States, with her private secretary, Miss Gordon, visited every State and Territory of the Union, holding conventions and forming territorial and local branches.

When on the Pacific Coast, Miss Willard saw for the first time the life of the Orient meeting in tawny waves the current of Western civilization in the city of San Francisco. Her observations upon the opium habit, and other demoralizing innovations, caused her to turn with new zeal toward

the countries over that great Pacific Ocean upon whose shore she then stood, and for the first time she formed a definite determination to do all in her power to extend the mighty sway of White Ribbon organization, principles, and methods to the Eastern nations, indeed to every land upon the globe. This new impulse was communicated to the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union at its next annual convention, held in Detroit in the autumn of 1883. By her request a preliminary committee was appointed, consisting of the general officers (Miss Willard of Illinois, Mrs. Buell of Connecticut, Mrs. Woodbridge of Ohio, Mrs. Stevens of Maine, and Miss Pugh of Ohio).

Previous to this convention, Mrs. Mary Clement Leavitt of Boston had started on an organizing trip in the far West under the auspices of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and Miss Willard wrote asking if she would be willing to take the White Ribbon to the Sandwich Islands, Australia, and other countries. Mrs. Leavitt accepted the commission, and sailed from San Francisco to the Hawaiian Islands in 1884, organizing our society there, which has ever since maintained a healthful growth, and whence she was enabled to sail for Australia, friends in Honolulu bearing the expenses of her voyage. From New Zealand Mrs. Leavitt wrote Miss Willard that she could not see her way to go on to Asia unless at least a guarantee was given her that the necessary expenses of the journey should be paid by the Union. This was promised at once, and what was known as the "Leavitt Fund" was started by inserting a notice in the *Union Signal*, the official paper of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union. To this the White Ribboners responded so heartily that more than sufficient money for Mrs. Leavitt's needs was raised, and, by the latter's request, the name was changed to the "World's Fund," and applied to the aid of Miss Gray in Scandinavia, and other workers for the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union. For about seven years Mrs. Leavitt devoted herself to the work of organization in the

Hawaiian Islands, Australia, Madagascar, Africa, Burmah, India, China, Madeira, Mauritius, Ceylon, Siam, the Straits Settlements, Corea, Japan, and Europe, returning to Great Britain and America in 1891. No woman in the history of the world has made an expedition at once so long, so varied, and so productive of beneficent results. Wherever Mrs. Leavitt went she told the story of the Woman's Crusade against drink in the United States, and of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, which was the organized form and sober second thought of that great uprising. Wherever she went she carried the polyglot petition, which through her efforts was signed in well-nigh fifty languages, by persons of all races, nationalities, and religions. This petition asks for the overthrow of the alcohol and opium trades, and the elevation of the laws concerning social purity to the standard of Christian manhood and womanhood; for, as is well-known, the trinity of evils that most closely encompass the human race is the use of alcoholic beverages and opium, and unchastity in all its forms of degradation.

Mrs. Leavitt made known in every country the White Ribbon as the badge of purity, peace, patriotism, and prohibition; and urged that the noontide hour of prayer for the temperance work and workers should be observed by the women who, taking the pledge, formed with us the sacred tie of total abstinence and service. Her pioneer steps made smoother the pathway for us who have followed. She laid the foundations of the work broad and deep wherever it lay within human possibility to establish it, and her name is revered in all the lands where her consecrated lips uttered messages of righteousness.

Until the year 1891, the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union was conducted by means of committees appointed by the national societies in America and England. The general officers of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union served in this capacity in the United States, and in England a committee was appointed by the British Women's Temperance Association for the same purpose.

Mrs. Margaret Bright Lucas became the first president of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union in 1883, and the British Women's Temperance Association was affiliated to the organization in 1885. No constitution could be formed except a provisional one, which served until a permanent one was adopted at the first convention of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, held in Faneuil Hall, Boston, Mass., U. S. A., November 10 and 11, 1891.*

The officers elected are as follows: Honorary president, Mrs. Mary Clement Leavitt of Boston, Mass., U. S. A.; president, Miss Frances E. Willard, Evanston, Ill., U. S. A.; vice-president-at-large, Lady Henry Somerset, 47 Victoria Street, London, England; secretary, Mrs. Mary A. Woodbridge, Ravenna, Ohio, U. S. A.; assistant secretary, Miss Anna A. Gordon, Evanston, Ill., U. S. A.; treasurer, Mrs. Ella F. M. Williams, 26 Chomedy Street, Montreal, Canada.

The following departments of work were adopted: 1. Evangelistic — World's temperance mission work, Bible readings, Sunday-school work, penal, charitable, and reformatory work, social purity, work among sailors, and work among policemen. 2. Organization — Juvenile work and young women's work. 3. Prevention — Peace and arbitration. 4. Educational — Scientific temperance instruction in schools, banks, press work. 5. Social — Parlor meetings, fairs and expositions. 6. Legal — Petitions and treaties.

In Mrs. Leavitt's report, extending to June 19, 1891, she states that she had then traveled upward of ninety-seven thousand miles during her pilgrimage of seven years, and had utilized the services of more than two hundred interpreters in forty-seven different languages. During all these years of travel she was assisted financially by the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union to the amount of less than two thousand dollars, all other funds being contributed by friends of our cause in foreign lands. After a brief stay in the United States, and

* See Appendix.

attendance at the first world's convention, Mrs. Leavitt sailed for South America, where she spent the winter of 1891-92, and planted the work amid many difficulties, thus finishing her prodigious undertaking, having, as she said, "not only gone around the world but well-nigh all over it." The winter of 1892-93, Mrs. Leavitt has spent in Honolulu witnessing the effect of her labors in these beautiful islands, the first place visited on her long tour, and gaining in that balmy climate renewal of physical strength from a greatly needed rest.

In the autumn of 1888 Miss Jessie Ackerman, the second round-the-world missionary of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, was sent forth, following in Mrs. Leavitt's footsteps, sailing from San Francisco and visiting the Hawaiian Islands first of all. Later she has labored in Japan, China, Siam, and the Australian Colonies, and recently has visited the Straits Settlements, Burmah, India, and Ceylon. She has made Australia her headquarters for four years, and has had remarkable success in organizing unions in all its seven colonies, including Tasmania and New Zealand. Two years ago, in May, 1891, the first intercolonial convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was held in Melbourne, the metropolis of Victoria, with forty-eight delegates; these represented eight thousand White Ribboners, at work in all the colonies of this vast island continent except Western Australia, which was not then organized. The National Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Australia was then formed, with a full corps of officers and superintendents of departments, Miss Ackerman being elected president. Miss Ackerman has called for no financial help from the American White Ribboners. Her method is that of giving a lecture at the close of her temperance mission in each place on some interesting theme of travel, taking the proceeds of the admission tickets to bear her expenses in furthering her work. She expects after the next convention of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Australia,

to be held in May, 1894, to continue her round-the-world journey in due course.

In 1890 the third and fourth round-the-world missionaries, Dr. Kate C. Bushnell and Mrs. Elizabeth W. Andrew, were appointed and sent out together; the former had been for five years the evangelist of the Social Purity Department of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union in the United States, and the latter for nearly eight years had been on the editorial staff of the *Union Signal*, the world's and national organ of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. It was understood that special emphasis should be given to the purity question, as well as to the presentation of our general lines of work. We received a commission in some respects different from that given the two pioneers who had preceded us, in that we were expected to make as quick a survey of the field as was possible consistent with the demands of the work in each country. It is perhaps for this reason that Miss Willard has requested me to write the paper now presented I having so recently visited many of the lands inclosed within those bands of white which are swiftly uniting the women of the whole world in loyal sisterhood; and I trust that any appearance of obtrusiveness as regards my own personality may be forgiven because of this fact, and my desire to give the latest word obtainable from these far-away countries, a large number of which my friend and I have traversed within two years.

We left our native land from the eastern side early in 1891, and gave six months of service in Great Britain. Thence we went to South Africa, visiting Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange Free State, and the South African Republic, formerly known as the Transvaal. A winter in India followed, and later seven months of unremitting travel and toil in the colonies of Australia — Victoria, South Australia, New South Wales, Tasmania, and New Zealand. We went back to Ceylon at the end of 1892 for a brief stay, then to Egypt and Syria for a month, returning to England in March, 1893, having traveled since leaving the United

States eighty-seven thousand miles, crossed the equator four times, taken sixteen sea voyages, and given six hundred and seventy addresses to an estimated attendance of forty-five thousand people. After attending the World's Christian Temperance Union Convention, to be held in Chicago, October, 1893, we expect to resume our tour of the world, returning to England, visiting our unions on the Continent of Europe, and passing thence to Ceylon, Burmah, the Straits Settlements, China, Japan (with possibly Siam and Corea included), finishing with a visit to the Hawaiian Islands, and reaching home again by way of San Francisco. In all this swift and expensive traveling for two persons, passing quickly from land to land, we have received not a dollar from the home treasury, neither have we had private means to draw upon, but every need has been supplied through Him upon whom we cast all our care before we began this journey of faith and service. He has opened homes, and hearts, and purses wherever we have gone, and I record this to His praise, and in memory of all the abounding kindness received from our devoted White Ribboners in all the countries we have visited.

At the first convention of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, in 1891, at which delegates were present from twenty-one countries, it was proposed by the Plan of Work Committee, Mrs. Leavitt, chairman, and carried by the convention, that at least six missionaries of the organization should be appointed, as soon as arrangements could be made to do so, with proper salaries and traveling expenses paid, to work in the following countries: One in Japan, one in China and Siam, one in British India, one in South Africa, one in West Africa, one in Egypt, Syria, and Asiatic Turkey, and a superintendent of world's temperance mission work was appointed to raise money and find workers, to complete the plan. It was also resolved to establish a bureau in each country as a center of information, and a repository of literature. In accordance with the foregoing plan, Miss Alice R. Palmer was sent out to South

Africa, the White Ribboners of that country pledging her financial support while in the field. She reached Cape Town July 19, 1892, and entered on her new labors with the same earnest vigor which had characterized her in her native State of Indiana as a phenomenally successful organizer.

This same year Miss Mary Allen West, so long the senior editor of the *Union Signal*, was appointed to service in Japan. She arrived there in October, 1892, and was received by the Japanese people with an overwhelming welcome. Invitations poured in upon her for public work, which her generous heart could not find courage to refuse. She held not less than three meetings daily — except when actually on the wing — and sometimes during the last two months of her earthly career, five addresses were given within twenty-four hours. "Her brief tour in Japan was triumphal. The hearts and homes of the Japanese people were opened wide to her, and she was admired and feasted and listened to, as few have been, in their own or in foreign lands." She gave a mighty impetus to our work in the "Sunrise Land." The name proved prophetic to her, for here her earthly day was swallowed up in the eternal morning as the old year drew to its close. Miss Willard wrote thus of her tried and trusted comrade: "It is so everywhere, the rising tide of the world's greatest reform threatens to draw in its leaders and its rank and file to premature weariness, disease, and death. Our brave general has fallen at her post with her face to the foe; her death renders the soil of Japan forever sacred to all White Ribboners, and the fragrance of her memory gilds that far-distant country with a perpetual charm."

The following countries have come into the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union: The United States, Great Britain, Australia, Canada, the Hawaiian Islands, New Zealand, Queensland, Victoria, South Australia, New South Wales, Tasmania, Ceylon, Sweden, Turkey, Japan, China, Siam, the Straits Settlements,

Burmah, India, Cape Colony, Mauritius, Madagascar, France, Denmark, Norway, Chili, Natal, the Orange Free State, Sierra Leone, Asia Minor, Corea, the Bahamas, Newfoundland, the Madeira Islands, Spain, Russia, Mexico, Italy, Egypt, Syria, Greece, the South African Republic, Brazil — over forty.

THE UNITED STATES.

The United States heads the list of federated countries, as being the mother of the whole movement, taking its rise in the Woman's Temperance Crusade of 1874, and as having led the way to the development of more than forty departments of work, under the general divisions of Evangelistic, Organization, Preventive, Educational, Social, and Legal. The first president was Mrs. Annie Wittenmeyer. Miss Frances E. Willard has led the hosts since 1878, a cherished and honored leader. The membership includes nearly one hundred and fifty thousand with a following of not less than three hundred thousand; all the States and Territories are organized and officered.

Among the large undertakings projected by the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, or numbered in the list of its affiliated interests, may be named the National Temperance Hospital, the Woman's Temperance Publishing Association, the Temple, scientific temperance instruction in the public schools, and the sending forth of the polyglot petition.

The National Temperance Hospital, located in Chicago, was founded in 1884, with the avowed object of scientifically demonstrating to the world that alcohol can be dispensed with in the treatment of disease. This institution has had large success. The Clara Barton Training School for Nurses is a successful part of its plan. Two enthusiastic young women from Japan are now in the hospital taking a course of study which will enable them to return to their native land thoroughly prepared to treat disease without

the use of alcoholic spirits. Mrs. M. E. Kline is president of the Board of Directors.

The Woman's Temperance Publishing Association is the largest publication society of women in the world. Its headquarters are in the Temple at Chicago; it has been in existence only fourteen years; its postage bill during 1892 was over ten thousand dollars, and the number of pages printed one hundred and thirty-five millions; its principal publication, the *Union Signal*, the World's and National Woman's Christian Temperance Union official organ, which has an average circulation of eighty thousand weekly, and the paper goes to nearly fifty countries of the globe. Frances E. Willard is the editor-in-chief, Lady Henry Somerset contributing editor, Miss Margaret A. Sudduth managing editor, and Mrs. Harriet B. Kells office editor. Mrs. Caroline F. Grow is the business manager. The affairs are administered by a Board of Directors composed of women, whose president is Mrs. Matilda B. Carse. It has regular publications for the assistance of the unions, such as monthly Bible readings, and responsive readings relating to all the departments of work; also a paper called the *Oak and Ivy Leaf* for the young women of the society, and *The Young Crusader* for the children, besides a great variety of leaflets and books to meet all the needs of this vast and far-reaching organization.

The Temple at Chicago stands as a monument to women's faith and enterprise, situated in the very heart of the business thoroughfares of this phenomenal city, thirteen stories high, costing one million, one hundred thousand dollars, commanding and beautiful in its proportions, containing Willard Hall, that Mecca of faithful White Ribboners and the place of daily noontide prayer and soul-winning, large enough to hold seven hundred people, ample in its accommodations not only for the World's National, State, and city Woman's Christian Temperance Union headquarters, as well as our great publishing interests, but also affording office room sufficient to bring the rental up to a figure of

two hundred thousand dollars annually. It is surely destined within a few years to be a gift from God himself to the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, in answer to the faith and devoted service of Mrs. Matilda B. Carse, the founder, and those who have devotedly worked and prayed with her.

Some one has called the Temple "the great monument of the modern temperance reform, the mile-post of the century's philanthropy." No liquor or tobacco can be sold under its roof. It is lined throughout all its thirteen stories in white marble, and has two beautiful fountains, one furnished by the women of Chautauqua County, New York, at the entrance to Willard Hall, and the other designed by Miss Whitney, the great sculptor, to be unveiled during the Columbian Exposition, is the gift of White Ribbon children the world over in the Loyal Temperance Legions.

SCIENTIFIC TEMPERANCE INSTRUCTION.

Another notable achievement of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union is that of obtaining laws in all the States of the Union, save eight, requiring that the baleful effects of alcohol, opium, and tobacco be taught in all grades of the public schools, and a national law requiring the same teaching to be given in all schools in the District of Columbia and the Territories, also in all national military and naval academies, thus bringing more than twelve millions of children under this beneficent instruction.

At the head of the Department of Scientific Temperance Instruction for the World's and National Woman's Christian Temperance Union is Mrs. Mary H. Hunt of Massachusetts, and the work has been extended, with variations as to interest, method, and legal force, to Canada, Sweden, Finland, Germany, Bulgaria, Turkey, India, Siam, China,

Japan, South Australia, Queensland, New Zealand, Victoria, Hawaiian Islands, South Africa, and Mexico.*

This world's petition first emanated from the White Ribboners of the United States, but has become truly a world-wide possession and undertaking. The president, Miss Willard, thus writes: "It is intended that the whole force of this world's union of women shall be turned upon international questions affecting social and temperance reforms. As one of the instruments to this end, the great petition gives a practical direction to the new world-sense that thrills the hearts of women in this last decade of our century. It calls for no money, it even demands no personal pledge from those who sign or indorse it, but it only asks that the nations of the world may put away the unholy traffic in alcohol and opium with which every Christian nation is more or less in complicity.

"The circulation of this petition must in the very nature of things cause an arrest of thought wherever it goes, and aid us, as Christian women, banded together in the belief that our united faith and works will, with God's blessing, prove helpful in creating a strong public sentiment in favor of personal purity of life, including total abstinence from all narcotic poisons, and the protection of the home by outlawing the traffic in alcoholic liquors, opium, tobacco, and impurity."

A petition nearly twelve miles long, signed in well-nigh fifty languages, carrying already almost two million names, "and which it is hoped will have double that number before it is called in for exhibition at the World's Fair in 1893, preparatory to setting forth on its world-wide mission to the rulers of all nations, will be in itself a vast object-lesson, crystalizing into one burning focus the hopes and prayers, the agony and tears of wives and mothers, sisters and

* It is impossible to give space to the particular report presented of the temperance work in each of the countries named; and such reports more properly belong to the unabridged record of the Congress, which is to be published by the United States Government.

daughters around the globe, and it might well be a spectacle on which angels should gaze with sympathy."

Perhaps the best work done in any one country in the circulation and obtaining signatures to the world's petition is that accomplished by Miss G. F. Morgan of Brecon, South Wales, throughout Great Britain. So zealous were her efforts that Lady Henry Somerset was able to carry the signatures of two hundred and fifty thousand persons with her, to be presented as England's contribution to the world's petition work, when she went to America to attend the first World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union convention in 1891.

I close in Mrs. Leavitt's words: "If there was in the beginning any doubt as to the feasibility of Miss Willard's grand conception, it must have long since passed away. The White Ribbon has belted the world. The noontide prayer never ceases." The World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union is an accomplished fact.

N. B. The summary of temperance work in other countries will be found in the Appendix.—[THE EDITOR.]

FRANCES E. WILLARD.

CHAPTER VIII.— THE CIVIL AND POLITICAL STATUS OF WOMEN.

PREFATORY COMMENT BY THE EDITOR — EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESSES DELIVERED IN THE GENERAL CONGRESS AND FROM DISCUSSIONS OF SAID ADDRESSES BY MRS. JACOB BRIGHT, FLORENCE FENWICK MILLER, THE COUNTESS OF ABERDEEN, LILLIE DEVEREUX BLAKE, FRANCES E. W. HARPER, MARGARET WINDEYER, J. ELLEN FOSTER, REV. EUGENIA T. ST. JOHN, MARY FROST ORMSBY, IDA A. HARPER, LILLIAN DAVIS DUNCANSON, LAURA M. JOHNS, SARAH C. HALL, SUSAN B. ANTHONY, AND MARTHA STRICKLAND — EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESSES DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION BY ELIZABETH CADY STANTON AND HELEN H. GARDENER — EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE ORDER OF THE EASTERN STAR BY MARY A. FLINT — EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE LOYAL WOMEN OF AMERICAN LIBERTY BY ABBIE A. C. PEASLIE — EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE WOMEN'S NATIONAL INDIAN ASSOCIATION BY MRS. WILLIAM E. BURKE — EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESSES DELIVERED IN THE REPORT CONGRESS BY THE COUNTESS OF ABERDEEN, THE BARONESS ALEXANDRA GRIPENBERG, AND THE BARONESS THORBORG-RAPPE.

ONE still frequently hears that the cause popularly known as the "Woman's Rights Movement" has made little progress; that the interest in it, always limited to a small and peculiar class, has grown languid even within that class; that the majority of men hold in contempt claims and aspirations which the majority of women regard with indifference. These assertions are made in the face of such facts and conditions as are presented in this chapter. Here we find representatives of countries as remote and as different from one another as Sweden and the United States, Scotland and Australia, Finland and England, telling, with variations but slightly accentuated by nationality and form of government, the

same story of the steady growth in the minds of men and women of a conviction of their essential equality; and of the development in women of a consciousness of responsibility for the weal of that public of which they are a part. The twenty-four addresses here reproduced in part are but a fraction of all those bearing on the same themes delivered during the congress week.

No bodies of women organized for any public object could be more conservative than those found in "The National Association of Loyal Women of American Liberty" and "The Women's National Indian Association." The former stands for the protection of the American public school system; the latter for the protection of a waning race, aliens in their native land. The former springs from maternal instinct, supported by religious zeal; the latter springs from the sentiments of pity and justice fused into the spirit of philanthropy. What could be more feminine from the conservative standpoint, what more conservative from any standpoint, than the motives, the *raisons d'être*, of these organizations? Yet their members confess that the ballot is the ultimate instrument by which their ends are to be gained and retained.

If there is a conservative institution in the world — one resting on precedent, one observant of forms — it is Masonry; and the charity in whose name it exerts its vast power is an indispensable characteristic of the "womanly woman." Yet here we have the "Order of the Eastern Star" lauded as a training-school in which women are learning to administer the large affairs and the public offices to which modern life is calling them.

It is to be noted, also, that what is clearly stated in this chapter concerning women's public interests, their civil rights and corresponding obligations, their political privileges and consequent duties, is in every previous chapter hardly less clearly implied. One hesitates to emphasize upon the attention of the reader the personality of the women here introduced; but their character and

their positions are a sufficient answer to the charge still heard, that enlarged civil rights and the ballot are sought and advocated only by the poor, the eccentric, the miserable; by those who, having failed in their personal careers, seek a public arena for airing their private wrongs.

More emphatically than any preceding chapter does this inculcate the need of adding to the catalogue of womanly virtues that of *public spirit*, which is the only virtue that implies and, in its turn, generates that consciousness of kinship with others which alone makes obedience to the Golden Rule possible.

In this chapter addresses are given in practical completeness. In some instances abstracts, or condensations of the discussions, are given instead of extracts.—[THE EDITOR.]

THE ORIGIN AND OBJECTS OF THE WOMEN'S FRANCHISE LEAGUE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND — ADDRESS BY MRS. JACOB BRIGHT OF ENGLAND, READ BY MRS. COBDEN UNWIN OF ENGLAND, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE LEAGUE.

The cause of the emancipation of women, represented in England more completely by the Women's Franchise League than by any other society, has made great progress on this side of the Atlantic during the last four years.

Our new society, the formation of which constitutes an epoch in the history of the cause, was founded in 1889, by some of the oldest workers in questions affecting the interests of women. Those who founded this league perceived that the time had come when a much broader and bolder claim must be made on behalf of the sex than had hitherto been preferred.

For twenty years the ordinary suffrage societies had restricted their efforts to obtaining the parliamentary vote for a certain number of spinsters and widows. They had

never ventured, since Mr. Mill and Mr. Jacob Bright had had charge of the question in the House of Commons, to hope that "duly qualified" wives might be allowed to share in the privilege demanded for "duly qualified" spinsters and widows. They do not now venture in plain language to ask for votes for married women, although the limitation resulting from the legal qualifications required in this country not only makes such a claim easy, but renders ignominious the cowardice which dares not face so small an ordeal. These are the facts:

Mr. Gladstone in the election of 1886 had openly expressed his desire that women should assist in the carrying of home rule for Ireland. Women's Liberal associations were quickly formed all over the country and a general federation of these associations was constituted. A great council of delegates from about four hundred of these associations meets every year in London. Mrs. Gladstone occupied the position of president until last year, and retired only on account of the heavy duties connected with her husband's accession to office. In May, 1892, the United Associations of the Federation unanimously decided to press upon the Liberal party the question of the representation of women, and in consequence of the stong exertions of the Women's Franchise League a unanimous vote was given to enlarge the demand by the inclusion of all ratifying women, whether married, single, or widowed. In having obtained this unanimous vote from so powerful and representative a body as the Women's Liberal Federation, one great point was gained, as Mr. Gladstone has more than once opposed women's suffrage bills, among other reasons, because they did not include married women.

There are in this country only about nine hundred thousand women, including probably about two hundred thousand married women, who are able to fulfill the legal conditions which, in the case of men, qualify them for the vote. That is to say, the married and unmarried women together,

if enfranchised, would, under the present law, amount to only one-seventh of the voting power of the country. Yet so timid are the women's suffrage societies that, even this year, after the emphatic vote of the Women's Liberal Federation, they made no protest when Mr. Charles McLaren, who had charge of the bill, declared in a letter to the honorable secretary of the League that it "would be impossible to take a second reading on a bill which expressly enfranchised married women."

As Mr. Charles McLaren is himself a man of large and liberal mind, and quite in favor of the programme of the Women's Franchise League, which claims absolute equality of rights and privileges for women with men in every department of human life and duty, such a statement must appear incomprehensible to outsiders.

The explanation lies in the want of courage and faith shown by those who have directed the movement. They are only slowly beginning to realize the issues at stake. They have not fought the question with the open assurance of those who know they have a good cause and have faith in the sense of justice of their countrymen. Timid counsels have prevailed, and every year our suffrage bills have been drafted to suit the supposed narrow prejudices of Tories or second-hand Liberals. It has been taken for granted that a fair bill could not pass the House of Commons, and therefore it was held to be useless to present one. All wives must be excluded from the vote. Men must be deceived and over-reached; they must be coaxed into giving way. We must drive in the thin end of the wedge, and then all would come right, etc. Of course these tactics have failed, as they were bound to fail. The indignation roused at the attempt to exclude the class which contains the greatest number of sufferers for want of representation, has alone been sufficient to paralyze the efforts made to give votes to the unmarried and the widowed. The policy of the Franchise League is wholly different. We hold that raising the status of the wife is of more importance than

giving votes to a few women because they are not married. We believe in the essential oneness of the interests of women and men, and we appeal to the sense of justice of the latter to allow us our fair share in shaping the destinies of our common country. Men and women have separate spheres no doubt, but it is not for one sex to arrogate to itself the sole right to define the limits of those spheres. We ask for perfect freedom, that each may develop the best that is in him for the good of the whole. We do not believe that men will be able or will desire to resist the expression of the united voice of the women of the country. We seek to mold public opinion by creating public sympathy with our loyal desire to help in public work.

To sum up its objects, then, the Women's Franchise League claims equality —

(*a.*) Of political rights and duties.

(*b.*) Of educational opportunities (whether as a means of culture or as aids to secure the means of living).

(*c.*) Of wages for women, for work of equal quality and quantity with that done by men.

(*d.*) Of the right to hold any office or position, paid or honorary, to which her fellow-citizens may elect her, or which is in the gift of the state.

The League claims, also, equality —

(*a.*) In the marriage laws.

(*b.*) In divorce.

(*c.*) In our right to the custody and guardianship of children born in wedlock.

(*d.*) Of personal freedom and the rights and liabilities of contract.

The legal position of the wife in England is a scandal to civilization. We desire to set down nothing in malice and to exaggerate nothing, but the object of this report is not to send a glowing account of English women's freedom to our sisters across the sea. We do not need to tell you that there are in England as large a proportion of happy homes as in any country on the face of the earth. What we do

need to point out is that this happiness is not the result of legal protection, but of the fact that the vast majority of our countrymen are too just to abuse the enormous powers at their discretion.

How greatly such powers are abused by some, however, and almost with impunity, is partially detailed in a painful article on the "Maltreatment of Wives," which appeared in the March number of the *Westminster Review* of this year, by Miss Mabel Sherman Crawford. This article opens with a quotation from the address of Mr. Justice Denman at the Liverpool Assizes last July. In commenting on the many serious cases for trial of aggravated assaults on wives by their husbands, the judge said: "It is lamentable to find the view pervading certain classes that the life of a wife is less sacred than that of other people."

It may be lamentable, but it is not surprising, that ignorant and brutal men should not show more respect and consideration for their wives than is shown by the law of the land, and by the magistrates, who often deliberately refuse to use the meager powers the law allows to protect married women.

Mr. Gladstone is fully aware of the moral importance of supporting the case for the wife, and has denounced in strong language some of the inequalities of the laws with regard to her. Indeed, with regard to the position of women generally he has shown that his conscience is not quite at ease. While suggesting a doubt whether the Creator intended woman for political life, he acknowledges in a recently printed letter that "men have been most unfaithful guardians of her right to moral and social equality."

We ask these "unfaithful guardians" to give up a charge for which they are obviously unfitted. There is no such thing as "moral and social equality" apart from political equality. An unrepresented class is always a neglected, abused, and degraded class.

The present is a very serious as well as a most interesting crisis. What will the Liberal party do for us? Will it

be true to its own traditions and to the great principles which have given it the preëminence it now enjoys? The Women's Franchise League is supported by advanced thinkers in all ranks of society. The leaders of the working-men are almost to a man on our side. The chiefs of the Liberal women — Lady Aberdeen, Lady Henry Somerset, Lady Carlisle, Lady Stevenson, Lady Trevelyan, among others — support our programme and are vice-presidents of our society. At the last election we were strongly appealed to not to make a test question of the women's right to representation, on account of the Home Rule Bill for Ireland. How long are we to be expected to postpone the pressing necessities of a whole sex to the convenience of party politicians? The country is quite ready for woman suffrage. Everywhere men gladly welcome our help in elections. While Welshmen, railway men, miners, teetotalers, and every section of the labor party were pressing their claims with scant consideration for the convenience of the party, women alone quietly resigned long-cherished hopes and worked with a will for the party pledged to do justice to the sister island. The women of the Liberal party know, however, that they could do better work for others if they were themselves free; and they wait for the symbol of their freedom in the vote.

Work of the Franchise League — Address by Florence Fenwick Miller of England.

In alluding to the lady whose paper you have just heard, Mrs. Jacob Bright, sister-in-law of the Hon. John Bright, and well worthy to bear that honored name, I should like to tell you it was almost entirely owing to Mrs. Jacob Bright that the Married Women's Property Act was passed, by which men voluntarily gave over from their own management about thirty millions of money annually. That is what is computed to be the amount of property owned by

married women in England. It was a grand thing to do. I feel that when men have been induced in England to allow married women to have control of their own property, there is not anything that they can not, by degrees, be induced to do.

The Women's Franchise League for the first time in the history of the women's movement has claimed simply equality between men and women. By this we do not mean equality in physical capacity or an equality which is unnatural; we are all of us well aware that there is no such thing as natural equality. We are born with very unequal powers. When we ask, therefore, that women shall be on an equality with men, we are not standing forward as saying, I am as good as you. What we claim is not a pretended equality; we make no wild assertion that we are as wise and as good as men; nothing of that kind enters into the minds of women. We simply claim, as your Declaration of Independence claims, that we shall not be stigmatized by disabilities and have disadvantages placed upon us, because of an accident of birth. We ask only an absolutely free field, in which the natural equalities or inequalities may be developed. We do claim for one-half of the human race a fair field and no favor in this battle of life which we all have to pass through. We demand equality in opportunity for education; we demand equality in every respect before the law. The days of slavery should be over for women as well as for the black race. We demand equality between the father and the mother in the household; we demand equality between men and women in every trade and profession. We ask that the disability that has been put as a great stumbling-block in the way of women shall be lifted out of the way, and that when a child begins life, that child, be it a boy or a girl, shall find no artificial difficulties, no unnatural obstacles in the way. It shall be allowed to go along through life cultivating to the best of its capacity that which is given it, yielding to the world the utmost service of which it is capable. In the first place, we must

have equality in education and training. It may be true that women as a sex are inferior to men as a sex; I am not disposed to discuss that matter further. But if the woman is naturally inferior to the man, then there is all the more reason why every advantage of training and education should be presented to the girl. When you handicap a horse in the race, I am not aware that you put the heavier weight on the weaker horse.

I suppose the American women have greater educational opportunities in many respects, and have gone far beyond us. On the other hand, Englishmen have opportunities of education which are not equaled anywhere else in the world. Although Englishwomen have within a comparatively recent time been admitted to the various universities, they are still educationally left far behind their brothers. Our old universities are to some extent open to women, but far from efficiently. In the universities of Oxford and Cambridge we have scholarships — I don't know what you call them here; but there is a very large income belonging to both of those universities for this purpose. The professors are also paid by endowment. When a man goes to one of these great universities he reaps the advantages of centuries of hoarded learning. Women are expected to be thankful, and are thankful, that they are admitted to one little tiny corner; but in that tiny corner there are no free places. The women have to pay their own professors entirely for the extra work which is done. The women have had to help the men from the very foundation with money that has been accumulating for centuries. But this help is entirely lacking in the case of the women, although a great number of those institutions have been left money by women for the education of men; that is one respect in which the Englishwomen are still very far from equality. We are, however, encouraged in regard to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. They are doing very well. Saint Andrew's University has this very year set aside a sum from its funds of no less than forty thousand pounds a year for women.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have stated why we ask for equality in education; I now proceed to invite your attention to the necessity of equality before the law, and equality in domestic life. I can not, with the brief time at our disposal, attempt to tell you what our civil laws about women had become in England under an absurd theory that women were to be legislated for as something quite different from men, not equal beings with men, or the other half of the human race; but I will tell you briefly this: In 1837, the year that Queen Victoria came to the throne, the greatest law reformer England has ever known, Lord Brougham, said the laws about women were in such a bad state that he dared not endeavor to amend one of them, because, so vile were they, as soon as the attention was directed to them he believed that most of them would crumble away, and most of the human relationships would be left without a law. This was said as recently as when the queen came to the throne, and this condition lasted for many years afterward. The position of English married women was that of slaves; they had no personal liberty. It had been held by judges that a husband had the right to imprison his wife if she was about to do anything contrary to his wishes. She could not hold any property which came to her by any means whatever; it was her husband's and not hers. The married woman could be deserted by her husband and left to struggle alone in the world. She had absolutely no rights over the child whom she bore in pain to him, and whom she nursed with her very heart's blood. If it pleased her husband, without giving any reason whatever he might take the babe from her breast, and he might take the growing girl and hide her from the mother at that very moment when the mother most yearns for her. As a judge declared only ten years ago, "The English law does not see the mother; the English law sees only the father of the child, and not the English wife." In short, the wife is "under coverture," as it is called in civil law. She is as completely covered by the personality of her husband as though she did not exist. When her husband was a good man, she

was a happy woman; when the slave had a good master, all went well. Englishmen did not make these laws one by one with the deliberate intention of subjecting or misleading the young women of England, but they heaped up great mountains of cruelty and injustice, on the theory expressed in the quotation which I have already given from Lord Brougham, that, when any of the laws were touched, so vile were they, that they must fall to pieces. This is the result of the theory of inequality. Let us take a firm ground on equality, and see that the laws between men and women shall be made equal. That can only be done, ladies and gentlemen, as I fully believe, by the women themselves having a voice in the making of laws which shall govern all. I regret to tell you that the Women's Franchise League is the only society in England which demands absolute equality between men and women, demanding that marriage shall not be for the woman any disqualification. That brings me to the point with which I shall conclude. I believe that marriage should take place only where the husband, entirely of his own free will, divests himself of any mastery the laws of custom and society can give him, and stands on an equal plane with the woman who shares his life, recognizing in her his equal in every daily walk of life; his equal in the nurture of their children; his equal in the authority and the cares that belong to their joint household. That point some have already reached. We hope in the future to see all marriages so made that one can realize the highest possibility of that great relationship.

Woman as an Actual Force in Politics — Address by the Countess of Aberdeen of England, Representative of the Women's Liberal Federation of England.

I suppose I have been asked to take this subject of the work of women in relation to politics because the women of Great Britain have taken a more advanced position on this

subject than the women of any other nation. Of the origin and character of that work itself I hope to have an opportunity to speak to-morrow, when called upon to represent the Women's Liberal Federation of England and the Women's Liberal Federation of Scotland. To-day I should rather approach my subject from the point of view of those who ask whether women should seek to be an actual force in politics, for I know there are many who, not unnaturally, hesitate over the answer to that question, here as well as at home. I would like to explain from the outset that it is a mystery to me how any woman who has faced the matter can think it anything else but her plain matter-of-course duty to take an interest in politics, as far as she is able; and when one comes to look at the matter from a Christian point of view, the obligation becomes a hundredfold more imperative. So, in answer to the question, I reply, in words which I have often used on my own behalf and on behalf of hundreds and thousands of other women in our country who have taken up political work during the last six years, — "We are politicians because it has been shown to us that we can not do our duty, either to our own homes or to our country, without being so."

Friends and foes alike often tell us that politics will always mean dirty work, and that fine sentiments and high aims are all very well for public platforms, but that they will not go down in practical daily life; and that this being so, we had better keep clear of what will inevitably tend to lower our standards of right and wrong. Our action in taking up politics is regarded in this light not only by those whose gibes and sneers we may very easily ignore, but it pains and grieves many good men and women — some, indeed, of the best men and women, and some of these may be very dear friends of our own. We have to meet their remonstrances. They tell us sadly that in their eyes we have come off our pedestal; that we have disappointed them; that a woman's influence and power were meant to be exerted at home, not in the din of public life; and that

they can not bear the idea that any woman for whom they have any regard should be mixed up with the rough-and-tumble of politics. They want to keep us apart from all that; they want to build a temple for us where they can enshrine us apart from and above the world's rough ways and evils. And we, feeling to the full the value of their estimate of womanhood and their chivalrous feeling for us, shrink from their reproaches, and from the thought that we are becoming unwomanly in their sight, and perhaps, indeed, taking away their ideal of womanhood. But we must face it out, and see on what these objections are founded. That they do point to a possible danger we must admit, and we must beware of it. But, as a rule, I think we may say that we shall find that the objections proceed principally from two sources: First, a very partial ideal of what a woman's life should be; and second, a low estimate of politics. Let us look at the last first. When we go to political meetings — men's political meetings — we hear often a great deal of what politics should accomplish; that the end of all politics is the well-being of the people. We hear of all the good and noble things that such and such a policy has accomplished and will accomplish for the people — things that affect the lives and homes of the people, that make a vast difference to their happiness and to their power of living good and healthy lives. Many are the eloquent speeches we hear on the subject. And yet they come home and tell us that politics are not for women, that they would debase and degrade women; these politics which are to raise the whole people would contaminate us.

How do we reconcile these two statements? Do those who make the speeches believe in what they are saying publicly, or do they say it only to catch the ear of the people, and do they really believe in their hearts that political life as a matter of fact means only a race between men and between parties for power, influence, place and fame? With such an estimate of political life we can have nothing to do, and we do not wonder that any who incline toward

such a view should use their best endeavor to keep us out of it. But we believe there are grand principles which may and which should inspire the government of the people, by the people, for the people; we believe implicitly in their power, when properly applied, to reform, and ennoble and uplift; and that it is our duty as citizens to help forward such application. We desire to carry out these principles faithfully in our own lives, and we look upon those who follow politics for selfish and unworthy ends as traitors to the cause. And the reason why the vast majority of us who take up political work claim the suffrage, is because we believe we can not do our duty in these directions until we have it.

Any of us who know anything of the lives of the poor, know how the social questions which we discuss backward and forward are living, pressing realities to them. Questions about education, labor, the sweating system, licensing evils, the workhouse system, are all sternly real to them, and especially so to the women. We must so believe in our politics that we shall both believe and act as if politics must deal with these questions. We are not content to talk about these problems; we desire to understand them, and to help our fellow-women, who have such hard lives and so little leisure, to understand them too, so that they may decide what is to be done — they who will have the power when the time comes.

We must also believe in the power of right political thought in foreign politics. We must not give way to the idea that what is wrong in private life can ever be right in political life. We must not believe that what would be dishonorable or unjust in dealing one with another can be right and honorable in dealing with nations.

Then, as to the other misconception, which lies often at the root of the objections of which we have been speaking — a partial ideal for women. A true standard for womanhood is a great need; for the good of both women and men it is needed. The ideal women in poetry and fiction are

generally represented in their own homes, spreading a bright and holy influence as sister, daughter, wife, and mother. Woman at her own fireside is enshrined as woman at her best. Far be it from me to disparage such an ideal. I only venture to say that it is an ideal which does not include the whole of a woman's life, and that true ideals are always expanding and enlarging. Woman is a human being as well as a woman, and must have duties as such toward human beings outside her own home circle, and toward her country.

"Oh, yes; she has social duties," some will say. What does that mean, I wonder? She must be kept apart from the roughness of life, apart from the evils of life; this would not mean studying social questions, and taking a high stand regarding them. No; social duties would mean, I suppose, leaving cards and returning visits, dining out and going to evening parties, developing all social talent and doing that which really is woman's duty in political life, making herself agreeable to all who would advance her husband or his party, never mind who and what they are. Would that fill out the social life of the ideal woman who must not touch political life for fear of its defiling her? No, let us remember rather the ideal sketched for us by Lowell in one of his beautiful poems:

> For with a gentle courage she doth strive,
> In thought, in word, in feeling, so to live
> As to make earth next heaven; and her heart
> Herein doth show its most exceeding worth,
> That, bearing in her frailty her just part,
> She hath not shrunk from evils of this life,
> But hath gone calmly forth into the strife,
> And all its sins and sorrows hath withstood
> With lofty strength of patient womanhood.

That seems a truer notion of the responsibility of life than the picture of her who is simply the angel of the home. Does not the older conception of the perfect woman also seem rather unfair to the husband? Does it not imply that he recognizes only a perfection which consists in minister-

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ing to his and his children's wants and pleasures? Is there not a nobler idea in a husband's and a wife's giving up part of each other's life, giving up their children, too, to the service of humanity, and by their sacrifice perfecting their own lives?

But it may be said in answer to this that women can and do give up their lives to the service of humanity without ever touching politics.

That is so; but is it right? At least, is it right for those of us who believe in our country, and in the justice and wisdom of her laws? Where the people are ground down by their rulers, or where they have no voice in the making or modification of their laws, it may be the only plan to try to alleviate suffering or help forward the people by working through individual agencies; but surely in countries where boards are appointed to attend to education for the poor, to municipal or other local affairs, and where we elect representatives to look after the interests of the people, we must needs show our respect for our country, its laws, and its institutions by striving to make these boards, and parliaments, and congresses as efficient, as pure, as earnest for the real good of the people as it is possible for them to be.

I must not dwell longer on this subject. I should like you, however, to ask our friends who grieve over us what their ideal of a woman's life is? If they agree that a true woman's life should touch life from every side, then politics must be included. It must not predominate, but it must be included, otherwise assuredly there will be a want; there will be a lack of balance, for certain conditions of life will not be weighed or understood. And so once more I say that the reason why those for whom I speak have become politicians is because we have the strong conviction that woman has a political duty which she owes to her country; not the same as that of men, but, as in all other departments in life, man and woman working side by side, each in his or her own way, will best be able to

accomplish the allotted task of leaving the world better than they found it.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED IN AN ADDRESS BY LILLIE DEVEREUX BLAKE OF NEW YORK.

It may be that the best way in which I can illustrate what women can do in politics is to give you a brief chapter from the history of my own State of New York. It has been said that all things come to him who waits, but I think that sentence can be improved upon by saying that all things come to her who strives. It is better to strive than to wait. In 1878 a bill passed through the Legislature which gave the women of New York the right to serve as members of the school board and as school board officers. Then Governor Robinson vetoed the bill; he said the God of nature didn't intend women for public offices. Mr. Robinson asked a reëlection for Governor; we decided that the God of nature did not intend Mr. Robinson for Governor of New York. We opposed his election in every way. We organized, in every city, political meetings. In many of the cities there are strong political organizations. You have heard how it has worked in Kansas, how they have retired the Hon. John J. Ingalls to private life. In New York we organized against Mr. Robinson. Here and there we held our conventions, and Mr. Robinson was retired to private life. Within a few days Mr. Cornell took the seat of Governor, and the Woman's Suffrage Bill was passed through both branches of the Legislature and received the Governor's signature. That bill provided that any moral woman might serve as a school officer, and might vote at all school elections. Step by step we have built up the bill. We have passed a bill decreeing that saleswomen generally shall have seats while they are not occupied in waiting on customers. We have passed a bill providing for women on the boards of public institutions, such as the lunatic asylum,

prisons, etc. We have passed a bill that no insane woman shall pass through the State unless she be accompanied by a woman, and we have passed a number of bills of minor importance. We have passed the Police Matron's Bill. When we first took hold of this matter, all women who were arrested were entirely in the hands of men. If a young woman was arrested for a first offense, it was men who examined her, talked with her, took care of her. If a lady in any of our streets in New York was knocked down, she was taken to the police station, where she was put into the hands of men. If a woman were accused of theft, she was searched by men, notwithstanding the manifest disgracefulness of it. Since we passed the Police Matron's Bill, we have had a matron in charge of certain police stations, of every station to which women are taken. These are some of the victories we have achieved.

The latest triumph we have gained in the State of New York, and the most important that has ever been gained, is the passage last winter of the bill which provides that women are eligible to seats in the Constitutional Convention of 1894. That is a great concession, as great as has ever been made to women.

Mrs. Fenwick Miller told you of the wrong that existed in England in the fact that men alone are guardians of the children. Do you know in almost every State of the Union that infamous law prevails? Under the former law in New York the father of the child, although only a minor, might take the child from its mother's arms as soon as it was born. That law stood on our statute books for years. It was one of the things we fought against most strongly. I will give you one instance of the working of this law. A couple were married in the State of New York, and they were very unhappy together. After a child had been born the mother went to live in New Jersey, where, under the laws, the woman had an equal right with the man to the child. The wife went away to take care of a neighbor one night, and toward daylight, as she was coming home, she saw her

husband starting from the house with the baby in his arms. She followed him as fast as she could. It was where Staten Island and the Jersey shore are right opposite each other. Perhaps some of you recollect there is a long trestle there that branches over that arm of the sea; the man started across that slippery way, the woman following him step by step, he bearing the child in his arms. It was dark, and everything was wet, and as he went on the mother followed, not knowing what moment she might slip to her death, but determined to follow her child. Half-way across the man turned and said if she didn't stop he would cast the child into the sea. That did not deter her, as she probably knew what kind of a man he was. Step by step she followed until they had crossed the long, weary way, until the opposite side was reached; then the man made a dash for the ferry, and the woman ran after him as fast as she could, but not so quickly. A boat was waiting, and as the man sprang on the boat he turned and said, "Stop that woman! she is crazy; the child is mine." So it was by the laws of the State of New York then, but we went up to the Legislature and we had that law changed, and now in my commonwealth of New York I can proudly say that the mother and father are equal guardians of their children. They say to us that when we go up to the Legislature we are lobbyists. We are not lobbyists; we are there representing the unrepresented half. We have paid our proportion, from the very foundation to the frescoed dome of that capitol. We have paid half of every man's salary there. Now, friends, this incident which I have related took place on the Jersey shore, just in sight of the Statue of Liberty. The Statue of Liberty is represented how? As a man? Oh, no! it has a woman's form. As I pass the New York Statue of Liberty it seems as if there comes a message from those mute bronze lips saying, "The day will yet come when I shall light a republic whose sons and daughters will be equal sharers in the birthright I represent."

Woman's Political Future — Address by Frances E. W. Harper of Virginia.

If before sin had cast its deepest shadows or sorrow had distilled its bitterest tears, it was true that it was not good for man to be alone, it is no less true, since the shadows have deepened and life's sorrows have increased, that the world has need of all the spiritual aid that woman can give for the social advancement and moral development of the human race. The tendency of the present age, with its restlessness, religious upheavals, failures, blunders, and crimes, is toward broader freedom, an increase of knowledge, the emancipation of thought, and a recognition of the brotherhood of man; in this movement woman, as the companion of man, must be a sharer. So close is the bond between man and woman that you can not raise one without lifting the other. The world can not move without woman's sharing in the movement, and to help give a right impetus to that movement is woman's highest privilege.

If the fifteenth century discovered America to the Old World, the nineteenth is discovering woman to herself. Little did Columbus imagine, when the New World broke upon his vision like a lovely gem in the coronet of the universe, the glorious possibilities of a land where the sun should be our engraver, the winged lightning our messenger, and steam our beast of burden. But as mind is more than matter, and the highest ideal always the true real, so to woman comes the opportunity to strive for richer and grander discoveries than ever gladdened the eye of the Genoese mariner.

Not the opportunity of discovering new worlds, but that of filling this old world with fairer and higher aims than the greed of gold and the lust of power, is hers. Through weary, wasting years men have destroyed, dashed in pieces, and overthrown, but to-day we stand on the threshold of

woman's era, and woman's work is grandly constructive. In her hand are possibilities whose use or abuse must tell upon the political life of the nation, and send their influence for good or evil across the track of unborn ages.

As the saffron tints and crimson flushes of morn herald the coming day, so the social and political advancement which woman has already gained bears the promise of the rising of the full-orbed sun of emancipation. The result will be not to make home less happy, but society more holy; yet I do not think the mere extension of the ballot a panacea for all the ills of our national life. What we need to-day is not simply more voters, but better voters. To-day there are red-handed men in our republic, who walk unwhipped of justice, who richly deserve to exchange the ballot of the freeman for the wristlets of the felon; brutal and cowardly men, who torture, burn, and lynch their fellow-men, men whose defenselessness should be their best defense and their weakness an ensign of protection. More than the changing of institutions we need the development of a national conscience, and the upbuilding of national character. Men may boast of the aristocracy of blood, may glory in the aristocracy of talent, and be proud of the aristocracy of wealth, but there is one aristocracy which must ever outrank them all, and that is the aristocracy of character; and it is the women of a country who help to mold its character, and to influence if not determine its destiny; and in the political future of our nation woman will not have done what she could if she does not endeavor to have our republic stand foremost among the nations of the earth, wearing sobriety as a crown and righteousness as a garment and a girdle. In coming into her political estate woman will find a mass of illiteracy to be dispelled. If knowledge is power, ignorance is also power. The power that educates wickedness may manipulate and dash against the pillars of any state when they are undermined and honeycombed by injustice.

I envy neither the heart nor the head of any legislator

who has been born to an inheritance of privileges, who has behind him ages of education, dominion, civilization, and Christianity, if he stands opposed to the passage of a national education bill, whose purpose is to secure education to the children of those who were born under the shadow of institutions which made it a crime to read.

To-day women hold in their hands influence and opportunity, and with these they have already opened doors which have been closed to others. By opening doors of labor woman has become a rival claimant for at least some of the wealth monopolized by her stronger brother. In the home she is the priestess, in society the queen, in literature she is a power, in legislative halls law-makers have responded to her appeals, and for her sake have humanized and liberalized their laws. The press has felt the impress of her hand. In the pews of the church she constitutes the majority; the pulpit has welcomed her, and in the school she has the blessed privilege of teaching children and youth. To her is apparently coming the added responsibility of political power; and what she now possesses should only be the means of preparing her to use the coming power for the glory of God and the good of mankind; for power without righteousness is one of the most dangerous forces in the world.

Political life in our country has plowed in muddy channels, and needs the infusion of clearer and cleaner waters. I am not sure that women are naturally so much better than men that they will clear the stream by the virtue of their womanhood; it is not through sex but through character that the best influence of women upon the life of the nation must be exerted.

I do not believe in unrestricted and universal suffrage for either men or women. I believe in moral and educational tests. I do not believe that the most ignorant and brutal man is better prepared to add value to the strength and durability of the government than the most cultured, upright, and intelligent woman. I do not think that willful

ignorance should swamp earnest intelligence at the ballot-box, nor that educated wickedness, violence, and fraud should cancel the votes of honest men. The unsteady hands of a drunkard can not cast the ballot of a freeman. The hands of lynchers are too red with blood to determine the political character of the government for even four short years. The ballot in the hands of woman means power added to influence. How well she will use that power I can not foretell. Great evils stare us in the face that need to be throttled by the combined power of an upright manhood and an enlightened womanhood; and I know that no nation can gain its full measure of enlightenment and happiness if one-half of it is free and the other half is fettered. China compressed the feet of her women and thereby retarded the steps of her men. The elements of a nation's weakness must ever be found at the hearthstone.

More than the increase of wealth, the power of armies, and the strength of fleets is the need of good homes, of good fathers, and good mothers.

The life of a Roman citizen was in danger in ancient Palestine, and men had bound themselves with a vow that they would eat nothing until they had killed the Apostle Paul. Pagan Rome threw around that imperiled life a bulwark of living clay consisting of four hundred and seventy human hearts, and Paul was saved. Surely the life of the humblest American citizen should be as well protected in America as that of a Roman citizen was in heathen Rome. A wrong done to the weak should be an insult to the strong. Woman coming into her kingdom will find enthroned three great evils, for whose overthrow she should be as strong in a love of justice and humanity as the warrior is in his might. She will find intemperance sending its flood of shame, and death, and sorrow to the homes of men, a fretting leprosy in our politics, and a blighting curse in our social life; the social evil sending to our streets women whose laughter is sadder than their tears, who slide from the paths of sin and shame to the friendly shelter of the grave; and lawlessness

enacting in our republic deeds over which angels might weep, if heaven knows sympathy.

How can any woman send petitions to Russia against the horrors of Siberian prisons if, ages after the Inquisition has ceased to devise its tortures, she has not done all she could by influence, tongue, and pen to keep men from making bonfires of the bodies of real or supposed criminals?

O women of America! into your hands God has pressed one of the sublimest opportunities that ever came into the hands of the women of any race or people. It is yours to create a healthy public sentiment; to demand justice, simple justice, as the right of every race; to brand with everlasting infamy the lawless and brutal cowardice that lynches, burns, and tortures your own countrymen.

To grapple with the evils which threaten to undermine the strength of the nation and to lay magazines of powder under the cribs of future generations is no child's play.

Let the hearts of the women of the world respond to the song of the herald angels of peace on earth and good will to men. Let them throb as one heart unified by the grand and holy purpose of uplifting the human race, and humanity will breathe freer, and the world grow brighter. With such a purpose Eden would spring up in our path, and Paradise be around our way.

DISCUSSION OF THE PRECEDING ADDRESS BY MARGARET WINDEYER OF AUSTRALIA, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WOMANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

To turn to the subject upon which I am supposed to speak, "Woman's Political Future," I would like to point out that women have no political present when they do not exercise the franchise. That is my view, because I can not conceive that the underhanded, secret influence which women try to have upon politicians is politics. It is not politics in the best sense; and it is an influence which we

ought to do all in our power to remove. It is not politics for a clever woman to be able to get from men who are engaged in politics that which a woman who is not tactful, who has not a pleasant appearance, can not get. But assuming that in the future women will exercise the franchise, it seems to me that we should remember the urgent necessity that the women of great heart, great mind, and noble brain shall come forward and show women how to vote, just as they have shown the men how to try to obtain votes. If suffrage is obtained, there will be women who will vote solely to further their own cause — not because their object will be the improvement of the town or city in which they live, but because it will suit their own personal ends; and all those women need education. There will be, also, women who will not vote at all, and they must be made to see that to strive for the common good, to work for all the children of the state, is grander than to work for one small family, than to have a house in which you can not pick a pin or a thread off the carpet or find a hole in any garment. It seems to me that women have laid so much stress upon their own houses and housekeeping — the happy, prosperous women who are surrounded by good, wise men — that they can not conceive what it means to be in a house where the man is not good and is not wise; and I think it will be the aim of every woman of every class to see that by her vote she can free her sisters from the bondage of custom and ignorance, and that there will come that hope in the extension of the franchise to women, the inculcation of patriotism and that charity in which the greater will absorb the less. The state will be before the family, and the great nation of all, the world, will be before the state.

Woman as a Political Leader — Address by Mrs. J. Ellen Foster of Washington, D. C., President of the Woman's Republican Association of the United States.

The foundation of this republic marks an era in the history of the race. The breath of liberty vitalizes all powers of brain and muscle, heart and hand. Individual character, social conditions, community interests, education, labor, trade, commerce, and government seek development and the harmonious adjustment of mutual relations according to the Golden Rule.

Applied science brings the forces of nature to man's service; applied economics gives honest labor its fair share of wealth produced; popular education makes all men equal competitors for all prizes; applied Christianity cares for the dependent classes and smooths the path for little children's feet.

Slowly — all too slowly for weary limbs and aching hearts — is being evolved the perfected humanity of which the stoic dreamed, the prophet spoke, and which the gospel of Jesus made possible.

This evolution is pervaded by woman's presence and influence. There were heroic women in colonial days and in the revolutionary period. There were strong, true women who pioneered in the once new West. There were brave, loyal women in the Civil War, who followed the army to the field and in the hospital, or who did double duty at home, on the farm and in the shop, that brothers and husbands might be free for the dreadful business of war.

When peace came, the women who had plowed in the field, sewed in the home, washed at the tub, scraped lint, made bandages, and in every possible way met the demands of the nation's agony, these same women, having learned the possibilities of their united ministrations outside home walls, took up the organization of missionary and temper-

ance societies, and began reforms of many kinds; they built fountains for the thirsty and planted shade-trees for the weary; they erected hospitals, orphan asylums, retreats in the cities, homes by the sea and on the hillside for waifs and overworked shop-girls; they established day nurseries and kindergartens for little children, and helped to endow colleges and universities for young men and women.

In these works of charity, philanthropy, and reform, woman's leadership is undisputed; but it is within a comparatively short time that these humanitarian questions have demanded public attention and legislative action. With the growth of population and its diverse character, numberless questions arise, in the solving of which women as well as men are greatly interested.

It is impossible for women to carry movements of social economics in their hearts and in their activities up to the point of the relations of these questions to the government and then suddenly let go their hold, and see these various objects of their solicitude lost in the whirlpool of politics, where, being disfranchised, women have no recognized place. It is too late in the century for women who have received the benefits of co-education in schools and colleges, and who bear their full share in the world's work, not to care who make the laws, who expound and who administer them. This is why American women are coming more and more to think and act on political questions. It should also be remembered that in this country a large part of the *wage-earners are women*. The questions of economics which are involved in the present industrial system affect them, and the wives and dependent children of men wage-earners.

Some of us are deeply interested in the vital problems of modern American life.

We find ourselves in the midst of conditions which were very recently wholly European. Mixed populations in crowded cities and colonies of foreigners distributed through the country give rise to apprehension in the minds of intelligent women. It is not possible, neither

would it be right, to attempt the wholesale exclusion of these foreigners. They are children of the Heavenly Father, whom we call "Our Father."

Some of our foreign-born citizens are of the noblest fiber; they have brought new luster to the stars, and brightness to the stripes of the dear old flag, but masses of others are the garbage of oriental and European civilizations, the windfalls of monarchical governments and deserters from imperialism and militarism. *They all vote*, and American women, the daughters and granddaughters of Revolutionary heroes, the mothers, the sisters, and the wives of a later generation of heroes, do not vote.

Behold an anomaly in free institutions! Nevertheless all the political interests that American women hold dear are at the mercy of a government thus constituted. Will women "sulk in their tents" because in the evolution of popular government they are not yet enfranchised? Patriotic women, conscious of love of country, and with the repose of self-respect which becomes their heredity and environment, will do the best they can through the agencies at their command.

George Washington said, one hundred years ago: "The preservation of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally, staked on the experiment intrusted to the American people." In this magnificent experiment *women are equally interested with men.*

The country needs the political work of woman to-day as much as it has ever needed woman in any other work at any other time. The Constitution provides the machinery of government. That great document has been tested in peace, in war, and through the reconstruction period. It awaits the final test of administration by a government representing a heterogeneous mass of citizens from every clime, many of whom are disqualified by heredity and environment for responsible citizenship.

Thoughtful women know that the nation is a grand

whole; that if one member suffers the whole suffers; that if one is blessed all are blessed. Women have no separate interests; if man is elevated and the general tone of society purified, woman receives her share of advantage. Whatever woman can do to help in American politics, by so much she hastens the time of her own recognition as a political equal.

The country has made immense strides in material development during the last quarter of a century. Huge commercial enterprises have arisen like giants in armor, and have strode from ocean to ocean, leaving tracks of steel and handprints of light.

The triumphs of mind over matter stamp this period illustrious among the centuries. Within this success there hides danger. The cultivation of one set of faculties tends to the disuse of others. The loss of one faculty sharpens others; the blind are sensitive to touch. Has not the extreme cultivation of the commercial faculty permitted others as essential to national life, to be blighted by disuse?

Out of the heart are the issues of life in politics as well as in religion. Women have much heart. Politics need heart.

Sentiment is the mightiest force in civilization; *not sentimentality*, but sentiment.

In the earlier years of the world's history, human needs demanded grosser forms of force, and these received man's homage. Woman, because of her physical structure, was incapacitated for preëminent service. She was either man's toy or his slave, as he was noble or brutish. Later, when he passed from the nomadic period, and sought an abiding-place under a roof instead of a tent, and developed municipal government, she ruled over temporal things in that home; she was not the companion of man's brain or heart, and therefore not a factor in his government. With the growth of human brotherhood, and its necessary correlative, popular government, woman, as a part of glorified humanity and elevated with its uplift, found herself side by side with man; his helper not only, as formerly, in things temporal.

but his companion in all things. To-day all forces in human existence and human relations have been exalted and refined. As far removed as is the beast of burden from the electrician's wire, so far is the woman of the earlier years from her sister of the twentieth century's dawn.

As the humanitarian idea has plowed its way through human history, woman has developed with that idea, and now her finer instincts, her keener intuitions, and her patient heart are the full complement of the robust masculinity which has conquered nature. The two united glorify humanity.

It is no longer a question of *man* or *woman*, but of quality of service, and of power to meet the world's need.

The ideal woman is no longer the pale, white lily of medieval romance; she is a living, breathing, thinking, doing human being — a well-equipped helpmeet in all life's activities. There is no grander science than that of politics, except the science of theology. How God governs the universe of mind and holds in his hand the universe of matter is the grandest theme the soul can contemplate; next in dignity are the principles and methods which control and apply human agencies to masses of citizens for the general good. This is political science. We pity the narrowness which can not comprehend the dignity of this study; we are patient with weakness which can not grasp it; we make no answer to those who ridicule it; but we give heart and hand in patriotic devotion to the women who reach out to know and to do large things for the home and for the flag.

There is another side of the question which should appeal to all women. None dispute woman's preëminence in the home, and a true woman desires most of all to be faithful there — to prepare the food, to make the garments, and to minister in the nursery to little children is the dream of youth and the blessed fruition of mature years; but to many a mother's heart has come the disappointment of a loss of power, a limitation of influence, when early manhood takes

the boy from the home, or when, even before that time, in school or elsewhere, he touches the great world and begins to be bewildered with its controversies, its trade, with questions of economics and politics.

The problems which vex philosophers and worry statesmen knock for admission at the door of his mind. Then, often, comes the mother's first sense of separation from her child. Disappointing is her answer if she is obliged to say, "My son, I do not know; you must ask somebody else." Sad indeed will be her heart if she finds that he soon learns to respect those outside the home more than he does his mother in the home, because his inquiries are answered elsewhere. Does the question come, "Where is father; is it not his duty to answer the boy's questionings?" To be sure it is; but fathers are burdened with the care of providing for the family. They must procure shelter, and food, and clothing. Too often these necessities drive out of sight and out of mind the boy's education, even in political matters. Mothers always have to do what others leave undone. Happy is that mother whose ability to help her child continues on from babyhood into youth, manhood, and maturity. Blessed is the son who need not leave his mother at the threshold of the world's activities, but may always and everywhere have her blessing and her help. Thrice blessed are the son and the mother between whom there exists an association not only physical and affectional, but spiritual and intellectual, and broad and wide as is the scope of the being of each. Let no woman fear such association. Let her covet it as a gem in the crown of her maternity. In infancy and babyhood the mother holds her son by her affection and his necessity; in young manhood and maturity the ideal relation is a union so fine and close that touch of brain and thrill of nerve best illustrate it. Such mothers and such sons shall bring to the nation, which is only the larger home, a priceless benediction.

We contend, therefore, that woman's relation to politics and her leadership therein are justified by the very ele-

ments of her nature; by her relation to the human family, as wife, as mother, as the mother of citizens, as a wage-earner, as a philanthropist, and as a Christian. When the political power involved in these relations is obtained, the ideal social state will be set up.

THE REV. EUGENIA T. ST. JOHN OF KANSAS, INTRODUCING THE DISCUSSION ON THE PRECEDING ADDRESS, SAID:

"To-day women as well as men are capable of studying and understanding constitutional law, and all the functions and forms of government." She spoke of the numerous organizations of women in her own and other States formed for the study of the science of government; she eulogized the loyalty of women; referred to their capacity for diplomacy, and expressed her conviction that the administration of public affairs would be improved, not only by the ballot in the hands of women, but also by women's sharing the offices with men. She drew illustrations from the history of the suffrage movement in her own State, where women have shown the ability to draw up bills, and to secure their adoption by legislatures of men. She described the methods of a new organization, now formed in every county in Kansas, under the name of the "Parliamentary Drill," in which women are learning, and, in many instances, teaching to young men who have had less time and less opportunity than themselves for such study, parliamentary usage and the principles on which it rests; and with this are combining the study of the municipal laws and of the organic and statute laws of their State. She spoke of the compilation of the statutes of Kansas, prepared by a woman for the instruction of the wives of farmers and tradesmen; she said that often this work, which aspired to teach only women, was referred to as an authority by politicians.

THE DISCUSSION WAS THUS CONCLUDED BY MARY FROST ORMSBY OF NEW YORK, PRESIDENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC INFLUENCE CLUBS.

There was a time among the nomadic tribes when women were the equal of men in every political and national consideration.

The subjugation of woman is described in the Book of Esther. In the matriarchal, prehistoric times the mother, or woman, controlled everything. The Egyptians during the time of their greatness recognized the equality of woman. Their preëminence over the rest of the world at that time is doubtless due largely to this greater freedom and development of the mothers of their race; but they were conquered by the Persians and brought under the cruel Ahasuerus, and during his reign the comparative equality of women was lost.

After the long night of barbarism and of subjugation came the Christian religion, reviving past liberty, and greatly increasing it; hence the wonderful spread of Christianity. After the dawn of the Christian Era, the honorable wife of the Roman was no longer confined to the house and kept in ignorance.

In Rome, during the three centuries in which her glory was at its height, the Roman women became more and more men's equals, and the famous matrons of Rome, who are held up as models by the ignoramuses of to-day in their attempt to rebuke the women of brains and capacity of this era, were themselves strong-minded women in every sense of the phrase. The crowning gem of Roman womanhood, the illustrious Cornelia, who is immortal in history as having reared the two grandest statesmen of all Rome's twelve centuries, who in speaking of these sons called them her "chief jewels," was herself a strong-minded woman in the exact modern sense. She was a public speaker; her lectures were crowded, and so great was her power as a

politician that men, after the murder of both of her freedom-loving sons, came to her for advice in politics. She held practically a court of her own, and the ambassadors of all countries who came to Rome were especially instructed to secure and keep her good-will.

France has always shown its appreciation of woman's power. From the time of the early Gauls down through the ages Frenchwomen have done much to make French history. Jeanne d'Arc, Madame de Staël, Charlotte Corday, and legions of other equally noted women have done much for France, and hence Bartholdi when he sculptured the Statue of Liberty holding the torch that would enlighten the world placed this torch in the hands of a woman.

There is unrest now in the world of thought. New public policies are being tried; new thoughts and new inventions are rife. In this epoch there are many perils to our beloved country.

It is most fitting that philanthropic women should contemplate with intense solicitude the fact that to-day seventy thousand women in New York City alone work for less than three dollars per week, and from this pittance feed and clothe themselves, and often share their salary with the other members of their family. It can also be stated, with equal truth, that seventy-five thousand women by their labor, either physical or mental, support the dependent male members of their respective families. In this reckoning the men who have married rich wives, and thereby increased their revenues, are not counted. If I may be allowed to say something personal, as it bears on the question, I will state that it was with the hope of being able to assist in the amelioration of some of these wrongs that I was induced to form the National Union of Democratic Influence Clubs.

The national society is chartered in Washington, D. C., for twenty years, and there are branch societies in many different States with active and influential members.

The Democratic leaders have tendered us their thanks

and appreciation for our good work done, and letters expressive of such sentiments from Gen. Don M. Dickinson, Hon. William F. Harrity, Mr. Croker, the Tammany leader, Senator McClelland, and many others, are in the possession of the president.

Influence was all women had to offer. We wished to show our brothers that we could so wield that power for good that they would say, "Sisters, take the ballot."

HARLOW N. HIGINBOTHAM,
President World's Columbian Exposition.

WORLD'S CONGRESS

OF

REPRESENTATIVE WOMEN.

VOLUME II.

WORLD'S CONGRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE WOMEN.

CHAPTER IX.—CIVIL LAW AND GOVERNMENT.

EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESSES DELIVERED IN THE GENERAL CONGRESS AND FROM DISCUSSIONS OF SAID ADDRESSES BY IDA A. HARPER, LILLIAN DAVIS DUNCANSON, LAURA M. JOHNS, SARAH C. HALL, SUSAN B. ANTHONY, AND MARTHA STRICKLAND—EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESSES DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION BY ELIZABETH CADY STANTON AND HELEN H. GARDENER—EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE ORDER OF THE EASTERN STAR BY MARY A. FLINT—EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE LOYAL WOMEN OF AMERICAN LIBERTY BY ABBIE A. C. PEASLIE—EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE WOMAN'S NATIONAL INDIAN ASSOCIATION BY MRS. WILLIAM E. BURKE—EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESSES DELIVERED IN THE REPORT CONGRESS BY THE COUNTESS OF ABERDEEN, THE BARONESS ALEXANDRA GRIPENBERG, AND THE BARONESS THORBORG-RAPPE.

WOMEN IN MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT—ADDRESS BY IDA A. HARPER OF INDIANA.

WHEN the young people of the present generation read Uncle Tom's Cabin, and the speeches of Garrison and Phillips, and the history of antebellum days, they are filled with amazement. They are unable to comprehend that the monstrous evil of slavery existed and flourished in this beautiful country, and found its defenders among ministers and church members and the so-called best element of society. "And you named this the land of the free," they exclaim, "when three million

human beings were held in bondage!" And we scarcely know how to explain to them the peculiar condition of public sentiment whose finer perceptions had become dulled by long familiarity with this crime. So indignant do they grow over the thought, we scarcely can persuade them that they owe any respect to ancestors who tolerated such an evil.

Just like this will it be, a few generations hence, as the youth of that age read of a time when the women of the nation were held in a state of political bondage. "Do you mean to say women were compelled to pay taxes and yet were refused all representation?" they will inquire. "Did they collect taxes from women to pay public officials and then not permit them to hold any of the offices or vote for those who did?" "Did they compel women to obey the laws and not let them help make the laws or select the law-makers?" "Did they allow men who had no property to vote taxes on the property of women, to build rail-roads, sewers, etc., and not let the women express their wishes in respect to these improvements?" "Did the most ignorant and degraded of foreigners, the lowest and most vicious of Americans, the paupers and vagrants, and saloon-keepers and drunkards, who happened to be men, have the privilege and the power of the ballot, while the hosts of church women, and the army of school-teachers, and all the wives and mothers were disfranchised because they were women?" And when all these questions are answered in the affirmative, these broad-minded and liberally educated young people will be filled with contempt for the generations that sanctioned this terrible injustice. Then they will begin to study the family history, and one will shout with triumphant joy, "My father and mother protested against these wrongs and fought long and bravely until they were abolished;" and another will discover, with deep humiliation and a shame which never can be eradicated, that his father voted against equal rights for women, and that his mother was a "remonstrant."

Future generations never can understand the social and political conditions which would not permit all citizens to have a voice in the municipal government of the city in which they lived, owned property, and paid taxes. Even we who are living under these conditions can not quite comprehend that absolute defiance of equity, justice, and right on the part of men who, having the power, refuse to grant to women the same privileges in the municipality which they themselves enjoy. There is not an interest which men have in the good government of the town or city that is not shared by women. Take, for instance, the question of street improvement, and we find women even more anxious for well-paved and cleanly kept streets. It is their dresses which must sweep up the débris; it is their thinly shod feet which must suffer from the cobble-stones between the street railroad-tracks, and from the inequalities of sidewalks and curbstones. Cleanliness is an essential characteristic of women, and if they were invested with the power to bring it about, the littered and dirty streets of our cities would be a thing of the past in a very short time. The woman who looks well to the ways of her own household would give equally as good attention to the ways of the city in which she and her family must live. There is a crying need for women in municipal housekeeping. In the making of parks, the building of fountains, the planting of shade-trees, women would feel even greater interest than do men.

Then we come to the subject of public health; here women are vitally interested. If sewers are defective, if drainage is bad, if water is impure, women and children, as well as men, must suffer; and it is highly probable that women, being less engrossed in business, would look into these things with more care than men. There is an idea that women are not deeply interested in these things, which would not be strange, as they have always been debarred from having any part in them, but facts do not bear out this theory. The Association of Collegiate Alumnæ, com-

posed of a good many hundreds of the most highly educated women in the United States, with all the great questions of the day before them, selected the subject of drainage and sewerage for their investigations. They have brought forward a collection of valuable statistics and suggestions which have attracted the respectful attention of those best acquainted with these matters, and promise fruitful results. In New York, Indianapolis, Chicago, and a number of cities, the women have formed sanitary associations, and petitioned the boards of health to permit them to coöperate in the effort to keep the city clean and to enforce the rules of the board. This, at first, has been refused, or grudgingly granted, although after a trial their assistance has always been pronounced to be desirable. But here we have the spectacle, first, of women begging permission to do what is plainly their duty and right as citizens to do; second, performing without pay a work which men are receiving a salary for doing, and this salary women are taxed to pay. "But," they say, "women do not know how to construct sewers, lay off streets, build pavements, etc." Neither do men, except the few who have learned the business. But women have quite as much ability as men to select a good workman, to hold him to a contract, and to punish him for dishonesty.

A part of municipal business is to build school-houses, employ teachers, and decide various questions relating to the schools. Why should these matters be solely in the hands of men? Women, as a rule, are much more interested in educational matters than men are, and know much more about the school-life of the children, the courses of study, and the fitness of teachers. They are quite as capable of selecting good locations and building suitable school-houses. Over half the States in the Union have given women school suffrage and the right to serve on school boards.

"But," they say, "women can not serve on the police force." But they can, and do, and should serve as police matrons, and the women of our cities are insisting that

there shall be not only matrons at the police stations, but at the jails; and that girls and women in prisons and reformatories shall be placed in charge of those of their own sex. There are always enough men trying to get on the police force to make it improbable that there will be any demand for women to serve, and women can continue in the future, as in the past, to contribute their share of the taxes out of which the salaries of the police force are paid.

The Girl's Reformatory and Woman's Prison of Indiana is wholly under the management of women, and it is said to be one of the most perfectly conducted in the world. In the few instances where women have been placed on the boards of State and municipal institutions the latter always have been benefited. Why is there not a representation of women on the boards of all State institutions, for the insane, the blind, the deaf-mutes, the feeble-minded, the orphans, the criminal? Do not children and the afflicted, above all others, need the attention and sympathy of women? Women have petitioned again and again to serve on these boards, and have been refused. They are just as much interested as men in these institutions; their taxes help support them; why must women petition men for a representation in their supervision and management?

In our large cities the ordinances relating to reform and morality are practically a dead letter. A new administration goes into power under the most solemn promises to enforce existing laws. A few spasmodic efforts are made and then the city government drops down to the dead level of its predecessor. The saloons openly defy the law; gambling flourishes practically unrestrained; houses of evil character are not questioned as to their business. Then the people wax indignant with righteous wrath and demand REFORM, in large capitals. The political managers of both parties hold long and anxious consultations. Where can they find candidates who will represent at the same time reform and a constituency? Nobody thinks that this demand for reform represents the majority of the votes, but there

is just enough of a respectable sentiment to make it dangerous to ignore it. This man can not get the saloon vote, and that one can not get the foreign vote. Naturally it is not so much of a question what he will do after he is elected as whether he can be elected. As a result the conscientious voter finds himself with very little choice among candidates. After the election the official is continually intimidated by the threat that he will injure his party if he attempt any measure of reform.

And thus it goes, and thus it will continue to go until the character of the constituency is changed. So long as officials are dependent upon a constituency of the ignorant, the degraded, the demoralized, the unprincipled, while the representation of sobriety, intelligence, and integrity remains a minority, just so long shall we have corruption, and inefficiency, and cowardice in official life. Changing the politics of an administration will not materially change results. Nothing could be more absurd than the cry that popular government is not a success. Let us first try it before we pronounce it a failure. Only one-half of the people have any voice in the management of affairs. The better half, the half that stands for the church, the sanctity of the marriage tie, the purity of the home, the correct rearing of the children, the promotion of temperance, the preservation of virtue, the condemnation of vice — this half has been entirely shut out from any participation in municipal government. And yet this class possesses in high degree the qualities which are most needed and most conspicuously lacking.

If men had made a grand success of their work in municipal government, women might not be so persistent in pressing their claims to a representation; but men have made a conspicuous and self-confessed failure. From every city in the country comes the same cry of distress, "corruption, inefficiency, and cowardice on the part of officials, and no hope of anything better." There is hope, there is relief, if the debt-burdened and badly governed cities

will accept it. No general would give up a battle with a great force in reserve, only waiting the call to move forward. The women of the country are this reserve corps. They are vitally interested in every question that relates to the municipality; they are intelligent, patriotic, well-informed, and capable; they have executive ability, they are economical, they are resolute in enforcing what is right; they are exacting in demanding the fulfillment of pledges. Bring the candidates for municipal office up to the requirements of a constituency of women. Make the officials answerable to a constituency of women. If men can not be found who will be equal to these demands, then take the city officials from the able and trustworthy women of the community. But there are many men of business ability, unimpeachable honesty, and high moral courage who would be willing to serve their municipality, if the offices could be separated from the influences of corrupt politics and politicians. There are many such men who would gladly take an interest in municipal politics, and the welfare of the city, if they were not in a helpless minority. Re-enforce these men with a constituency of women, who will assist and sustain them; recognize the rights of women as citizens; bring in the best element to counteract the influence of the worst; and then, and then only, shall we be able to judge of the merits of a government by the people.

One Phase of Woman's Work for the Municipality — Address by Lillian Davis Duncanson of Illinois.

A woman's home is, or should be, her first consideration, and she should let no opportunity escape her to further the interests of that home. A home under the influence of a good and wise woman who is well informed in municipal affairs is the very basis of a better city government. A woman not only influences the minds of the young but in a great measure directs their future lives. How necessary

then is it that women should be cognizant of municipal affairs for the education of the future administrators!

It has been demonstrated in some of our wisest municipalities that causing women to interest themselves in this matter has brought to the minds of the people questions of vital importance heretofore unnoticed. Why? Because the keen eye and the quick perception belonging to woman have been applied to the matter of government, with the cooler qualities of man used heretofore alone in city affairs.

The judicious administration of a city government affects more the home and its inmates, the women and children, than the man in his business. Good municipal government means good sanitary conditions and a healthful moral atmosphere. Is it not a part of woman's work to see that the surroundings for her home and children are the very best? Will casting a vote at the polls alone secure these conditions? The personal interest and energy of each woman in a municipality is needed to secure these better conditions for the present and future generations.

The long-talked-of emancipation of woman will not come through voting alone, but must of necessity come through broadening the minds of women and interesting them in their home governments. Those of you who are visiting Chicago should organize in your own cities societies or leagues for the purpose of bringing this subject to the minds of your women. Tell your women of the importance of this question, and of the necessity for a thorough course of study; aid the men by giving them the valuable suggestions of thinking women, and all intelligent men will honor women for their activity and help.

To the women of Chicago let me say, keep on with the good work; you have the support of the Chicago men and the hearty indorsement of the Chicago press. I make this appeal to the younger women, who seem to think that time is long and their interest not yet needed. It is the younger women, however, who must carry on the work so well begun by the pioneers. Then go on with the work.

The education of the masses is the foundation of municipal reform, and municipal reform the Mecca of our hopes.

Woman's Participation in Municipal Government — Address by Laura M. Johns of Kansas.

The old State House in the city of Boston has been converted into a storehouse for articles of historic value. On the wall of what was once the House of Representatives hangs the best evidence of what was the early idea of the proper education for women; not only the idea, but the idea put into practice. This piece of evidence represents a diploma of a girl of that time. You know the public schools in the United States were not open at first to girls. Think of it! Public schools which excluded girls! That was in the time when men made the laws for all, without the interference of meddling women. However, there was one of those meddling women — one of those remote agitators — who made the almost suicidal attempt to investigate the injustice of refusing the future mothers and daughters opportunities for education. She went to the school authorities, and there she made an appeal for the admission of girls to the public schools. The reply made was this: "What, shall our good tax money be used to school shes?"

The education of girls at that time was very slight indeed. I think we should not call it education now, but simply lack of education. They had diplomas, made not of "sheepskin," but of canvas, inscribed by the hand of the fair graduate. They did not call them diplomas; they called them "samplers." You may have seen a sampler done by your grandmother or great-grandmother. It is a piece of canvas about twelve inches square, and at the top the alphabet is worked out in infinitesimal stitches, and if the young woman's education was very elaborate she added it in Roman characters. This canvas was put under glass and

framed, and hung on the wall, the pride and admiration of the family. The sampler that I saw was worked by the daughter of a colonial family. She was rather more ambitious than the ordinary girl, and she had undertaken to represent the scene of the Garden of Eden. The tree of the knowledge of good and evil arose exactly in the center and stood exactly straight. The main branches were exactly at right angles. The little twigs hung exactly at right angles, and on these hung pumpkin-sized apples that filled me with terror for the life of Eve, who reclined luxuriously on paris-green grass, the blades of which stood up straight, but at very irregular intervals. Eve was fearfully "made up." Her hair was arranged with most elaborate pains, and fastened with a comb. It was very plain that Eve never had attended a woman's congress, or been in a dress-reform meeting, because in the outline of her figure no provision was made for the proper functions of her heart, her stomach, her liver, and her lungs. I feel certain that there was no legislation against crinoline, because she had gone to the full extent of hoop-skirts; and Adam stood at the side of the tree of knowledge of good and evil resplendent in colored waistcoat and knee-breeches and buttoned shoes.

As far as this wonderful work is from historical accuracy, and from truly artistic ideals, so far are the opponents of women's advancement from comprehending the true meaning and intent of this movement. They charge us with usurpation of men's prerogatives, with repudiation, and with nullification.

By our participation in the municipal government of Kansas we have shown that we are not nullifiers, but that those who would deprive us of suffrage are nullifiers of the decrees of the Almighty. The Almighty has decreed that each human being shall be responsible for himself. They charge us with repudiation because we are mothers; because we are home-makers and home-keepers, because we have special duties; this is to say that we are repudiators because we would make youth safe, because we would

HON. BENJAMIN BUTTERWORTH,
Secretary of the World's Congress Auxiliary of the World's Columbian Exposition.

make the city streets clean, and because we would make the girls safe. We have repudiated no special duty of women; we believe in those duties, and we urge the further extension of them to women. They say we are usurpers of their prerogatives. To me it is very silly that women and men should talk about women being usurpers of the prerogatives of man. The right has been ours as long as we have lived in this country; as long as we have brought up children; as long as we have paid our taxes. I say this right has been ours, and that we have been deprived of the exercise thereof; and now we are demanding that we shall be permitted to exercise all the rights which are ours. But these people say we are too conservative to make useful voters; our work shows that we are not too conservative to be useful as voters. Our conservatism is not of the sort to shrink from duty and right. Whenever a measure requires courage we have not been found wanting. A Congressman said to me not long ago that we have not a clearly defined idea of what we would do with the ballot. I said, "I wish you might visit us and satisfy yourself of the worth of the women voters in the State of Kansas, and you would see that they have very clearly defined ideas, and have carried those ideas through and brought their work to a success. The men say we are the despair of the parties. We often do work at cross-purposes with them, and we arouse antagonism against our sex, but we usually gain our point in securing the sort of government we desire. You ask why the women of Kansas have voted so largely with the Republican party? I answer, for several strong reasons; one of these is gratitude of the women of the State of Kansas to the party which extended to them the municipal suffrage. Here is a lesson for all parties, especially in those States in which woman suffrage bills are now pending. We have now come to the time of urging the submission of a constitutional amendment which provides for the full enfranchisement of the women of the State of Kansas. It is apparent to all those who stand in the

suffrage watchtower that the conditions are peculiarly favorable for the adoption of this amendment. We are hopeful that within eighteen months we shall have full citizenship and exercise all the powers of citizens in the State of Kansas, and we entreat all friends of this nation to bear these things in mind. Consider our situation, remember our needs, and come to our aid. While the conditions are peculiarly favorable, the difficulties are tremendous. The work will be gigantic. We are preparing for the most vigorous woman suffrage campaign that has ever been conducted in this nation. To do this we must have money. All our work will be gratuitous, but we ask that you shall help us financially and send us workers, and let each State take upon itself the burden of sending to us a speaker, for we shall organize in every school district, and every little village, and every town. We do not propose to leave a foot of the great State unworked. It is a great State, the State of Kansas. It is four hundred miles long, two hundred miles wide, a thousand miles deep, and as high as the sky. There are many people who are coming there who must be converted. There is a constant immigration, and we can not leave a single thing undone. These people are constantly coming in, and they must be met. We must teach them what the full citizenship of women means. We must answer all their opposing arguments, and at last lead them triumphantly to the ballot-box to vote for the amendment which shall make us politically free.

DR. SARAH C. HALL OF KANSAS DISCUSSED THE PRECEDING PAPER AS FOLLOWS:

"We Kansas women were partially enfranchised in the winter of 1887, and in April came our spring election. In our State, as in others, the election is preceded by caucuses or primaries. The women were curious to know what share they would have in the primaries. About one-half

of the representatives elected to the nominating convention were women."

Doctor Hall was herself a member of the nominating convention. She gave an amusing account of the rapid growth in the importance attached to her opinions after her election to this position. Numerous callers visited her to obtain her influence in the convention for themselves or for their friends; all, whatever their opinion concerning woman suffrage before that time, expressed their pleasure that women were to assist in the nomination of municipal officers. These facts were stated to show that the possession of political equality by them would increase the respect entertained for women in the average mind.

Organization among Women as an Instrument in Promoting the Interests of Political Liberty — Address by Susan B. Anthony of New York.

During the week of the presentation of the work of the various organizations that have been represented in this Congress, organizations from the Old World and the New, I have been curious to learn that "all roads lead to Rome." That is to say, it doesn't matter whether an organization is called the King's Daughters, the partisan, or non-partisan Woman's Christian Temperance Union; whether it is called a Portia club, a sorosis, or a federation of clubs; a missionary society to reclaim the heathen of the Fiji Islands or an educational association; whether it is of the Jewish, of the Catholic, of the Protestant, of the Liberal, or the other sort of religion; somehow or other, everybody and every association that has spoken or reported has closed up with the statement that what they are waiting for is the ballot.

Another curious thing I have noted as I have listened to their reports is, that one association, the Federation of Clubs, which is only three years old — not old enough to vote yet —

can count forty thousand members; that the Relief Associations of Utah, which is perhaps a quarter of a century old, reports thirty thousand members; that the Christian Temperance Union, which is yet but a little past its second decade, can report a half-million members; that the King's Daughters, only seven years old, can report two hundred thousand members; and so I might run through with all the organizations of the Old and the New worlds that have reported here, and I will venture to say that there is scarcely one of them that does not report a larger number than the Woman's Suffrage Association of the United States. Now why is it? I will tell you frankly and honestly that all we number is seven thousand. This is the number that reported this year to the national organization, which is an association composed of all the State societies and local societies that are united and that pay a little money. These other societies have a fee, or I suppose they do. But I want to say that all this great national suffrage movement that has made this immense revolution in this country, has done the work of agitation, and has kept up what Daniel Webster called it, "this rumpus of agitation," probably represents a smaller number of women, and especially represents a smaller amount of money to carry on its work than any other organization under the shadow of the American flag. We have known how to make the noise, you see, and how to bring the whole world to our organization in spirit, if not in person. I would philosophize on the reason why. It is because women have been taught always to work for something else than their own personal freedom; and the hardest thing in the world is to organize women for the one purpose of securing their political liberty and political equality. It is easy to congregate thousands and hundreds of thousands of women to try to stay the tide of intemperance; to try to elevate the morals of a community; to try to educate the masses of the people; to try to relieve the poverty of the miserable; but it is a very difficult thing to make the masses of

women, any more than the masses of men, congregate in great numbers to study the cause of all the ills of which they complain, and to organize for the removal of that cause; to organize for the establishment of great principles that will be sure to bring about the results which they so much desire.

Now, friends, I can tell you a great deal about what the lack of organization means, and what a hindrance this lack has been in the great movement with which I have been associated. If we could have gone to our State legislatures saying that we had numbered in our association the vast masses of the women; five millions of women in these United States who sympathize with us in spirit, and who wish we might gain the end; if we could have demonstrated to the Congress of the United States, and to the legislatures of the respective States, that we had a thorough organization back of our demand, we should have had all our demands granted long ago, and each one of the organizations which have come up here to talk at this great congress of women would not have been compelled to climax its report with the statement that they are without the ballot, and with the assertion that they need only the ballot to help them carry their work on to greater success. I want every single woman of every single organization of the Old World and the New that has thus reported, and that does feel that enfranchisement, that political equality is the underlying need to carry forward all the great enterprises of the world — I want each one to register herself, so that I can report them all at Washington next winter, and we will carry every demand which you want.

I want you to remember that Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery is to make the closing speech, and that this meeting is not adjourned; and I want all of you to bear in mind that the two young women who have made this Congress possible are my children. They were educated in this very small company, this small organization of which I am a member; and I am proud to say that that organization has gradu-

ated a great many first-class students, and among them none so near to my heart as May Wright Sewall and Rachel Foster Avery.

SAME SUBJECT — ADDRESS BY LILLIE DEVEREUX BLAKE OF NEW YORK.

I am going to call your attention to two great reasons why we ought to have the right to vote. The primary reason is because we ought to have industrial equality with men. What is the reason that so many women are asking for the privilege of the ballot? It has been said that no women except a few unhappy wives and disappointed old maids want to vote. Who, then, are the people that have been occupying the platforms of this Congress? What does political liberty mean for woman? It has been bitterly said that in the markets of the world there is nothing so cheap as womanhood, and it is literally true. Place that saying beside this other, that woman is to-day paid for her dishonor better than for anything else. Now we are asking for these privileges in order that the humblest and the highest workers may have equal pay with men for equal work. Not better, but the same. You ask, "What good will the ballot do?" We have in the State of New York thirty thousand women teachers, paid only about two-thirds as much as the men who work beside them, who are as good teachers, if not better than the men. Suppose these women were voters; they would then control every assembly district in the State. You will see then why these women want to have the right to vote.

One other point is that women ought to have equality before the law in all respects, and protection under it. There is an infamous law which still prevails through the length and breadth of the United States, with only a few exceptions, which gives the father the absolute control of the child. Now in New York, within a few weeks past, the

law has been changed so that the father and the mother are joint guardians of the child. How long are we going to have the protection of this law? In 1860 a liberal law was passed, and it stood for more than eleven years on the statute books, and then an infamous legislator, for the benefit of a friend, had the law repealed, and for twenty years we had to endure that awful law. We have now had the law amended, but how long can we keep it? I tell you without the ballot, without the protection it gives, we are not secure in any right. The ballot is the foundation of political liberty.

On the dome of the Capitol of the United States there is the Statue of Liberty. All of you who have ever seen it recollect how she is represented. When that statue was to be designed a committee of Congress was appointed to determine upon the design, and upon that committee was Jefferson Davis, then a Senator of the United States. One of the members proposed to represent the Goddess of Liberty with an ordinary Phrygian cap. Jefferson Davis said, "No, that cap was worn by a slave; Liberty has always been free. Put upon her a helmet." And that is the way that Liberty stands, helmeted, and with sword and shield. If women were made free to-day, the Phrygian cap would be appropriate, because we have so long been slaves. We hope the time will come when emancipated woman will stand with the helmet on her head, with the shield of purity on her arm, and the sword of truth in her hand.

Woman's Position and Influence in the Civil Law — Address by Martha Strickland of Michigan.

A consideration of woman's position in the civil law — that is, in our present system of jurisprudence, more properly called "municipal law" — necessarily involves a consideration of our earliest English ancestors, of their mental and physical qualities, the climate and material environ-

ment in which they lived, their origin and growth as a people, and their development into a nation — all, in short, which goes to make up the character of a government.

M. Taine, in his "History of English Literature," says: "At the basis of the present, as of the past, ever reappears an inner and persistent cause, the character of a race." This is as true of the jurisprudence as of the religion and literature of a people. The law under which we live to-day in this country is made up of common law and statute law, the unwritten and the written law, and much the greater part of our rights and duties is found in that body of legal principles which became established through the usage of the English people to the time of the American Revolution. This is the source, primarily, of all the rights and disabilities, the privileges and duties of the American woman of the present. To find our status in the law we necessarily turn to this vast body of precedents, and we find that the English common law bears the stamp of the early Anglo-Saxon character. The Saxons were a warlike and a brawny race; they loved freedom, but it was the freedom of a semi-savage state; they maintained rights, but such rights as military minds conceive; they fought for equality, and the fighters were the ones who obtained it; they established institutions bearing the stamp of their own character, and that these institutions were in the likeness of sturdy and material natures may be traced in the Constitution of England and in the principles of the common law. Notwithstanding the occupation of the British Island by the Romans, their mental development and esthetical culture found no congenial home in the rude time and among the rude inhabitants of the northern island, by whom it could not be assimilated; when, therefore, the Southern conquerors withdrew, the British nature reasserted itself.

The Normans carried to England the pride of conquest and feudal learning. They fettered the people with the most rigorous of feudal governments and held the bold and

fearless Saxon spirit in subjection; still the hardy northern stock made its influence felt, and stamped with its character the institutions which became established in England. Vital through the oppressions and suppressions of the conquest, the Anglo-Saxon rights became the rights of Norman England. For centuries in the south of Europe there had existed a civilization — the Roman — in which the idea of freedom included the freedom of wife and mother to a considerable degree; but to the northward was developed a semi-civilization where freedom, equally cherished, pertained to the only recognized force in society — the man. In a wilderness, and among warlike tribes, it takes masculine force and masculine courage to maintain life for self and family; and to these qualities would naturally attach the rights and duties of social government. Hence, while Southern Europe, in the Roman civilization, presents to the historian a society made up of individuals where the warlike and the peaceful, the muscular and the nervous, the masculine and the feminine natures have almost equal freedom — a society where the individual is the unit of government Northern Europe, and especially the British Islands, presents to the same observer a society whose fundamental principle is that the family is the unit of government. The sunny skies of Italy smiled upon the queenly mother, the inspirer of youths, but the foggy air of Britain enveloped a servant ministering to the physical wants of her household. Held close in the protection of the master the Saxon mother reared her family and labored for the future, as she could not have done in a sphere forbidden to her alike by natural and human law; the muscular, the material representatives of the human race ruled the civilization which founded the British Government, and, as already said, their rights, their legal privileges are the ones embodied in the common law. To the time of the American Revolution this common law is our law. Since then it has been modified in two ways — by a subtle, almost imperceptible and gradual change, caused by the development of the

minds of our jurists to a broader perception of the rights and needs of humanity; and by statutory enactments which directly and positively change the law from time to time in certain particulars. It is the province of the courts not to make law but to expound it, and were it not for the inevitable change in the perceptions of mankind as to the principles of right and justice there would be no modification of the common law; but it is impossible for many judges of varied experiences always to expound the same principles in the same way, and it therefore follows that a minimum amount of change does take place in the unwritten law of a people. To this fact woman owes in a slight degree an improved position in the law; that which is held in one period by one court to be justifiable, in accord with the rights of a husband and father, is held in a later period by another court to be extreme cruelty and violative of the right and privilege of the wife and mother; and thus in respect to physical coercion, to domicile, and to the nurture and control of children, the law of husband and wife, and therefore the status of woman, has been modified.

It is, however, in the statute law of America, and particularly in that of the more western States, that we find the real innovations which have removed the common law disabilities of woman, so far as yet they have been removed. The statute law, however, never applied to the whole body of the common law, but only to certain particular features of it, as the specific matters were brought from time to time to the attention of our legislators. It follows that the changes are fragmentary, and to a considerable extent inconsistent and inharmonious with the common law, so that the real status of woman to-day is based only upon the old common-law disability growing out of the theory of the unity of the family, while at the same time here and there she holds a position of considerable freedom and power. She still is, if married, only a part of an entity. She lives in a state of coverture; that is, a subject condition in which she is covered,

or held, or protected by the stronger member of the family — her husband. Therefore, he represents her; therefore, her domicile follows his; therefore, his judgment as to the care, nurture, and control of her children is authoritative. As a matter of law, in nearly all of the States of the Union the man possesses by virtue of his fatherhood the right to the custody and control of the children; but by statutory changes in most of the States he does not now, as formerly, upon marriage, become possessed of such property as his wife may then own; still, he has the right to-day (in spite of the statutes giving to a married woman the right to own and hold property hers before marriage, and that acquired by gift or purchase afterward) to collect her wages in the most liberal and enlightened States of the Union.

No longer than one year ago the Supreme Court of the State of Michigan directly held this doctrine, thereby merely announcing a familiar principle of the common law which had never in that State been repealed. The case is an interesting one from the illustration it presents of the fact that the most enlightened judgment of to-day may be wholly in advance of the existing law. The circumstances were these:

An elderly gentleman of property becoming ill was taken into the home of a neighbor and by the woman of the house kindly nursed until his death. When his estate was being administered in the Probate Court the woman presented her claim for services; it was denied. There was no dispute of her having performed them, nor of their value, but the court held that the woman, being a wife, had no right of action; that her services belonged to her husband, and must be considered as rendered for him; that the claim being made in her name, and there being no evidence of an assignment to her of the claim from her husband, she had no right of action and could not recover. The case was carried through the circuit to the Supreme Court of the State, where the doctrine of the Probate Court was reaffirmed.

In another case passed upon by the same court at the same term a similar affirmation of a common-law disability was made, although, owing to the nature of the case, it operated to the immediate benefit of the wife. A married woman owning certain real estate neglected to pay her taxes, whereupon the marshal, with a tax-warrant for their collection, levied upon her personal property, consisting of clothing and other personal possessions. A part of the property levied upon had belonged to her before marriage, but most of it consisted of clothing purchased and made in the "ordinary course of married life," as the court stated in rendering the decision. The husband thereupon brought replevin for the property from the marshal, setting up, as of course he must, his personal ownership of the property, being careful to replevin only that which had been purchased during marriage. This case also found its way to the Supreme Court, and the right of action in the husband was maintained and he recovered the property; thus, you see, by a curious anomaly, wresting the common-law disability of the wife to the purpose supposed by some to be inimical to the common-law unity of the family, that of a wife's wearing her husband's clothes.

Perhaps in no one feature of the law has there been greater change by statutory enactment than in that of dissolution of the marriage bond in case of ill-doing of one of the parties. The statutes of the States are too various for presentation here, but in a general way certain principles characterizing the innovations may be given. In spite of the popular belief to the contrary, fostered by the sensual and sometimes incomplete newspaper reports of the proceedings in divorce cases, it is a principle of universal application that dissolution can not be had where both parties are at fault. It is only for evil-doing on the part of one, with right-doing on the part of the other that divorce is legally granted. Again, contrary also to a somewhat prevalent opinion, divorce is not granted for incompatibility, and never is it granted from the standpoint of the

law when desired by both parties. The one must have done wrong, contrary to the wish of the other, and that other have sought redress against the desire of the one, if relief is to be obtained. Should the knowledge of an agreement between the parties for the obtaining of the divorce come to the court before decree the case is lost; should it come after decree the divorce is held invalid. This wrong-doing must be that specified by the statute of the particular State in which relief is sought, and that State must be the State in which the one seeking relief has bona fide residence. Over and over again divorces have been held invalid by the courts of the State in which the applicant really resided, though granted by a sister State in which residence had been falsely claimed. It may be said that, as a matter of fact, divorces are frequently granted where mutually desired. This is very true, but the mutal desire does not, and must not, appear in the proceedings. Should it do so it would be fatal to the case. What appears in these cases is that the defendant does not defend, obviously because he is guilty and therefore has no defense, so argues the law; but even then the complainant must make his or her case. Decree for divorce can not be taken upon the confession of judgment. True, it is not necessary to make so strong a case against one not defending, but it must be made by proof establishing clearly the commission of the wrong-doing prescribed by the statute as a cause for dissolution. The self-respecting lawyer takes infinitely more care in his preparation and presentation of a divorce case when it is defended than in any other, for his chances of success are at the minimum, the number of victories in contested divorce cases averaging less than in any other kind of litigation, with the possible exception of litigation between a person friendless and in poverty and a powerful corporation. The theory of the law of divorce is that it is granted to the innocent party as a relief from the statutory wrong-doing of the other, and as a punishment to the guilty one. The grounds of divorce provided by the laws of the

more liberal States are, generally speaking, adultery, impotency, extreme and inhuman cruelty, gross and wanton non-support of wife with ability to support, and desertion. In the case of desertion especially there must be unwillingness on the part of the innocent party. It is not desertion if the one deserted is willing the other shall go. The statutes in this case provide the period for which the desertion shall have continued before constituting a ground for divorce.

These are in the main the principles underlying the present divorce laws. As before said, the statutes are not uniform, many of the States permitting divorce for the sole cause, adultery; others prescribing more than the one cause, but not all of those given above. There is, too, a great difference in the holdings of the court as to what constitutes gross and wanton non-support and extreme cruelty. I know of a case in which a learned judge writing a dissenting opinion, and holding that a decree of divorce should not be granted, intimated that the evidence showed the husband had choked his wife, and had given her physical blows, but notwithstanding, gathering from the testimony that she had married her husband with a view of support, held, to quote his language, that "she should be prepared to abide by the ordinary inconveniences of married life." On the other hand, it is not uncommon for the judicial mind to see that certain phases of conduct wholly apart from physical abuse and indignity may constitute more extreme cruelty than any amount of physical violence. Thus there is great latitude for different administration of the same statute by the exercise of discretion by the various courts. Especially do we find this variance in the administration of the law relating to the custody and control of children in cases of separation of the parents. Where they do not separate, there is, as we have already seen, no question as to this, for the guardianship vests in the father by virtue of his fatherhood. In case of separation he formerly took the child. Now some of the most liberal statutes provide that the

children below a specified age shall be put in the custody and control of the mother, and that those over that age shall remain under the control of the father; but these statutes are themselves subject to the discretion of the judge upon the point of the welfare of the child, and no judge is required to make other disposition upon this point than that which he deems desirable. It follows, therefore, that in some courts children are frequently confided to the mother, while in other courts, under the same statute, and upon the same state of facts, they are retained by the father.

As a consequence of the father's legal guardianship of the child, he has the right to appoint the testamentary guardian, and formerly he could do so without regard to the wishes of the mother. In certain States this right has been modified; in others it remains unchanged. In Michigan, although he may appoint the testamentary guardian, the Probate Court, before confirming the appointment, on the probating of the will, is required to cite the mother to appear before it and give her view of the appointment. There is nothing, however, which binds the judge to regard the mother's view, so that really the law is not greatly improved.

The legal unity of husband and wife has perhaps been more strenuously retained in the matter of their testifying for or against each other in the courts, and also in regard to an action by the wife for the tort of the husband, than in any other particular. In some States if the consent of the husband or wife is given the testimony of the other may be taken. In other States not even this is allowed. Until very recently the wife has been supposed to be incompetent to bring an action of tort against her husband. In so far as the statutes of the various States have removed common-law disabilities and secured positive rights to women, they have done so by departing from the common-law theory of the family as the unit of society and recognizing the distinctive individuality of the married woman. It must

ever be that partial changes, not affecting the underlying principles of law, can give but incomplete relief.

So far the law has been considered with regard to the status or position of the married woman. The changes relating to woman irrespective of marriage are chiefly those granting the franchise and relating to her right to office. In many of the States woman has modified suffrage. This is granted generally upon matters relating to schools. In a few of the States she has municipal suffrage, and in one full suffrage.

Her right to office is more extended. She has a common-law right to the offices called ministerial as distinguished from judicial. To the former, the English decisions from James I. down establish her right. This right was first recognized as a consequence of her inheritance of property. In early times in England she could not inherit the estates of her ancestors; but later improper feuds came to be recognized in the law, and these, it was held, might descend to a woman. Finally her right to the offices attached to her estate was recognized, and from this beginning is to be traced her common-law right to office. The question frequently came before the courts in those early days, and the right was sustained upon the theory that the offices being ministerial their functions were susceptible of exercise through a deputy, and therefore woman, being able to appoint a deputy, might hold the title to the office. In such offices as require discretion deputies can not act, and these she could not hold. Curiously enough, this distinction has led to the anomaly that under it woman to-day is eligible to offices for which she is perhaps by nature least fitted; while many, regarding her fitness for which there can be no question, can not be occupied by her unless through statutory provisions. She may hold those in which a deputy may be appointed, though it be of so uncongenial a nature as that of constable or sheriff; she may not hold such as require the exercise of discretion, though it be one so congenial as that of legislator, governor, or judge.

Leaving the subject of woman's status in the law and approaching that of her influence, we come from a field rich with realities to one almost barren, unless it be in the promises of future possibilities. Woman's direct influence in the law can scarcely be said to exist, except in the few localities, already mentioned, where she has the franchise. Neither in the making of the law nor in administering it has she any direct influence; the most she can be said to have is the right of petition, and this right she is everywhere claiming. In many States this indirect influence has been felt in legislation relating to education, temperance, and sexual morality. There can be no question but that the sentiment of women in this direction has had a powerful indirect influence, and that our laws are from year to year becoming more and more (by fragments, of course) in harmony with their views.

It is in the administration of the law that her influence is least felt. So recently and so limitedly has she been received in the courts as an attorney, and so wholly is the entire personnel of the courts, with this single exception, made up of men, that her influence there can scarcely be claimed as available. This, in my judgment, is one of the most lamentable features of woman's position and influence in the law. The differences between man's nature and woman's nature are a bar, eternal as are nature's laws, to the equitable administration of justice by men alone. Men can not know all the subtle springs of feeling and action hidden within woman's complex organization. They can not measure her needs by their own, nor mark for her the path which her own nature and her nature's God traces through the wilderness of human thought and action. And yet from the paved market-place in ancient Rome, where sat the magistrates for the transaction of their business, to the wider forum of civilized America, woman's legal rights have been brought to the bar of masculine knowledge and manly chivalry. The result is that women have suffered, and through women all humanity. For

broad as is man's outlook upon the world of knowledge, and deep as are the well-springs of his love and tenderness for woman, that complete appreciation of needs and innate sympathy with wants which members of one sex alone can have for one another, and which is the golden heart of justice, has been wanting to his adjudications. It is sometimes claimed that men are better friends to women than women are to one another. All womanly, worldly experience denies this. Men are, it is true, generous lovers; but when it comes to a matter of simple, true, appreciative friendship, that of women for women can not be surpassed, and is equaled only by that of men for men. There is an innate knowledge that comes from sameness of organization, which seizes upon the difficulties of life and solves the problem for weal or woe without delay or difficulty. This innate knowledge women have of women, and men of men; but the distinct individuality of the sexes forbids it to one sex of the other, and so we find that the administration of law involving women's interests to-day wants the complete justice which the advanced thought of the time demands. Not only must women, for the establishment of their complete rights, be represented at the bar by those of legal knowledge who are capable of viewing their interests from the standpoint of perfect sympathy, but they should be able to take their rights and wrongs to courts capable of the same perfect understanding, and submit their causes to juries of their fellow-women — to juries of their unquestioned peers. Perhaps among all the innovations in Edward Bellamy's wonderful book, "Looking Backward," the most important is the one answering this need. He pictures to us a system in which causes where both parties are women are tried before women judges, while those where the litigants are a man and a woman are tried before judges of either sex. This is what we need now; and it is as well adapted to our own time as to the year 2000 — at least it is as well adapted as any scheme for the advancement of women can be under our present industrial system.

It may not be necessary that in every case where women are litigants only women should be upon the bench and jury. It probably would be better that both sexes be represented even then. There can not be as rounded, complete, harmonious action in any department of life by men or women alone as there can be by both.

Humanity is dual in its nature, and the masculine and feminine qualities gain additional strength and perfection through union with each other. Possibly, nay, I would say certainly, woman's judgment upon woman might well be tempered by that mercy toward women which is the proverbial quality of man. But the knowledge each sex has of its own needs is, after all, the chief requisite in judge and jury; and if the qualities of both sexes are not to be brought into play, then by all means let women's interests be the especial care of women, and men's interests be the especial care of men. In the practice of the law the opinion has been forced upon me that not only is there need of women lawyers, but of women in all parts of our judicial system. Now it is a mother asking for the custody of her child, and that too in a State where the laws are so liberal that in case of separation of father and mother the mother is *prima facie* entitled to its custody, and the burden of proof is upon the father to show the mother's unfitness; but the judge, admitting the mother's perfect competency, gives the custody of a little deaf and dumb girl of nine years to the father, because, as stated by him, "the father appears to love the child, and I think would suffer very much in giving it up." Again, when an unhappy wife and mother wins relief from bonds not longer to be endured because of the fault of the husband and father, and is given, as she should be, the custody of her children, it is of almost universal practice for the judge, in dividing the property acquired during the marriage, to give the wife often less, but never more, than one-third of the estate. From this third she must support and rear her children and maintain herself, handicapped as she is both

by her sex and her guardianship of her little ones; while their father, with none but himself to support, and better equipped by nature and social economic conditions for a struggle with the world, is permitted to retain two-thirds of the whole. The judge is familiar with the wants of men in the business world; he knows the needs of the man for capital, and he reasons, "If I take from him more than a third of his property he will be crippled, and perhaps can not keep his business standing," etc.; and so, without meaning to be heartless or unfair, he, because of his incompetency to view the situation of the woman from the standpoint of experience, fails in complete equity. A woman would know full well the difficulties to be met by a mother thus thrown upon her own resources, and would add the weight of her knowledge to the decision. There is, perhaps, in the whole range of our daily experience no more glaring inconsistency than the failure to give women their full property rights, while at the same time deprecating their entering various new fields for their own and their children's support. "Women should remain in the home; they have higher and holier duties to perform than that of bread-winning," is cried from every side; and then straightway, if their rightful protector fails in his duty, instead of giving his substance to the woman so that she may remain in the home and fill her "proper sphere," the court gives her a paltry part, and she is left to perish in that home, or to go out into the world and compete with man for daily bread.

But space does not admit of relating the cases which have demonstrated to me the truth of my position. I must content myself with showing its antecedent probability from propositions admitted by all, and the assertion that my experience confirms it. In the relations of husband and wife, parent and child, guardian and ward — all the domestic relations, in short — a little thought will show that woman's knowledge — woman's instinct, if so you please to call it — should find play in their adjustment. What can the man

and father know of the vital interests of the woman and mother? He can learn something from what he sees as, standing upon the eminence of fatherhood, he looks up to the summit of motherhood towering beyond him. But, ah! who shall say what verdant depths, what crystal springs of thought and feeling are hidden beyond his ken! Do not misunderstand me. I am not arraigning man's wisdom, man's love of justice, or that attribute which gives the charm of poesy to life's prosaic details — man's chivalry; I am merely saying that there are some things men do not know, that men can not learn, and that women do know. Neither do I arraign the past, nor fail to see how natural it is that we to-day are suffering the necessary results of having outgrown our environment. Our civilization had its birth in a crude and barbarous age; and especially, as we have seen, did our common law spring from a condition far different from the present. It had its origin and early development when the material interests of life were uppermost; when the muscular, the aggressive qualities of human nature were the ones required for the establishment of human rights and the maintenance of human government. And so man, by nature endowed with the ability to cope with the necessities of those times, was the active element in society and government, and naturally gave the coloring of his nature to the jurisprudence which developed. In this jurisprudence woman, the member of the human race representing by her weaker physical organization and her peculiar qualities of mind the more esthetic and ethical interests of the race, held the place of ward, so to speak, to the dominant sex. It was sought to protect her, that her high mission of motherhood might not be jeopardized by contact with the crude and incongruous influences of outer life in a material age. And it is well. Who shall say what development the race may not have reached from this very protection; from the seclusion incident to the condition of coverture and dependence! We can not know. The most that we can say is that whatever of greatness and

glory womanhood has reached has been achieved under the conditions men have imposed. That other conditions would have produced better results is not known, and does not to me seem probable. Now, however, all is changed, or at least is changing. The material world is well-nigh subdued. Man's dominion over the earth is accomplished. There is developing a desire for a more esthetic and ethical era among mankind. After a little, upon the world of human life there will burst the full day of woman's emancipation. In that day will be recognized the distinct individuality of her nature, and the need for full and perfect justice, that her qualities of head and heart may be brought into play. Then in the forum she will take her place by the side of her brother man, endowed with full powers to administer justice. The two shall form a perfect whole, each part supplementing the other, and each giving to the other the benefit of a different organization and a different experience.

From this view of woman's position and influence in the civil law let us gather hope for the future of humanity. Gradual as the change from her condition of dependence to her present anomalous position of semi-independence has been, we can see that it is in the logic of human progress for her to attain equality.

The Ethics of Suffrage — Address by Elizabeth Cady Stanton of New York.

The basic idea of the republic is the right of self-government; the right of every citizen to choose his own representatives and to make the laws under which he lives; and as this right can be secured only by the exercise of the right of suffrage, the ballot in the hands of every qualified person indicates his true political status as a citizen in a republic.

The right of suffrage is simply the right to govern one's

self. Every human being is born into the world with this right, and the desire to exercise it comes naturally with the responsibilities of life. "The highest earthly desire of a ripened mind," says Thomas Arnold, "is the desire to take an active share in the great work of government." Those only who are capable of appreciating this dignity can measure the extent to which women are defrauded as citizens of this great republic; neither can others measure the loss to the councils of the nation of the wisdom of representative women.

When men say that women do not desire the right of suffrage, but prefer masculine domination to self-government, they falsify every page of history, every fact of human nature. The chronic condition of rebellion, even of children against the control of nurses, elder brothers, sisters, parents, and teachers, is a protest in favor of the right of self-government. Boys in schools and colleges find their happiness in disobeying rules, in circumventing and defying teachers and professors; and their youthful pranks are so many protests against a government in which they have no voice, and afford one of the most pleasing topics of conversation in after life.

The general unrest of the subjects of kings, emperors, and czars, expressed in secret plottings or open defiance against self-constituted authorities, shows the settled hatred of all people for governments to which they have not consented. But it is said that on this point women are peculiar, that they differ from all other classes, that being dependent they naturally prefer being governed by others. The facts of history contradict the assertion. These show that women have always been, as far as they dared, in a state of half-concealed resistance to fathers, husbands, and all self-constituted authorities; as far as good policy permitted them to manifest their real feelings they have done so. It has taken the whole power of the civil and canon law to hold woman in the subordinate position which it is said she willingly accepts. If woman had no will, no self-

assertion, no opinions of her own to start with, what mean the terrible persecutions of the sex in the past?

So persistent and merciless has been the effort to dominate the feminine element in humanity, that we may well wonder at the steady resistance maintained by woman through the centuries. She has shown all along her love of individual freedom, her desire for self-government; while her achievements in practical affairs and her courage in the great emergencies of life have vindicated her capacity to exercise this right.

These, one and all, are so many protests against absolute authority and so many testimonials in favor of self-government; and yet this is the only form of government that has never been fairly tried.

The few experiments that have been made here and there in some exceptional homes, schools, and territories have been only partially successful, because the surrounding influences have been adverse. When we awake to the fact that our schools are places for training citizens of a republic, the rights and duties involved in self-government will fill a larger place in the curriculum of our universities.

Woman suffrage means a complete revolution in our government, religion, and social life; a revision of our Constitution, an expurgated edition of our statute laws and codes, civil and criminal. It means equal representation in the halls of legislation and in the courts of justice; that woman may be tried by her own peers, by judges and advocates of her own choosing. It means light and sunshine, mercy and peace in our dungeons, jails, and prisons; the barbarous idea of punishment superseded by the divine idea of reformation. It means police matrons in all our station-houses, that young girls when arrested during the night, intoxicated and otherwise helpless, may be under the watchful eye of judicious women, and not left wholly to the mercy of a male police.

In religion it means the worship of humanity rather than of an unknown God; a church in which the feminine ele-

ment in Christianity will be recognized, in which the mother of the race shall be more sacred than symbols, sacraments, and altars; more worthy of reverence than bishops and priests.

A government and a religion that do not recognize the complete equality of woman are unworthy our intelligent support. And what does woman suffrage mean in social life? Health and happiness for women and children; one code of morals for men and women; love and liberty, peace and purity in the home; cleanliness and order in the streets and alleys; good sanitary arrangements in the homes of the poor; good morals and manners taught in the schools; the crippling influence of fear of an angry God, a cunning devil, censorious teachers, severe parents, all lifted from the minds of children, so long oppressed with apprehensions of danger on every side. We can not estimate the loss to the world in this repression of individual freedom and development through childhood and youth.

Woman suffrage means a new and nobler type of men and women, with mutual love and respect for each other; it means equal authority in the home; equal place in the trades and professions; equal honor and credit in the world of work.

Our civilization to-day is simply masculine. Everything is carried by force, and violence, and war, and will be until the feminine element is fully recognized and has equal power in the regulation of human affairs. Then we shall substitute coöperation for competition, persuasion for coercion; then we shall have everywhere

> Two heads in council, two beside the hearth,
> Two in the tangled business of the world,
> Two in the liberal offices of life,
> Two plummets dropped for one to sound the abyss
> Of science and the secrets of the mind.

If woman suffrage means all this, surely it is the greatest question ever before any nation for consideration, and imperatively demands the prompt attention of the leading minds of our day; and women themselves must make this the primal question in their own estimation.

The enfranchisement of women in England and America would give new dignity, self-respect, and hope to the women of every nation in the uttermost isles of the sea.

It is a singular fact that we have never been able to enlist any large number of women to labor with enthusiasm for their own emancipation. They will work with the utmost self-sacrifice for temperance, political parties, churches, foreign missions, charity fairs, monuments, anything and everything but their own emancipation. I heard a young clergyman say that the ladies of his congregation had given him in one year thirteen pairs of embroidered slippers and twenty dressing-gowns, and probably not one of them would give a dollar a year for a woman suffrage paper; and yet this is the most momentous reform that has yet been launched on the world — the first organized protest against the injustice which has brooded over the character and destiny of one-half the human race.

A tariff for revenue, a silver currency, the annexation of Hawaii, our fisheries in Bering Straits, the comparative merits of the Republican and Democratic parties, or even the success of the World's Fair — important as these all are — sink into utter insignificance when compared with the emancipation of one-half the human race, involving as it does the higher development of the whole race.

The protracted struggle through which we have passed, and our labors not yet crowned with victory, seems to me sometimes like a painful dream, in which one strives to run and yet stands still, incapable alike of escaping or meeting the impending danger.

But I would not pain your ears with a rehearsal of the hopes ofttimes deferred and shadowed with fear; of the brightest anticipations again and again dimmed with dis-

appointment. I will leave it to your imagination to picture to yourselves how you would feel if any one of you had had a case in court, or a bill before some legislative body, or a political aspiration, for nearly half a century, with a continued succession of adverse decisions; and yet the future is so full of bright promises for us that we still hope and labor while we wait.

Woman suffrage means a free use of all the opportunities for higher education, and that physical training necessary for abstruse thinking. Schools are already being established in many countries for the physical training of girls by every variety of gymnastics, by fencing, boxing, swimming, military drill, and by all sorts of outdoor amusements, hunting, shooting, riding on horseback, on bicycles and tricycles, playing foot-ball, base-ball, and tennis.

All that remains to secure our complete emancipation is to arouse women themselves from their apathy and indifference. Some one has suggested that women are too generous and unselfish to work for themselves. John Stuart Mill says that "woman's pet virtue is self-sacrifice." If this be so, I would suggest that in this reform there is still abundant opportunity for self-sacrifice, as perchance none of the blessings of our present labors may be enjoyed by ourselves. We have lived to see the principle of woman suffrage conceded in many civilized countries, but the full fruition of the experiment is still in the future. Our work is preëminently unselfish; we still have persecution, ostracism, ridicule, but the blessings may be for other generations. We have the satisfaction, however, to know that we have done our duty in a holy cause, and laid the foundation for the highest civilization the world has ever witnessed, though we may not live to enjoy its full benefits.

Enough for us to see the day dawning, the coming glory on every side, enough for us to know that our daughters to the third and fourth generation will enjoy the fruits of our labors, reap the harvests we have sown, and sing the glad songs of victory in every latitude and longitude, from

pole to pole, when we have passed to other spheres of action.

Woman as an Annex — Address by Helen H. Gardener of New York.

If it were not often tragic and always humiliating, it would be exceedingly amusing to observe the results of a method of thought and a civilization that has proceeded always upon the idea that man is the race and that woman is merely an annex to him, and exists because of his desires, needs, and *dictum.*

Strangely enough, the bigotry of sex bias and pride does not carry this theory below the human animal. According to scientists and evolutionists, and indeed even according to the religious explanations of the source and cause of things, the male and female of all species of animals, birds, and insects come into life and tread its path together as equals. The male tiger does not assume to teach his mate what her "sphere" is, and the female hippopotamus is supposed to have sufficient brain-power of her own to enable her to live her own life and plan her own occupations; to decide upon her own needs, and generally regulate her own existence without being compelled to call upon the gentlemen of her family in particular and all of the gentlemen of her species in general to decide for her when she is doing the proper thing. The laws of their species are not made and executed by one sex for the other, and the same food, sun, covering, education, and general conduct and opportunities of life which open to the one sex are equally open to the other. No protective tariff is put upon masculine prerogative to enable him to control all the necessaries of life for both sexes, to assure him all the best opportunities, occupations, education, and results of achievement which are the common need of their kind. In short, the female is in no way his subordinate.

In captivity it is the female which has been as a rule most prized, best cared for and preserved. In the barnyard, field, and stable alike it is deemed wise to kill most of the males. They are looked upon as good food, so to speak, but not as useful citizens. What they add to the world is not thought so much of — their capacities for future services are less valued than are those of the other sex. Even the man-made religious legends bring all these animals into life in pairs. Neither has precedence of the other; neither is subject to the other.

But when it comes to the human animal, "the final blossom of creative thought," as religionists word it, or of universal energy, as scientists put it, the male for the first time becomes the whole idea. A helpmeet *for* him is an after-thought, and according to man's teaching up to the present time an after-thought only half-matured and very badly executed.

In spite of all the practice on other pairs, one of each sex, it remained for the Almighty, or Nature, to make the mistake, for the first time, of creating a race with one of its halves a mere "annex" to the other — a subject, a subordinate, without brains to do its own thinking, without judgment to be its own guide.

In the case of all other animals each sex has its own brain-power, with which it directs its own affairs, makes its own laws of conduct, and so preserves its own individuality, its personal liberty, its freedom of action and of development.

I am not ignorant of the scientific facts that in nature among ants, birds, and beasts, there are tribes and communities where some are slaves, or are subject to others; but what I do assert is this, that this is not a sex distinction or degradation. It is not infrequently the males who are the subjects in those communities where liberty is not equal, and where, therefore, the very basic principle of equality is impossible or unknown.

Nowhere in all nature is the mere fact of sex made a

reason for fixed inequality of liberty; for subjugation, for subordination, and for determined inferiority of opportunity in education, in acquirement, in position — in a word, in freedom. Nowhere until we reach man!

Here, for the first time in nature, there enter artificial social conditions and needs. These artificial demands, coupled with the great fact of maternity under sex subjugation, linked with financial dependence upon the one not so burdened, have fixed this subordinate status upon that part of the race which is the producer of the race.

This fact alone is enough to account for the slow, the distorted, the diseased, and the criminal progress of humanity. Subordinates can not give lofty character. Servile temperaments can not blossom into liberty-loving, liberty-breathing, liberty-giving descendants.

Many of the lower animals destroy their young if they are born in captivity. They demand that their offspring shall be free; free from man's conditions or captivity, as it always has been free from the tyranny of sex control in their own species.

It is the fashion in this country nowadays to say that women are treated as equals. Some of the most progressive and best of men truly believe what they say in this regard.

One of our leading daily papers, which insists that this is true, and even goes so far as to say that American gentlemen believe in and act upon the theory that their mothers and daughters are of a superior quality, and are always of the first consideration to men, recently had an editorial headlined "UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE THE BIRTHRIGHT OF THE FREE-BORN." I read it through, and, would you believe it, the writer has so large a bump of sex arrogance that he never once thought of one-half of humanity in the entire course of an elaborate and eloquent two-column article! "Universal" suffrage touched but one sex. There was but one sex "free-born." There was but one born with "rights." The words, "persons," "citizens," "residents of

the State," and all similar terms were used quite freely, but not once did it dawn upon the mind of the writer that every one of those words, every argument for freedom, every plea for liberty and justice, equality and right applied to the human race, and not merely to one-half of that race.

Sex bias, sex arrogance, sex pride, sex assumption is so ingrained that it simply does not occur to the male logician, scientist, philosopher, and politician that there is a humanity! They see, think of, and argue for and about only a sex of man, with an annex to him — woman. They call this the race, but they do not mean the race; they mean men. They write and talk of "human beings"; of their needs, their education, their capacities, and development; but they are not thinking of humanity at all. They are planning for and executing plans which subordinate the race — the human entity — to a subdivision, the mark and sign of which is the lowest and most universal possession of male nature — the mere procreative instinct and possibility. This has grown to be the habit of thought until in science, in philosophy, in religion, in law, in politics — one and all — we must translate all language into other terms than those used. For the word "universal" we must read — male; for the "people," the "nation," we must read — men. The "will of the majority — majority rule" really means the larger number of masculine citizens. And so with all our common language. It is mere democratic, verbal gymnastics, clothing the same old monarchical, aristocratic, mental beliefs with "the divine right" of man, and making woman his subject and perquisite.

It does not mean what it says, and it does not say what it means. Our thoughts are adjusted to false forms, and so the thoughts do not ring true. They are mere hereditary forms of speech. All masculine thought and expression up to the present time have been in the language of sex and not in the language of race; and so it has come about that the music of humanity has been set in one key and played on one chord.

It has been well said that an Englishman can not speak French correctly until he has learned to think in French. It is far more true that no one can speak or write the language of human liberty and equality until he has learned to think in the language, and to feel without stopping to argue with himself that right is not masculine only and that justice knows no sex.

Were the claim to superior opportunity, status, and position based upon capacity, character, or wealth, upon perfection of form or grace of bearing, one could understand if not accept the reasonableness of the position; for it would then rest upon some sort of recognized superiority; but while it is based upon sex, a mere accident of form, carrying with it a brute instinct, which is not even glorified by the capacity and willingness to produce, surely no lower, less vital, or more degraded basis could possibly be chosen. Not long ago a heated argument arose here in Chicago over the teaching of German in the public schools. This argument was used by one of the leading contestants in one of the leading journals:

"The whole amount of education that ninety-five per cent of our public school pupils receive is lamentably small. It is far less than we could wish it to be. Most of these children, who are to be the citizens and by their ballots the rulers of this nation, can often remain but a few years in the school-room. For the average American citizen who is not a professional man, or who is not destined for diplomatic service abroad, English can afford all the mental and intellectual pabulum needed."

Now here is an amusing, and also a humiliating, illustration of the way these matters are always handled, and it is for that reason only that I have introduced a local question here. "Ninety-five per cent of our public school pupils," etc., "by their ballots are to be the rulers of the nation," etc., "future citizens," forsooth! Now it simply did not occur to the gentleman who wrote that, and to the hundreds who so write and speak daily, that the most of those ninety-five

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per cent have no ballot, do not "rule," are not the "future citizens," but that they belong to the proscribed sex — have committed the crime of being girls even before they entered the public schools, and so have permanently outlawed themselves from citizenship in this glorious republic of "equals." But his entire argument, made upon so large a per cent, really rests upon a much smaller number; but the girls made good ballast for the argument. They answered to fill in the "awful example," but they are not allowed the justice of real citizenship, nor to be the future "rulers" for and because of whom the whole argument is made — for whose educational rights and needs alone, *because of their future ballots*, he cares so tenderly. It will not do to attempt to avoid this issue by the hackneyed expression, "The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world." Every one knows that this is not true in the sense in which it is used. It is true, alas, in a sense never dreamed of by politician and publicist.

It is true that the degraded status of maternity has ruled and does rule the world, in that it has been, and is, the most potent power to keep the race from lofty achievement. Subject mothers never did, and subject mothers never will, produce a race of free, well-poised, liberty-loving, justice-practicing children.

Maternity is an awful power. It blindly strikes back at injustice with a force that is a fearful menace to mankind. And the race which is born of mothers who are harassed, bullied, subordinated, and made the victims of blind passion or power, or of mothers who are simply too petty and self-debased to feel their subject status, can not fail to continue to give us the horrible spectacles we have always had of war, of crime, of vice, of trickery, of double-dealing, of pretense, of lying, of arrogance, of subserviency, of incompetence, of brutality, and, alas, of insanity, idiocy, and disease, added to a fearful and unnecessary mortality. To a student of anthropology and heredity it requires no great brain-power to trace results to causes.

We need only remember that the mental as well as the physical conditions, capacities, and potentialities are inherited to understand how the dead level of hopeless mediocrity must be preserved as the rule of the race, so long as the potentialities of that race must be filtered always through and take its impetus from a mere annex to man's power, ambition, desires, and opinions.

Let me respond right here to those who will, who always do, insist that woman is not so held to-day, at least in England and America; that her present status is a dignified, an equal, or even superior one.

I will illustrate. In a recent speech by the Hon. William Ewart Gladstone he pleaded most eloquently and earnestly for the right of Irishmen to rule and govern themselves. Among many other things he said:

"The principal weapons of the opposition are bold assertion, persistent exaggeration, constant misconstruction, and copious, arbitrary, and baseless prophecies. True, there are conflicting financial arrangements to be dealt with, but among the difficulties nothing exists which ought to abash or terrify men desirous to accomplish a great object. For the first time in ninety years the bill will secure the supremacy of Parliament as founded upon right as well as backed by power."

Had these remarks been made with an eye single to the "woman question," they could not have been more exactly descriptive of the facts in the case; but with Irishmen only on his mind he continued thus:

"The persistent distrust of the Irish people despite all they can do comes simply to this, that they are to be pressed below the level of civilized mankind. When the boon of self-government is given to the British colonies is Ireland alone to be excepted from its blessings? To deny Ireland home rule is to say that she lacks the ordinary faculties of humanity."

He said "Irish people," but he meant Irish men only. But see to what his argument leads! He says it is "press-

ing them below the level of civilized mankind" to deny them the right to stand erect, to use their own brains and wills in their own government; and a great party in his own country, and a great party in this country, echo with mad enthusiasm his opinions. They call it mankind; they mean one-half of mankind only, for not even Mr. Gladstone is able to rise high enough above his sex bias to see that the denial of all self-government, all representation in the making of the laws she is to obey, "presses woman below the level of civilized mankind."

Words cease to have par value, even with the stickler for verbal accuracy, the instant their own arguments are applied to the other sex. Eloquently men can and do portray the wrongs, the outrages, the abuses which always have arisen, which always must arise, from class legislation — from that condition which makes it impossible for one class or condition of citizens of a country to make their needs, desires, preferences, and opinions felt in the organic and statute law of their country on an equal and level footing with their fellows. Men have needed no great ability to enable them to prove that tyranny unspeakable always did and always will follow unlimited power over others — so long as their arguments applied between man and man; but the instant the identical arguments are used to apply between man and woman, that instant their whole attitude changes. That instant words lose all par value. That instant all men, including those who have just waxed eloquent over the injustice and the real danger of permitting inequality before the law, become aristocrats. Claiming to be the logical sex, man throws logic to the winds! Claiming to have fought and bled to enthrone "liberty," he forgets its very name! Asserting that in his hand alone can the scales of justice be held level, he makes of justice, of liberty, of equality, a mockery and a pretense. He has so far read all of those words in the masculine form only. He has not yet learned to think them in a universal language. He stultifies his every utterance and makes of his mind a

jailer, and of his laws slave-drivers for all who can not by physical force wrench from him the right to their own liberty and to the human status of equality of opportunity.

Men have everywhere grown to believe that they rule women by divine right. Woman is a mere annex to and for man's glory. She exists for him to rule, to think for, to adore, to tolerate, or to abuse as he sees fit, according to his type of nature. Her appeal must not be to an equal standard of justice which she has helped to frame, administer, and live by, but it must be to his generosity, his tenderness, his toleration, or his chivalry — in short, to his absolute power over her. "No people can be free without an equal legal footing for all of its citizens!" exclaims the statesman; and drums beat, and trumpets blare, and men march and countermarch in enthusiastic response to the sentiment. "We must have a government of the people, by the people, and for the people" is cheered to the echo wherever heard, and nobody realizes that what is meant always is a government by men, for men, and of men, with woman as an annex. Only three weeks ago all of our papers had leaders, editorials, and cablegrams to announce that "Universal suffrage has been granted in Belgium." They all grew enthusiastic over it. One of our leading New York editors said (and I use his editorial simply because it is a very good example of what almost all of our important journals said), "The triumph of the Belgium democracy is an event of the first significance. The masses had long appealed in vain for a removal of the property qualification which restricted the right of suffrage to one hundred and forty thousand persons out of a population of over six millions, but the Chambers, dominated by the wealthy classes, resolutely refused to comply with the demand until a dangerous revolution was inaugurated. Even now the change in the constitution granting universal suffrage is coupled with the right of plural voting by the property owners; but it is quite certain this obnoxious feature will be soon abandoned by the Chambers, and universal suffrage will prevail,

as in the adjoining nations of France and Germany. When these newly enfranchised electors choose the next Legislature, important changes may be expected in the laws applicable to the employment of labor, which have hitherto been framed solely in the interest of the mine-owners and the manufacturers.

"Fortunately for the king, he seems to be in sympathy with this effort of the masses to acquire a fair representation in the government. In the recent riots the hostility of the people was directed against the Assembly rather than against the crown.

"It is very evident that the democratic spirit is gaining ground throughout Europe. Its influence is manifest in the home rule movement in England, in the hostility to the army bill in Germany, and in the rapid changes in the ministries of France. It steadily advances in every direction, and never loses ground once acquired. It progresses peacefully if it can, but forcibly if it must. Its triumph in Belgium is one of the signs of the times in the Old World."

"The people" are all male in Belgium, in France, Germany, and America, or else all of these statements are mere figures of speech — are wholly untrue — for the women of Belgium, of France, of Germany, and, alas, of democratic America, were not even thought of when the words "people," "citizen," "masses," "laborers," etc., were used.

They are counted in the estimates of the population as all of these. They are used to fill vacancies, to swell estimates, to round out statistics; but in the result of these arguments and statistics, in the victories won for liberty to the individual, woman has no part. She is the one outlaw in human progress. In a recent magazine this passage occurs:

"Austria.— On April 2d, Dr. Victor Adler, a Socialist leader, spoke to about four thousand working-men in favor of universal suffrage. He said that two-thirds of the adult men had not the suffrage. Only half-civilized countries like Russia and Spain now placed their citizens in such inequality before the law. The working-man of Austria

had never before this winter suffered such hardships, and now in Vienna twenty-six thousand workmen were without shelter."

Yet there is no report that Doctor Adler, or the editor of the magazine, who waxed eloquent over it, saw any special "hardship" or "inequality" in a degraded status for all women. "Universal suffrage" indeed! And has Austria no women citizens? Were the working-women who have not the ballot better sheltered than the men? Or do they need no shelter? Another editor says:

"Don't talk about a free ballot while the bread of the masses is in the giving of the classes." Yet had a venturesome girl type-setter made it read, "Don't talk about a free ballot, a democracy, or freedom while the bread of women is in the giving of men," the editor would have said, "She is insane — and besides that, she is talking unwomanly nonsense."

It is the same in science, in literature, in religion. All estimates are made on and for the "human race," "the people of a country," etc. The "will of the people" is spoken of; we are told all about the size, capacity, convolutions, etc., of the brain of the different peoples; we hear learned discussions about it all, and when you sift them, woman — one-half of the race talked about — is used always simply and only as ballast, as filling, to make a point in man's favor. She does not figure in the benefits. He is the race — she is his annex.

Not long ago an amusing illustration of this came to my knowledge. In life insurance there is more money invested than in any other financial enterprise. This is the way insurance experts look at the woman question. The estimates of longevity, desirability of risk, etc., are based upon male standards. This is not in itself unnatural nor unreasonable, since men have been the chief insurers; but few companies, indeed, being willing to insure women at all. But not long ago a woman applied for a policy on her life in a first-class company. She had three little children

for whom she wished to provide in case of her death. She believed that she could properly support them so long as she lived. To her surprise she was told that the rate at which she must pay was five dollars on each one thousand dollars more than her brother had to pay at the same age. She asked the actuary — a very profound man — why this was so. He told her that women had been found to be not so good risks as men, since they were subject to more dangers of death than were men, and to make the companies safe it had been found necessary to charge women a higher rate. She had heard much her life long of the dangers to men's lives, of the shielded, sheltered state of feminine humanity, and she had never dreamed that it was, from a mortuary point of view, "extra hazardous" to be a woman. She assumed, however, that it must be so, and paid her "extra hazardous" premium — just as if she belonged to the army, or was a blaster, or miner, or "contemplated going up in a balloon." A short time afterward her mother, an elderly lady, had some money to invest. She did not wish to care for it herself, as she had never had the least business experience. She applied to the same actuary to know how much of an annual income, or annuity, she could buy for the sum she had. He figured on it for awhile, and told her. It was a good deal less than a man could get for the same amount. She had the temerity to ask why. "Well," said the actuary, gazing benignly over his glasses at her in a congratulatory fashion, "you see, women live longer than men do, and —"

"But you told my daughter that they did not live so long; and so she pays at a higher rate on insurance to make you safe, lest she should die too young. Now you charge me more for an annuity on the theory that a woman lives longer than a man."

"Well," said he, readjusting his glasses and going carefully over the mortuary tables again, "that does seem to be the fact. If a woman assures her life she beats the company by dying sooner than a man, and if she takes an

annuity she beats us by living longer than he would. Don't know how it happens, but we charge extra to cover the facts as we find 'em."

Such is male logic upon female perversity even in death. Yet men say that they understand us and our needs so much better than we do ourselves, that they abandon all of their reasoning, logic, enthusiasm, and belief, on the great fundamental principles of justice, equality, liberty, and law the moment their own arguments are applied to women instead of to "labor," the "Irish question," or to any phase of class legislation as applied between man and man.

The fact is simply and only this: The arrogance of sex-power and perversion is now so thoroughly ingrained that man really believes himself to be, by divine right, the human race, and that woman is his perquisite. He has no universal language. He thinks in the language of sex. But more than this, and worse than this, he insists upon no one being allowed to think in the language of humanity, and to translate that thought into action.

The Value of the Eastern Star as a Factor in Giving Women a Better Understanding of Business Affairs, and Especially Those Relating to Legislative Matters — Address by Mary A. Flint of California.

The primary object of the Order of the Eastern Star, as expounded by its founder, Robert Morris, was "to associate in one common bond the worthy wives, widows, daughters, and sisters of Freemasons so as to make their adoptive privileges available for all the purposes contemplated in Masonry; to secure to them the advantages of their claim in a moral, social, and charitable point of view, and from them learn the performance of corresponding duties."

It can hardly be possible that those who laid the cornerstone and began the erection of this superstructure that has

attained such fair and lofty proportions could have had any adequate conception of the work they inaugurated.

It is not only fulfilling its mission from a moral, social, and charitable point of view, — and much might be said, and probably will be well said, to show its growth and influence in all directions, — but as an educator of women the order is entitled to "high rank." Especially to women has it been a revelation of power and ability, developing and bringing into use talents hitherto unsuspected, by whose exercise in its ceremonial observances and business transactions confidence has been gained that has made it possible for many women to fill positions of trust and to obtain employment.

This brings us to the special topic of this paper, the value of the Eastern Star as a factor in giving women a better understanding of business affairs, and especially those relating to legislative matters. To a thoughtful mind the first steps toward admission to the order are fraught with interest, which is increased by each succeeding stage of the initiating ceremonies.

Lessons of fidelity, constancy, loyalty, purity, uprightness of character, hope and charity are taught by a symbolism of exceeding beauty and fitness, while the spirit of the fraternity shines like a silver thread through all the routine work.

To give all these lessons their full meaning requires careful study, exactness, and promptitude, combined with dignity of demeanor on the part of the officers to whom they are assigned, that the impression made upon the candidate may be of permanent value; hence the regular routine of these duties becomes of value as an educational factor, giving by frequent repetition confidence in one's ability to speak acceptably, and with proper appreciation of the beauties contained in the different lectures, as well as being a means of strengthening the memory.

With membership gained, and fraternal relations established, a knowledge of business details becomes necessary, which is acquired only by observation and experience, as

from time to time different subjects are presented for immediate consideration or referred to committees, to be examined, reported upon, and discussed before final action is taken.

To do all these things correctly and intelligently involves careful attention to details; the faculty of comparing and condensing facts so as to present them in concise and suitable language; and a knowledge of business forms and established rules and regulations. It is important also to know how to listen intelligently to propositions presented for discussion, to know whether they are properly stated by the presiding officer, and what effect their approval or rejection will have on existing conditions, to discuss them with fairness and impartiality, putting aside personal preferences, and exercising a charitable consideration for the prejudices and preferences of others; conceding matters of small importance, but never losing sight of the principle involved, and allowing no deviation from the straight and narrow path of justice and right through any sophistries, however plausible or ingeniously presented; to keep constantly in view the greatest good of all concerned, and to accept the will of the majority with cheerfulness even though the result be contrary to preconceived ideas.

Familiarity with all the details of business will prove of inestimable value, and a careful study of them, with frequent practice, will be full of interest and afford an excellent opportunity for women to qualify themselves for legislative positions by teaching them not only how to make laws, but to obey them strictly.

The various official positions of the order necessitate special preparation to render them available for the highest development of one's capacities, as step by step they lead to higher planes of usefulness.

To safely guard the portals, that no one enter unless entitled to do so, and to permit no interruption to ceremonial observances, requires watchfulness, discretion, tact, readiness of resource in preventing anything that might

lead to unpleasant complications, and also implicit obedience to constituted authority; important qualities in any sphere of action.

So much depends upon the secretary of any organization, that to perform correctly the duties of that position is no easy task, and careful attention needs to be given to its requirements by those who would fill it intelligently and creditably.

It is the duty of a secretary to make a proper record of the proceedings of each meeting, to conduct the correspondence, to receive all the moneys and give credit for them.

Quickness of observation and readiness of understanding, clearness of perception as to what is proper to be recorded, precision of language and accuracy of statement, facility of expression, suavity of manner, good penmanship, neatness and orderliness, unquestioned integrity, obedience to the requests of the presiding officer, all these and more which might be enumerated are necessary qualifications of a secretary who seeks to obtain the highest standard of excellence.

"The proper preservation of our funds demands honesty and carefulness on the part of our treasurer." What is true of one organization applies with equal force to all.

The many instances constantly occurring of misappropriation of funds, dishonesty in every form, and criminal carelessness on the part of those to whom have been intrusted moneys belonging to societies and private individuals, come to emphasize with ever-increasing distrustfulness the necessity of the strictest fidelity and the most undeviating integrity in the discharge of every important trust; and there is no better school in which to learn this lesson than in our order, founded upon the sublime principles of truth and fidelity to all moral obligations.

Without further reference to those in official stations who have to do with the initiatory ceremonies, I will refer briefly to the duties of a presiding officer and the

requisites for one who is ambitious to become proficient in the work.

A dignified, courteous demeanor, close attention to details, quickness of apprehension in grasping the true meaning of questions brought forward for consideration and the strictest impartiality in deciding them; a thorough knowledge of parliamentary rules and the laws governing the organization, and firmness in exacting obedience to them, and maintaining discipline while carefully refraining from an infringement of others' rights; a subordination of personal consideration to the general welfare; all these are component parts of a harmonious whole, demanding serious thought and study on the part of those who aspire to the honor of presiding officer over any assembly.

In the Order of the Eastern Star the duty of presiding devolves upon the sisters. The matron is brought into close relations with the associate head of the chapter, who, as a Master Mason, should be well informed on all points.

Though not the chief officer, he is required to be conversant with the laws of the order; and as the constitutional adviser of the worthy matron shares with her the cares and responsibilities of the position.

By temperament and from lack of previous training in public matters women are probably more sensitive to criticism and censure than men, whose experience in the management of public affairs has been so much greater, but honest criticism assists rather than hinders the development of qualities necessary for success, and censure, if undeserved, can be ignored; but a wise discrimination is often needed to determine how much of either is best adapted to serve the purpose of improvement. Here also she may derive great benefit from the safe counsel and thoughtful consideration of her associate officer, so that with mutual helpfulness and harmony of interest, each conscientiously striving for the best results, they may successfully administer the trust committed to their charge.

In conclusion, a well-conducted chapter of the Eastern Star is a school wherein an earnest woman of ordinary ability may acquire a sufficient knowledge of business to enable her not only to fill positions in which she may earn a livelihood merely, but also to manage public trusts connected with the government of the State, in which may be greater responsibilities and increased remuneration.

If in addition to the training here received there is a broad underlying foundation of previous mental discipline, combined with capacity of a high order, to what may she not aspire?

If in the providence of God, by future legal enactment, women shall stand shoulder to shoulder with men in matters political, as they do now socially and intellectually, the influence of this factor in education and experience will be entitled to recognition.

The Relation of Woman to Our Present Political Problems — Address by Abbie A. C. Peaslie of Maine, Representative of the Loyal Women of American Liberty.

Handicapped as is woman — twenty-five States and Territories only giving her authority at the polls — in what way can she be related to the present political problems now agitating our country?

This subject should be treated from both a practical and a theoretical standpoint.

In Wyoming, where women have the supreme privilege of an unrestricted ballot, in Kansas, where they have the municipal ballot, and in other States and Territories where suffrage is granted in one form or another, one may reason from practice, while in States not so favored one must theorize.

In the rising of this new Star that has settled so gracefully on our national banner we have much of hope in

the lessons to be learned from her struggles and victorious emancipation from political bondage. By this progress much is made possible toward the development of the ideal government: verifying the truth "that woman has appeared in American politics, and the home has become the unit of American politics, and the power of the home is going to be more and more potential in American affairs."

However indifferent woman may have been in the past, as she considers the issues that now confront us as a nation, if the instinct of motherhood still reigns supreme in her bosom, she can remain indifferent no longer.

Optimistic as she may be for America's future, she can but note in the municipal elections of her own city the partisan motives that prompt the placing upon the electoral ticket men whom, morally, she can not indorse; and yet her son, in the proud flush of young manhood, is called to cast his vote for them, thus stultifying his sense of justice at the very beginning of his political career.

Too long have politics been considered a demoralizing agency, when, next to the law of the love of God, should be love of country and the laws that govern it.

It may be asked, What can woman do to guard the temple of American liberty against the political animosities that bedim the public mind, or against the menace of open assault or secret machination?

I would cite, in answer, the noble example of the women of Boston, who, in the municipal election of December, 1888, so gloriously defended the public schools from sectarian despotism.

Our countrymen, in the eager pursuit for the gold that perisheth, have become lax in giving attention to the questions that pertain to the moral welfare of our loved country and to the perpetuation of the principles of its founders. In so doing they have ignored a constituency which they declare needs no other representation than that which the identity of interests between the sexes imparts, yet whose claims in the interests of the home are willfully set aside.

Though preferring the quiet of the domestic fireside, there is ingrained in woman's nature that love of liberty and equity which characterized the men who, with their little families, braved the dangers of an unknown sea; from whom she has inherited the courage that makes her bold to plead her cause in legislative halls, to the end that her rights may be respected.

"No longer are women doubtful as to the advantages to be gained by the franchise," though this evolution has cost the sacrifice and ridicule of the noble pioneers whom this World's Congress of Representative Women to-day so proudly honors.

The great industrial world, in which so large a proportion of the wage-earners are women, is beginning to realize what the power of their ballot would be in economic reforms.

Woman's ballot is needed to emphasize the demand of Congress for the passage of a bill making more stringent immigration laws, and the adoption of measures for their enforcement.

We of New England, through the open door of our Canadian border, are threatened by the invasion of a people hostile to our free institutions and clannish in their customs. Our population in all large cities is becoming more and more heterogeneous. Yet we have cause to fear "only those who will not affiliate with us after they get here."

As loyal women, we believe in popular education; we believe that the character of our country is to be determined by the enlightenment of the masses. Hence we consider compulsory education a necessity, agreeing with Lyman Beecher when he says: "We must educate! we must educate! or we must perish by our own prosperity."

The educational test amendment, enacted in the fall of 1892, has reaped good results the past winter, as the evening schools have had exceptionally large numbers in attendance; and through the adoption of this amendment Maine hopes to offset in part the denationalizing influence of the "Cahensly" plan in her French parochial schools.

Would that I might, with the poetic genius of the lamented author of "Snow Bound," paint upon the tablets of your memory "the little red school-house" of your youthful days, and thereby touch a chord of sympathy that would respond to the efforts of this organization to preserve this landmark of Christian civilization, this bulwark of American liberty — the public school, and the retention of the Bible in the same; and serve to stimulate to greater activity and responsibility those who have the school suffrage, and to incite the women of those States not thus favored to work more earnestly for the measure.

With eloquent and persuasive flattery to the American sense of justice, we are asked for the appropriation of public moneys and the division of the school fund for sectarian purposes. To submit would be treason, in the light of what history has revealed regarding the results of a sectarian school system.

Father McGlynn gives utterance to the sentiment of all loyal citizens when he says: "The American people have very justly looked upon the public school as the palladium of their liberties and one of the most necessary safeguards for the preservation of the republic." And in his scathing criticism on ecclesiastical interference in the free institutions of our country, he touches a responsive chord in the heart of all who have enjoyed the benefits of the public school.

Through an influence hostile to our schools, more than four hundred thousand pupils who are to become American citizens have been withdrawn from them; and the question is under discussion as to how the remaining six hundred thousand shall receive instruction that accords with the teaching of a particular sect.

The words of one of your Western women ring in my ears, "What you would put into your nation's life, you must put into your schools."

I would so impress this truth upon the minds of the mothers of this land as to lead them not only to realize

HON. ELBRIDGE G. KEITH,
Director World's Columbian Exposition; Chairman of the Finance Committee.

their responsibility, but to insist, "as the right of the State is identical with her right to preserve herself," that when sects establish methods detrimental to our republican form of government, stringent laws be passed forbidding the same, and requiring that all schools in which our children are instructed shall be under the supervision of the State authorities. For the accomplishment of this work, I would urge the passage of the amendment suggested by the National League for the Protection of American Institutions.

With great solicitude should we guard the Bible from the ruthless hands that would exclude it from the school-room. In the defense of those who desire the retention of the Bible in the school as a guide to the higher moral development of our youth, I can do no better than to quote words spoken in protest against its expulsion by a distinguished divine, "The Bible is the only unsectarian book and system. The Bible is religious instruction, all-pervading, pure, perfect, but not distinctive or sectarian, as opposed to this or that sect; just as the atmosphere is omnipresent, translucent, vital, but neither as oxygen nor as nitrogen.

"The Bible is used as God's word, our guide to everlasting life, and not as a book of Protestantism. There is no such a thing as a Protestant version; there never has been. There is an English version for all who read English. The work was begun by Wickliffe in the Romish church, before the art of printing. It was renewed and continued by Tyndale and others, in the same Romish church, before the public protestation against the errors of that church. It was printed, published, and circulated by the authority of a Romish king, King Henry VIII., with a license procured by Cranmer and the vicar-general Cromwell of the Romish church. This very translation, which, in the main, was that of Tyndale, was substantially taken as the basis of the translation issued under King James; and it was so free from anything sectarian, as between Romanism and other sects, that the learned Dr. Alexander Geddes, an

ecclesiastic of the Romish church himself, called it 'of all versions the most excellent, for accuracy, fidelity, and the strictest attention to the letter of the text.'"

Loyalty to the star-spangled banner is one of our most cherished tenets; and we trust the custom may become universal of floating it over every school-house in the land, and that our children may be taught to salute it with becoming reverence.

Women's National Indian Association — Address by Mrs. William E. Burke of New York, Read by Mrs. Herrick Johnson of Illinois.

"Every man who is born within the territory of the United States is amenable to the authority of the United States, by law of nature, that is, by divine decree; and the United States Government must, whether it will or no, assume the responsibility of exercising legitimate and just government over him, and answer for its trust to the God of nations, the God of the poor and the unprotected." These words of a well-known divine might, without demur, be accepted as an axiom in social ethics, and yet there was a time, not many years ago, when the original inhabitant of our country, the native Indian, had within our borders no legal or political rights. Neither citizen nor foreigner, he occupied a position anomalous and strange; although the lands he held were recognized as his own in the treaties made with him by the Government, he was subject to enforced removals from them. The agent under whom he was placed was clothed with power as despotic as that of any potentate. He could at his pleasure suspend the Indian chief holding the tribal authority, and arrest or drive away any visitor to the reservation. Under such circumstances the Indian was robbed continually. He had no power to make contracts, nor could he sell the product of his labor to any one but the trader appointed by Govern-

ment. Often placed upon a tract of barren, unproductive land, he was required to cultivate it under conditions which would paralyze the efforts of an expert farmer. He was deprived of arms and ammunition with which he could live by hunting, and he could not leave the reservation without permission. He had no power to protect himself or his family from outrage. Indeed, to kill an Indian was not a crime in law; and regarding the long list of minor wrongs he was wholly at the mercy of his white neighbor. It would be difficult to imagine a condition more oppressed and helpless than was that of the Indian at that time.

It was the discovery of facts like these which led to the efforts resulting in the organized work of the Women's National Indian Association. The sole object of the originators of this work was to gain more just legislation regarding Indians. For five years no other labor on Indian behalf was done by them, or those whose help they obtained.

The first method adopted was that of popular appeal. This was made in undoubting confidence that the Christian men of the nation needed but to be informed of these great wrongs to demand that they should be righted. A petition was formulated entreating the Government to observe its covenants with the Indians, to prevent encroachments upon their territory, and to guard all the rights guaranteed to them by treaty. This petition was signed by thousands of citizens in fifteen States, and was presented to Congress in February, 1880. The memorial of the next year went further, and added to its expressions regarding treaty-keeping the prayer that all obligations might be observed "until changed by the mutual and free consent of both parties." This petition, presented in January, 1881, bore the signatures of over fifty thousand citizens, more than double the number appended to the first memorial. With it, as with the first, leaflets portraying the Indian situation were widely circulated.

Careful study of the Indian question by the officer of the association whose researches formed the plans and

shaped the policy of the society had revealed the fact that the treaties themselves were often frauds, and that of all the evils afflicting the Indian, the greatest was the reservation system. Here he was indeed "reserved," and was being reserved from personal liberty, from instruction in practical work, from education, from the opportunity for self-support, and therefore from self-respect; in every way he was "reserved" from everything that would best develop his mental and physical powers, and as a rule he was practically "reserved" from the possibility of Christian faith. Knowledge of what such a system must entail upon the unfortunate victims of it naturally led to a revolt against it, and the following year the petition to Congress bore proof of the radical change of views on the part of the leaders of this movement. The memorial circulated during the closing months of 1881, in addition to its prayer for treaty-keeping "until both parties to the covenant agreed to its abrogation," distinctly asked for universal Indian education, for land in severalty, and for the "recognition of Indian personality and rights under the law." Almost wholly by the work of women, this petition was brought to Congress from all the States in the Union, and it represented more than a hundred thousand citizens. Accompanying it was a memorial letter stating that it had the votes of hundreds of churches and of various public meetings, while the roll contained the names of members of legislative bodies, of governors, judges, and lawyers; names of bishops and other clergy, including the entire ministry of three denominations in Philadelphia; of the professors and students of theological seminaries, colleges, and universities; of members of missionary and philanthropical societies, national in extent, with many names from literary, art, and social clubs. Besides all these, the paper was signed by many business and manufacturing firms controlling capital to the amount of many millions of dollars, and employing thousands of operatives. Such signatures show the rapid growth of sentiment in behalf of justice for our native

races, and prove that the classes who lead public opinion and shape intellectual and religious thought were demanding a just and speedy settlement of the Indian question.

This great petition, "as large as a sheep," as was facetiously remarked by a Senator when it appeared in the United States Senate Chamber, in January, 1882, received respectful attention, but, as was to be expected, it stirred to unrighteous wrath the minds of those who were willing that the Indians should remain apart, "reserved," as convenient game for politicians and moral marauders to prey upon.

The work of the association had spread over sixteen States and was still rapidly extending; now it counts its officers, branches, or members in forty States of the Union.

Still another memorial was circulated in the closing months of 1882, which was even more warmly greeted, and adopted. The public press had very generally awakened to the importance of the subject, and the Indian question had become one of the prominent topics of the day. Schemes and plans involving the future of the Indian were occupying the minds of the law-makers at Washington. From the beginning, the devoted women who were striving for a reform in Indian legislation had received the most cordial sympathy and support from the Hon. H. L. Dawes, chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, who himself presented their successive petitions to the Senate, and always with earnest words of commendation. This noble man publicly declared that the new Indian policy which decreed the enfranchisement of the race, giving them universal education, lands in severalty, law, and citizenship, "was born of and nursed by the women of this association."

After the petition for lands in severalty had twice been presented to Congress by the Women's National Indian Association, a plan of work along the same lines and involving the same methods was adopted by the Indian Rights Association, then just organized. The women who for four years had toiled alone, without the aid of any other organ-

ization devoted to the legal help of Indians, hailed with joy the advent of this new society. It proved an able ally in the great reform, and the combined work of these two organizations, with the help of missionary societies and individual friends of the Indian, successfully carried on the movement to its final victory in March, 1887, when, by the passage of the Dawes severalty bill, our native Indian tribes were granted the status of citizens of this republic.

But the legislative work of the Women's National Indian Association did not end with the passage of the Dawes bill, nor has it been lessened by the adoption since that date of missionary, home building, and eight other lines of work. This growing society has continued its appeals to the Christian church and ministry, and to the public press, and, with increasing effect, to Congress. Prayers for the many things which justice still demands for Indians have constantly been addressed personally to our law-makers and executive officers; but the form of the work has changed. Pleas, personal and direct, have proved to be more effective than the great rolls of formal petitions previously sent to Government. The laws and policy of a nation will not rise above the level of public sentiment, and only by educating the popular conscience can any lasting reform be accomplished. The wider appeal to the people through the public press has been most efficacious, for, after all, that is the final and sure resort. Many tribal wrongs have been righted, many acts of governmental justice have been done, since 1887, and in all the women of this association have been an influential, if not always a visible, factor. Many proofs could be adduced that their prayers, though not always audible to the public, have reached the ears of those who control the affairs of the nation, and that their high purpose and thought have helped to mold the laws. As the years go on, the deep consecrated patriotism of womanhood more and more asserts itself. Good women everywhere are waking to a moral consciousness that we have yet within our borders aboriginal tribes still in their native savagery, and that this results not

so much from difference of nature as from lack of opportunity for civilization; still helpless and ignorant, not from physical, mental, or moral incapability, but from the enforced lack of instruction; still nomads and marauders, not because there are no aspiring and noble natures among them, but because no people can develop a settled and upright mode of life without a solid basis of law on which to build.

All thoughtful women, and notably the active members of this association, realize that just legislation for the Indian, abolishing the paradox of remaining legal wrongs, legislation which shall practically place him upon an equal footing with men of every race upon our soil, is the immediate and paramount work to be done for the Indian within these United States; and these workers clearly appreciate the fact that the most difficult and the most important legislative work of the Women's National Indian Association is yet before them.

The Women's Liberal Federation of Scotland — Address by the Countess of Aberdeen of Scotland.

It was not until the beginning of the year 1889 that liberal Scotchwomen first combined for political work. That they were behind their English sisters may be accounted for by the better system of laws prevailing in Scotland, especially those dealing with women and children; or it may be that, liberalism being stronger in Scotland, there was less antagonism of party, and less need for women's help; perhaps, also, Scotchwomen had later realized their duties and responsibilities as independent members of the community, or with their national reticence were shyer of new movements involving public work. Naturally Glasgow and Edinburgh were the first centers of political activity.*

* The women of both cities were represented by the Countess of Aberdeen, the most representative Scotch woman.—[The Editor.]

woman. From these centers other associations sprang, until it became necessary, in order to preserve some kind of unity, to combine these into one federation.

In May, 1890, the Glasgow and West of Scotland societies first took action toward this, as is shown by the following extract from the minutes:

"The question of affiliation between the Woman's Liberal Association for Glasgow and the West of Scotland and the Woman's Liberal Federation of England was considered, and after discussion it was agreed: that federation of the Scottish Women's Liberal Associations is immediately desirable; that the nationality of our association should be maintained in consideration of the distinctive position of Scotland relative to the leading political questions of the day. The committee recommends to the executive that arrangements be made as soon as possible for forming a Scottish Women's Liberal Federation; that the Edinburgh General Council be communicated with on the subject; that a conference be held in the autumn of all branch associations of the Women's Liberal Association for Glasgow and West of Scotland; and that a circular be sent to all these associations requesting them to consider certain subjects to be brought forward at the conference, of which the relation between the Scottish association and the English Women's Liberal Federation be one."

The conference was held on October 20, 1890, when the principle of home rule was accepted, and a Scotch federation agreed to, a committee being formed to draw up the constitution and rules.

The following is a copy of the printed objects:

1. To promote and extend the knowledge of sound liberal principles.
2. To promote the formation of women's liberal associations in Scotland, and to afford to them a center from which information and assistance on political matters can at any time be obtained.
3. To promote intercourse and united action between the women's liberal associations of Scotland, without compromising their independence, or in any way interfering with their constitution, rules, or local authority.

4. To secure just and equal legislation and representation for women, and the removal of all legal disabilities, especially with reference to the parliamentary franchise, and to protect the interests of children.

5. To communicate information and arouse interest among women on political, social, and moral questions, both of general and local interest, and to advance these objects by meetings, lectures, and individual effort.

The first meeting of the Council of the Federation was held on April 6, 1891, in Edinburgh, when Lady Aberdeen, as president, delivered an address, briefly stating the aims and objects of the federation.

At the same time the work of the associations and their relations to the federation were explained by Mrs. Gilbert Beith, who said that the object and design of the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation is to organize the women of Scotland as a social and political force.

Woman has her place alongside of man, not only within the hallowed circle of the family, but also on the larger platform of national and universal affairs. Her sphere is not antagonistic, but auxiliary; and she has responsibilities peculiar to herself, concurrent with his. Her influence, when properly exercised, in the larger field should yield results similar to those in the smaller. As she strengthens and gives completeness to the other sex in the home life, so likewise her quicker perceptions and higher moral instincts should modify asperities and contribute sympathy and comprehensiveness in framing and administering laws for the millions of families which make up the nation. But the women of our country have hitherto failed to recognize their full responsibility, and it is not too much to say that their ignorance and lack of interest in the great questions of the day, which so closely affect the social well-being of the people, are simply deplorable. These questions can only be handled practically by political action, and if women are to become real social reformers, and undertake to do earnestly with the betterment of the people, they must become intelligent politicians. The women of the Scottish Liberal Federation rejoice in recognizing that power now rests with the people. *We have trust in the people,*

and believing that government by the people, for the people, is the true source from which social betterment must proceed, we design to educate and inform the women of our country on all questions exercising the public mind and conscience; that, by their influence, they may stimulate those who possess the privilege of the franchise to a conscientious and resolute exercise of their rights. The horrors of the liquor traffic, of underpaid labor and the sweating systems, the better housing of the working-classes, and the struggles of labor with capital are questions closely affecting every home in the land; but these are all on the political platform, and surely the women of our country, who are so deeply interested, are called upon to form and express opinions, and to do all that possibly can be done to bring about a just solution. Let me say that it is not required that women should possess the franchise before beginning to make their influence felt in this way. Indeed, the case would seem to be the other way about, and it may be questioned if they ever will succeed in acquiring franchise rights until they first become a political force in the country.

The federation through its bills committee has considered and supported all measures dealing with the social and political amelioration of the people. In the session of 1892, among the bills considered was the "Factory Act Amendment" bill, on which the following amendments were drawn up and submitted to members of Parliament: (1) The providing better sanitary arrangements in factories. (2) The removal of restrictions on women's labor. (3) The insertion of provisions dealing with the sweating system. (4) Raising the age at which children enter the factories.

Although by the passing of the "Factory Amendment Act" the worker has received greater protection, nothing has been done to reduce the evils of "sweating"; while the entrance age for children has only been raised to eleven years. One clause provides that no woman shall engage in factory work until one month after child-birth.

Doctor Hunter's "Divorce Amendment" bill for England was heartily supported by the committee. The conveners sent an appeal to each Scottish member of Parliament asking him to be in the House, and to support the second reading, which was set down for the 15th of March. Unfortunately, the bill was crowded out. This was also the fate of Mr. Stuart's "Women as County Councillors" bill; and Mr. Woodall's bill for "Extending the Franchise to Women" had to give place to other public business. The committee petitioned in favor of these bills.

Another bill brought in at the beginning of that session affecting the conditions of women's work was Mr. Provand's "Shop Hours" bill. After consideration by the committee, the following resolution and amendment to the bill were adopted and recommended for discussion at the meeting of the council:

"That, while in favor of a reduction in the excessive hours of labor of shop assistants, both in the case of men and women, the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation considers that Mr. Provand's bill, by fixing a maximum number of hours for shop-women only, will place them at a disadvantage with men in that kind of work, but approves of the principle of the bill in regard to young persons.

"The federation is of the opinion that Section 10 of Mr. Provand's bill, which exempts the employer's family from the provisions of the bill, is inequitable, and ought not to be passed into law."

The following bills dealing with temperance were also supported: "Grocers' License" bill, "Local Veto" bill, "Early Closing Act Amendment" bill, "Sale of Intoxicating Liquors to Children" bill. The committee petitioned in favor of Mr. Buchanan's "Right of Way" bill. The "Married Women's (Artisans' Wives)" bill was considered, as also Sir J. Lubbock's "Shops Weekly Half-Holiday" bill, and Mr. Burt's "Employers' Liability" bill.

On the recommendation of the bills committee, the executive submitted several resolutions to the University

Commissioners appointed under the University Act of 1889, as amendments on the draft ordinance dealing with the graduation of women and their instruction in the universities.

It is gratifying to learn that the final ordinances empower the University Court to open all the faculties to women; that the museums and libraries may be used by women, although no provision is made for women's sharing in the bursaries; and that the ordinances with certain restrictions are retrospective — allowing women to graduate who have already attended regular courses and obtained certificates in examinations of the same character and standard as those for the M. A. degree.

On account of the general election which took place last summer there was no proposed legislation for the bills committee to discuss until after the opening of Parliament in the end of January of this year 1893.

Among the government measures which the committee recommended the executive of the federation to support, without binding itself to approval of all details, are the Government of Ireland bill and the Liquor Traffic Local Control bill.

The literature committee has also published and distributed leaflets dealing with the questions of the day, such as, "Why Am I a Liberal?" "Can People be Made Sober by Act of Parliament?" "Why Should Women Desire Religious Equality?" "Trades Unions for Working-Women," "Woman's Suffrage."

During the last year several municipal bodies were asked to consider the advisability of appointing women inspectors under the Shop Hours Act; and the Countess of Aberdeen represented the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation on a deputation to the home secretary desiring that women be appointed factory inspectors.

In answer to this request two women factory inspectors have been appointed, and if the experiment succeeds the number will be increased.

At present the federation embraces thirty associations, with a membership of four thousand nine hundred and eighty-three, and these under the organizing secretary, Miss Kellie, are being gradually added to.

The work of the federation is carried on by the office-bearers and executive committee of twenty members, representing eastern and western constituencies of Scotland.

The general result of the movement has been, so far, the development of women's interest and zeal for all questions affecting the public welfare. It may also be said that the indirect influence of the movement has been to hasten women's emancipation from the old bonds of custom and prejudice, stronger often than statutes.

Finsk Qvinnoforening, the Finnish Women's Association — Address by Baroness Gripenberg of Finland, Read by Meri Toppelius of Finland.

Far away, beyond the seas, unknown and forgotten, there is one of civilization's most northern outposts, Finland, like a reflex in the snow, of European culture. In America the spring has entered long ago, with warm winds, and dressed nature in fresh verdure. In Finland at this time the ice has but just gone from the thousand lonely lakes, and the birch begins cautiously to put forth small, tender leaves. In the same way the woman's cause in America has long ago had its spring, while in Finland it now first develops the leaves. One of those leaves is the association which I have the honor to represent, Finsk Qvinnoforening, the Finnish women's association, the first organization for women's rights in Finland. Its name in the Finnish language is Suomen Neisyhdistys. Some of you have heard of it before, as it was represented also at the first international council of women in Washington, 1888, by Alexandra Gripenberg. Finsk Qvinnoforening is one of the most northern outposts of women's work, a reflex high in the north of

the movement which is going on in the large countries for the enfranchisement of women. I will in a few words touch upon the causes for its organization. History shows us that in countries which have had to struggle for their existence women through this struggle have received strong impulses in their own causes. It has been so in Finland. We are a little nation, which belonged to Sweden for more than six hundred years, until we, in 1809, were united to Russia. Our chief endeavor now became to maintain our national individuality. Perhaps you who belong to the great American people find it ridiculous that we, a handful of men and women, did not prefer to be assimilated by a greater nation, but obstinately kept to our existence as a separate one. Perhaps such an endeavor is chimerical, nevertheless many small nations before us have struggled successfully for the same Utopia. We had meanwhile great and serious obstacles to conquer. Since our long union with Sweden, the Swedish language had grown to be the predominant one in the schools, the offices, the law courts, and among the educated classes. The people's own language, the Finnish tongue, was entirely different from the Swedish, and though it was spoken by six-sevenths of the population, it had no rights whatever. It was uncultivated and despised, and every one who wished to participate in western culture had as a first step to give up his native language.

The depreciation following this neglect was most dangerous, because if our nationality was to be maintained, the language, which is the expression of that nationality, must be preserved and cultivated. It must be the medium of education and government or national self-respect can not be sustained. A great reform movement now arose whose aim was to gain for the Finnish language its natural rights. I can not here dwell upon the fact that there were many who in these efforts saw a danger for our people. The main thing is, that the Finnish nationality movement broke forth with irresistible power. The whole people became

seized by this idea, which swept through the country like a mighty spring storm. The leading men appealed to the mothers, through whom the idea was to go to the coming generation by the education of the children in their native tongue. The women did not remain indifferent, and for them this movement became the plow which prepared the field for another great idea — that of their own rights. Their activity in the nationality movement awoke them to their duties by the possibility of their usefulness in other public reforms. Women participated in the work for the improvement of the language and the starting of schools and newspapers. Women managed large sales of their work and gave the money to the national party. Side by side with men women worked for the nationality idea, and many sacrificed their best years, their youthful enthusiasm, their wealth to this movement.

The homes of the more prominent women became headquarters for many of the leaders, and women learned through their discussions the value and importance of organized work and associated powers.

This happened at the same time that our country was reached by the echoes of the great movement for the enfranchisement of women which was going on in England and Sweden in the sixties. Thus it is natural that the nationality work became an important means of development for the women of Finland. Even those who did not approve of the language movement were forced to become acquainted with its attendant social questions, with which our press resounded, and which in greater or less degree had been called forth through the awakened self-consciousness of the nation. Thus the language movement became also an indirect means of awakening the women to a sense of their rights and responsibilities. I can not here dwell upon the work done by the individual women at this time. I want only to tell about the Finnish women's first attempt to organize their effort to raise the position of their sex. In the spring of 1883 a number of ladies in Helsingfors, our

capital, assembled to read and discuss John Stuart Mill's "The Subjection of Women." The following year, in the May of 1884, this little circle constituted itself into Finsk Qvinnoforening, whose first president was Mrs. Elizabeth Lofgren.

Its platform ran thus:

1. The same right for women as for men to higher and professional education.
2. Right for women to pass the examinations in the university.
3. Right to same salary without regard to sex.
4. Right of married as well as unmarried women to majority at twenty-one years of age.
5. Right of married women to hold property.
6. ....
7. Right of women who have the municipal vote to hold municipal office.
8. Right of women to political suffrage on the same principles as men.
9. The legal age of marriage raised to beyond fifteen years, which is the prevailing custom in Finland.
10. Unfaithfulness, ill-treatment, or a high degree of drunkenness constituted by law a cause for divorce.
11. The same moral restrictions in law and custom for men as those which now prevail for women. Also, as a part of the platform, the meeting passed resolutions in support of the federation.

The platform is almost literally the same as that accepted by the first women's rights meeting in Seneca Falls, 1848, although this was not known by the founders of our little association. Thus great ideas scatter their seeds in different countries, as the summer wind scatters the pollen of flowers. I will not detain you by an account of the difficulties which met our young association. They have most truly been about the same everywhere. I will say only a few words about the work done by Finsk Qvinnoforening.

Of course it has a different character from that of the women's associations in America. Where freedom is the foundation for the development of the people, there the work for the enfranchisement of women usually is concentrated upon suffrage work. But in countries which do not enjoy political liberty, and where even men's suffrage is

limited, one must concentrate the work upon questions concerning higher education, professional training, and general enlightenment for women. Thus Finsk Qvinnoforening has been able to show its sympathies for women's suffrage rather than to work for it. We have, on the other hand, taken initiative petitions to the Diet, which in Finland assembles every third year, asking that women may enter the university without special permission; that married women's majority, as well as that of unmarried women, be fixed at twenty-one years of age, without special request; that women may be elected poor law guardians; and that regulated vice shall be abolished.

We have in lectures and newspaper articles urged married women's right to hold property; and by circulars to women who have the municipal vote, suggested to them to use this right. But the association has worked chiefly for the information and education of women of the so-called lower classes, by lectures, elementary classes, summer homes, by a cooking-school and an office for promoting the employment of women. In connection with this I must mention a circumstance peculiar to our association. Besides the central association, we have six branch unions, of which three are in the country, counting chiefly peasant women as their members. This, I think, is rather exceptional. I believe that you, ladies and gentlemen, would feel it a revelation if you could be present at a meeting some chilly winter evening in one of those little country associations, and see the rows of simple women in the Finnish peasant-woman's coarse, dark-blue dress — some of them having, perhaps, walked several miles in the snow to come to the meeting — see their tough, resigned faces lightened by interest and their eyes expectantly fastened on the speaker's lips. These branch unions mostly work for the instruction of poor girls in needlework and trades; they also have lectures, reading-circles, and meetings for their own members; some of them have started cooking and weaving schools.

It is interesting to see how simply and naturally many of these unlearned women embrace an idea which many of their educated sisters in all countries still regard only as a whim or a passing freak of our time. Finsk Qvinnoforening can not do much for the improvement of women's legal position in Finland; but the leading thought, the red thread in our work, is our effort to raise the women of the working-classes. We believe, and nothing can make us alter our belief, that only in this way will our cause get firmly rooted and have a future in our country. In January, 1892, Finsk Qvinnoforening had its first meeting with its branch unions. This meeting was called to discuss questions concerning the position of our sex. At present we are preparing for an exhibition of women's work in the spring of 1894, when our association will celebrate the first decade of its existence. Finsk Qvinnoforening has a stipendium, called "Elizabeth Lofgren's stipendium," in honor of its first president. The association, including its branch unions, counts at present four hundred members.

As you see, the life of Finsk Qvinnoforening has not been long. She is a baby compared with the National American Woman's Suffrage Association. Still, you must follow this baby with kindness. She is, with her feeble forces, as attached to our common cause as large associations; and then, she is one of your extreme outguards in the north. Our great national poet, Zacharias Toppelius, says about Finland, that its culture exhibits one of humanity's most patient and most energetic victories over the natural powers, and its history is an evidence of what a people is able to endure without losing itself.

"This country can not be buried in the snow; this people can not be blotted out from the list of nations without leaving an empty place in the north of Europe and a vacancy in the reflexes of its civilization." I venture in a certain way to apply these words to us, your little sister association. If we yield to the difficulties, if we cease to be — then, in spite of our insignificance, there will be a

vacancy, here in the far north, in the reflexes of the work done in the great countries for the enfranchisement of women.

The Association for Married Women's Property Rights — Address by Baroness Thorborg-Rappe of Sweden.

Numerous legislative reforms were effected in the middle of this century, and particularly during the sixties and the early part of the seventies, with a view to improve the position of woman socially and intellectually. Thus in 1858 it was by several enactments fixed that unmarried women should be of age at twenty-five years, if making an application, and later (1863), without such an application; in 1872 she was, if of age, released from the requirements of having the consent of her nearest kinsman to her marriage; in 1859 colleges were established for the education of lady teachers in rudimentary schools, and women were admitted as teachers in the public schools, and in 1860 into high schools for educating lady teachers of a higher grade; in 1863 women were employed in post offices, in the telegraphic service, and as clerks in the administrative bureaus of the railways; in 1870 women were admitted to the universities and allowed to become practicing physicians.

However, all of these reforms tended to benefit only the unmarried woman. For the married woman nothing had been done since the royal statute of 1845 had granted a wife equal matrimonial rights with her husband. She was still ruled by the unaltered provisions of the statutes of 1734, investing her husband with a right of full guardianship and a full management over herself and whatever property she might have inherited or obtained before or after her marriage, with the exception of landed estate, wherein the husband had no share, and which he was not

allowed to sell, to mortgage, or to transfer without the consent of his wife.

Ever since L. J. Hierta, in the Riksdag of 1862, introduced a bill relative to the rights of married people, the attention of the legislators had from time to time been drawn to the position of the married woman; and bills asking that she should have protection against the unbounded sovereignty of her husband were introduced by the same mover in the Riksdag every year, but without success.

A daughter of Mr. L. J. Hierta, Miss A. Hierta, in consort with some other persons living in the capital, and warmly interested in the movement, decided in the early part of the seventies to form a society, the chief aim of which was to make known the injustice of the laws concerning the married woman, and to enlist sympathy for reform on this subject in and out of the Riksdag.

Their efforts were regarded favorably, and February 6, 1873, the "Association for the Married Woman's Property Rights" was founded, the earliest society in Sweden for the support of woman's rights. The invitation to join the society was signed by Mr. L. J. Hierta, the director-general, G. Fr. Almquist, Mrs. E. Anharsuard, Miss A. Hierta, Mr. and Mrs. Limnell, Mrs. H. Sohlman, and Mrs. A. Wallenberg. Before the first meeting of the association, however, Mr. L. J. Hierta had died. All the other signers of the invitation were elected members of the board of directors, and also Mrs. E. Lind of Hageby (born Hierta), and Baron O. Stackelberg. Mr. Almquist was elected president and Mrs. Anharsuard secretary of the association.

The first paragraph of the rules of the association contained: "The aim of the association will be to effect such legislative measures that a married woman shall be recognized as possessing the right to have the management of the property she may have inherited or obtained before or after marriage, and consequently also of the income she may derive from her work."

The newly formed association commenced very actively,

and with an energy apparent in various directions, such as numerous meetings, public discourses, the publication of pamphlets, etc. Moreover, arduous efforts were made to cause bills to be introduced in the Riksdag relative to the proprietary rights of the husband and wife. Mr. W. Wallden introduced a bill on the subject in the Riksdag as early as 1873, but it met with no more encouragement than its predecessors, and was rejected.

In the Riksdag of the ensuing year the question was again debated. Bills were then introduced in the First Chamber by Mr. Nordenfelt and in the Second Chamber by Mr. Philipson. The Legislative Committee of the Riksdag of that year had prepared and offered for consideration a proposition by which a wife was to have the right of management of such of her property as by marriage settlement had been exempted from the management of her husband, or such property as she had obtained by gift or by testament, and in regard to which it had been specially stipulated that it was to be her private property. A married woman should, besides, have the privilege of exclusively disposing of her own earnings. This proposition was approved by both the Chambers, and sanctioned by a royal decree on the 11th of December, 1874.

In this way the first step was taken on the road to reform. The association now considered that the means most efficacious to further the progress of the question would be to get a treatise written demanding legislative measures to secure a married woman the privilege of having the control of her private property without the necessity of previous stipulations; it offered three prizes (of two thousand, seven hundred, and three hundred crowns respectively), to be awarded the authors of the most effective essays, and the ones most in correspondence with the aims of the association.

Nine competitors appeared, but their papers, examined by a commission of experts appointed by the association, were not considered worthy of the first prize; the two other

prizes were distributed, and also an extra prize of one thousand crowns, rewarding a third paper that was made the basis for a bill introduced by Mr. C. J. Suensén in the Riksdag in 1877, but which was rejected by the Chambers.

Baron O. Stackelberg then introduced a bill in the Riksdag of 1883, demanding great amendments in the marriage law, and the repeal of the provision making the husband the legal guardian of the wife, and also the abolition of the community of property of a husband and his wife. This bill being disapproved, not less than four other bills relative to the possession in common of the property owned by a married couple were introduced in the next Riksdag, 1884. The Riksdag now made a representation on the subject to his Royal Majesty, requesting the preparation of a plan for the alteration of the enactments regarding the property owned in common by a married couple, with the special object of increasing the rights of the married woman.

On account of this request his royal majesty directed the Legislative Chamber to prepare a bill embracing the ends in view.

As the question concerning the property rights of the married woman could for the present be considered in abeyance, while the Legislative Chamber was preparing the bill, it was proposed, within the association, that its programme should include other subjects also, with the aim of advancing the cause of the unmarried woman, as well as that of the married one, socially and politically. The project was adopted in March, 1886, and the first paragraph of the rules of the association, when altered, read:

"The foremost object of the association is to accomplish such amendments in the Swedish laws that a married woman shall be recognized as having the right of control over such property as she may have inherited, or obtained previous to her marriage or afterward. The efforts of the association will at the same time aim to bring about all such enactments and other measures as may serve to improve the social position of woman."

Among the objects which the association added to its programme were: "That women, oftener than hitherto had been the case, should use their right of voting at municipal elections; that women should be elected on school boards and on the boards of guardians of the poor.

In consequence of the bill which Mr. A. Hedin presented in the Riksdag that very year, the association had immediate occasion to take up the question of co-education, as the bill asked that the instruction in the higher forms of the state's elementary colleges should, when space permitted, be open also to girls. A well attended meeting for discussion of the topic was arranged, where, in a lively debate, co-education was critically examined from different points. A statement taken down in shorthand of the instructive discourses was subsequently published as a pamphlet.

Professor C. Wallis, one of the directors of the association, while traveling in the United States the following year, made co-education his special study, and upon his return the association arranged public discussions on the subject. Professor Wallis told of co-education in the United States, and projects for its introduction in Sweden were discussed.

A commission having been appointed by the government to investigate the education of girls, and having submitted their report January 19, 1888, the association arranged a large meeting to argue on the question, the education of girls, with special regard to co-education. About six hundred persons attended this meeting, and co-education proved to have warm sympathizers in vastly different social spheres, not fewest among teachers, men as well as women.

The plan prepared by the Legislative Chamber for amending the enactments with regard to the property owned by a married couple was published in October, 1888, and the association endeavored to have the public made cognizant of its purpose by means of lectures, discourses, articles in the newspapers, etc.

By the communal regulations of 1862 a woman fulfilling the established prescriptions was granted the right to vote at municipal elections, but very few had availed themselves of this privilege; thus in the city of Stockholm in 1887, where the women entitled to vote numbered four thousand eight hundred and forty-four, with sixty-two thousand three hundred and sixty-three votes at their command, only a very small number made use of their rights of suffrage. Antagonists were always ready with this argument when the extension of woman's civil privileges was demanded; and most particularly when her right as to political suffrage was concerned, it was constantly represented that it was of no avail to allow her more privileges when she hardly profited by those already granted.

To enjoin on woman more generally to make use of her right to vote for the municipal council, the vestry board, etc., therefore became the most imperative concern of the association.

Prior to the election of councilmen in the city of Stockholm in March, 1877, a largely attended meeting was held. The discussion commenced with a stirring and instructive address delivered by Count Hamilton, and treated of the participation of women in municipal elections.

To work for this cause in a still more effective manner, the association appointed a committee of ladies, who took the following practical measures:

The names of all women in the capital entitled to vote were copied from the list of electors, as well as the number of votes at the disposal of each. An election bureau centrally located was instituted, and there the members of the commission attended by turns, furnishing required information Also there were distributed more than four thousand circulars, urging women having the right to vote not to shrink from their duty, and supplying the necessary information as to what was to be observed by the voters. The result was a lively participation in the election on the part of women. At the elections to the municipal council in the

following years the same measures were taken by the association, and always with a favorable result.

On account of a bill introduced in the Riksdag by Mr. S. S. Borg in 1887, asking for women the right to be elected members on school boards and on boards of guardians for the poor, meetings for public discussion were arranged by the association, addressed among others by Mr. A. Hedin, a member of the Riksdag.

The resolution of the Legislature in 1889, declaring women to be eligible to the school boards and to boards of guardians of the poor, was brought about chiefly by the energetic exertions of the association; and in the autumn of 1889, in one of the largest parishes in the capital, a woman was for the first time elected a member on a school board, this lady being Miss Lily Engstrom, a teacher in the State's Normal School for Girls. In the ensuing year the association continued in the same direction, with the result that women were elected members on school boards in three other parishes in the capital. In other parts of the country the same charge has also been intrusted to women.

Moreover, a great many other bills touching on questions coming within the domain of the activity of the association have been strongly supported, as, for instance, the bill introduced by Mr. Borg demanding that the age when women are marriageable should be raised from fifteen to twenty-one years. The bill passed in the Riksdag in 1889, though with a modification, it being established that a woman under seventeen is not allowed to marry. By the same mover was further asked an enlarged right for women in regard to divorce, and by Mr. P. Waldenström enactments for civil marriage were demanded.

The plan for amendments concerning the property owned in common by husband and wife, prepared by the Legislative Chamber, and sharply criticised by the Supreme Court, was not, according to the decision of his Royal Majesty, to be taken as the basis for a proposition to be laid before the Riksdag, the Legislative Chamber having instead been

directed to prepare amendatory enactments as to the separation of property and corresponding ordinances. The association consequently now judged the moment suitable for recommencing the agitation in the Riksdag for the proprietary rights of the married woman.

Two of the directors of the association introduced bills on this matter in the Riksdag of 1892. Count H. Hamilton moved for the repeal of the matrimonial right in respect to such landed estate in cities and towns as either the husband or the wife had inherited during the marriage, or had obtained previous to their marriage, and moved that a husband should not have the power to transfer, mortgage, or dispose of any real estate owned by the couple in common without having the consent of the wife. Mr. M. Höjer moved for the abolition of a husband's guardianship over his wife, as well as the revocation of the community of property of a married couple. Count Hamilton's proposition passed in the Second Chamber, but was defeated in the First, while Mr. Höjer's bill was rejected in both Chambers.

Simultaneously with the proceedings in the Riksdag, the association had caused a pamphlet to be published, entitled "The Main Points in Swedish Statutes Regarding Women," written by Mr. Karl Straff, a young lawyer. It is a popular exposition of the enactments relative to women, and proclaims the injustices and disparities still in existence. Besides this pamphlet already mentioned, the association has published fifteen essays, under the title, "Concerning the Proprietary Rights of the Married Woman," discussing the methods followed by the association, and setting forth the bills introduced in the Riksdag, the debates concerning them, and the enactments made by the Legislature, the memorials submitted by committees, the competitory papers on plans for legislative measures, the addresses made at the meetings of the association, etc.

In addition, the association has caused a form for wills to be prepared and published for the guidance of parents who might wish that the fortune inherited by their daugh-

ters should remain entirely or partially under their own control, even after they are married.

The board of directors appointed by the association has nine regular and three supplementary members. The president is elected from among the members of the board, as well as the vice-president and the secretary and treasurer. These offices have since the organization of the association been held by the following persons:

Presidents: Mr. T. G. Almquist (1873–78), Professor H. Gylden (1878–86), Baron B. O. Stackelberg (1886–88), and Count Hamilton (1888). Vice-presidents: Mrs. T. Limnell (1873–86) and Mrs. A. Retzius (1886). Secretaries and treasurers: Mrs. E. Anharsuard (1873–86), Mrs. E. Lind of Hageby (1886–89), Miss C. Nauman (1891), Miss M. Ceduschiald (1892).

At present the other members of the board are: Mrs. E. Anharsuard; Mr. E. Beckman, member of the Second Chamber of the Riksdag; Mr. H. Sohlman, editor; Mr. M. Höjer, member of the Second Chamber of the Riksdag; Mrs. A. Berfstedt; Mr. C. Lindhagen, accessor of the high court of law; and the supplementary members, Miss Ellen Fries and the Misses G. Hjelmecrus and A. Lindhagen.

It is nearly twenty years since the association was formed, and many are the obstacles which it has had to surmount, such as the repugnance natural in man to resign any of his privileges, the women's indifference, and the conservatism of legislators, and still the chief object of the association remains unattained, namely, the revocation of a husband's guardianship over his wife.

The association can nevertheless with satisfaction consider what has been accomplished by means of its activity: many prejudices are undermined by it; the righteousness of its aims is being more widely acknowledged; men and women conspicuous for ability and discernment have joined the association, and given it their support; by an act of 1874 the married woman is allowed to be mistress of her

own earnings; and other reforms have also been brought about by the association.

The association has then every reason to look hopefully to the future, assured one day, sooner or later, of seeing the completion of its proposed task: woman declared equal to man judicially as well as socially, as a citizen and as a human being.

CHAPTER X.—INDUSTRIES AND OCCUPATIONS.

PREFATORY COMMENT BY THE EDITOR — EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESSES DELIVERED IN THE GENERAL CONGRESS AND FROM DISCUSSIONS OF THESE ADDRESSES BY AUGUSTA COOPER BRISTOL, LINA MORGENSTERN, ELIZABET KASELOWSKY, JUANA A. NEAL, KARLA MACHOVA, FLORENCE ELIZABETH CORY, EMILY SARTAIN, M. B. ALLING, LUETTA E. BRAUMULLER, M. LOUISE MCLAUGHLIN, ALICE M. HART, HELENA T. GOESSMANN, KAETHE SCHIRMACHER, ALICE TIMMONS TOOMY, REV. ANNA H. SHAW, EMILY MARSHALL WADSWORTH, KATE BOND, AND HARRIETTE A. KEYSER — BRIEF EXTRACTS FROM A PAPER PREPARED FOR THE REPORT CONGRESS BY E. E. ANDERSON — BRIEF EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL COLUMBIAN HOUSEHOLD ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION BY MARY COLEMAN STUCKERT — ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE SAME DEPARTMENT CONGRESS BY JANE ADDAMS.

THE idea is still current that as a rule women are "supported" by men. Upon this popular delusion the following pages throw much light. The speakers cited in this chapter regard the general theme from a marked variety of standpoints. The views presented reflect to a degree the nationality, the actual and the relative social positions, of their respective authors; but the variety in method of approaching and treating the industrial position of women, and the diversity of occupations from which the illustrations are drawn, only emphasize certain central facts.

No class of people entertains higher ideals of family life, or has a clearer and nobler conception of the reciprocal obligations of men and women in the home, than the class usually referred to as "women of advanced ideas." It is also in the homes of this class of women that the highest average of domestic happiness, and of all that properly may be included in the phrase domestic success, is unquestionably found. The literature bearing upon domestic problems

which has been produced by women proves that the class of women called "advanced" anticipates the time when the value of human life will be appreciated more highly, and the influence of prenatal conditions and of early training will be understood better. Women then will do no work outside of the home during the years when they are bearing and rearing children, and then fathers will cease to be merely family banks, and will regard an active share in the training, education, and personal care of their children as the inevitable result of paternity. Doubtless, in general, a mother alone can "bring up" children better than a father alone can; but sometime the race will have reached a stage in its development when it will not rest satisfied with a choice between evils; when, instead of accepting the better of two defects, it will demand a positive good; then it will demand and obtain for infancy the combined personal attention of both fathers and mothers.

Before this state can be reached the whole industrial situation must undergo a change. One element in this change is a recognition of the pecuniary value of woman's time, of woman's labor. The pecuniary value of the time and labor spent by women in their homes, in the care of their children, and in establishing the social relations of the family and directing its social life, will never be understood and admitted until woman has demonstrated to the average mind the pecuniary value of her services in all outside occupations, industries, trades, and professions.

The present state of the industrial world as exhibited in this chapter affords such a demonstration. The demonstration involves statements from which may be inferred the degree to which women actually contribute to carrying on the labor and business of the world. It exhibits a nearly universal consciousness in women of their right to do any work they can do, unhampered by abstract considerations of original divine intention or of ultimate divine purpose. It shows a growing inclination to demand that pay shall be determined by the quantity and

the quality of the work done independent of the sex of the worker; a shrewd comprehension of the circumstances that hinder the application of this rule in the industrial world, and a perception of the value of organization as a means of controlling these hindering circumstances.

It is also clear that women are questioning whether it be not possible to enroll among the professions that odd medley of duties commonly lumped under the word "housekeeping," which, proceeding from the affections, must be performed under the guidance of the judgment; whether this complicated labor can not be simplified and managed by the application of the same principles of division and coöperation which control in other fields.

Finally, this chapter reveals a recognition of the fact that the law of solidarity has no exceptions, and that wealth, rank, talents, and culture, separately or all combined, do not exempt the woman possessing them from the effects of any injustice suffered by the poorest, the lowest, feeblest, and most ignorant of women, if suffered in consequence of her sex.—[THE EDITOR.]

WOMAN THE NEW FACTOR IN ECONOMICS — ADDRESS BY AUGUSTA COOPER BRISTOL OF NEW JERSEY.

When a speaker or writer is assigned a theme for elucidation it is important at the outset to have a clear understanding of the terms of that theme. "He shall be as a god to me who can rightly divide and define," said Plato; and as the world gets older it subscribes more and more to Plato. A definition of the terms of my theme, as presented in dictionary and encyclopedia, arrays it as a paradox; establishes woman as the oldest as well as the newest factor in economics; the earliest and latest, according to the area to which the term "economics" is applied. It is important to note all that this fact involves.

We find that economics in its primary application signi-

fied the science of household affairs; the adjustment of domestic expenditures to the income. We may rationally conclude that in early forms of society the responsibility of the then narrow domain of economics fell almost entirely upon woman, inasmuch as we find it illustrated at the present day among races that have not yet risen out of primitive social phases. A recent writer upon the customs of Central Africa states that the work in an African village is done chiefly by the women; they hoe the fields, sow the seed, and reap the harvest. To them too falls all the labor of building the houses, grinding the corn, brewing the beer, cooking, washing, and caring for almost all the material interests of the community.

It is from this primitive social outlook that we find woman to be the principal factor in economics; the initiator at least of the whole system which follows, whether its area be the family, the community, or the nation; the original source from which all world-wide economics are evolved. For although as defined, political economy "is a science of the laws which providence has established for the regulation of supply and demand in communities," yet the same authority affirms that the disposition to adapt the expenditure of a household to its income is one of the phenomena which make up those laws of nature.

From this point of view woman is the original factor in all systems of economics, the demure goddess at the fountain-head, determining the quantity and quality of the waters that flow therefrom. As an organic body grows only through the cells which compose it, and as the household is the cell of the social organism, so domestic economy is the original unfolding principle of all larger economics.

I am desirous that this truth should become established in the consciousness of woman, here, now, and evermore, that she may have a just estimate of her place and power in the evolutionary scheme of life, when it reached the point of the social beginnings of the race; that she may perceive that neither from the present nor the future does

BASIL C. BROOKE, Press Stenographer. MR. HOLMAN, *The Record.* NINA ESTABROOK, *The Record.* H. E. CHAMBERLIN, *The Post.* THOMAS BAIRD, *The Inter Ocean.* W. O. BROWN, *The Tribune.*

DAVID S. GEER, [illegible] CLARENCE E. YOUNG, [illegible] World's Congresses of 1893. HON. CHARLES C. BONNEY, [illegible] World's Congresses of 1893. EUGENE J. HAZARD, [illegible] World's Congresses of 1893. W. H. BURKE, [illegible]

she receive her credentials as an economic factor, but from the primal constitution of society itself, as the originator of the vast scheme of economics which introduces and links the nations to each other, of which man alone has been the recognized exponent and director. Although man has cast a blind eye on this truth, yet if woman perceives it clearly, she can well afford to smile serenely on his self-gratulation as umpire of economics. For the woman soul, in the discovery and realization of its high place in the scheme of things, will find that power of equanimity which sooner or later converts every obstacle into an auxiliary, all hindrances into means of advance. This interior ascension of the spirit into an imperturbable equanimity is our great need as women. If we would make all external advantage more swiftly our own, we must abolish all interior sense of bondage and disadvantage, and sailing into externals on the fullness of that strength, believe and take the whole arena of affairs as our native domain. Emancipate the thought from the ever-present cramping sense of personal disadvantage, and internal wrong, and a miracle follows. The spirit at once assumes its proper majesty, and gathers up the reins of directing power. A few individual examples, here and there, among women demonstrate my statement, and we call them the World's Representative Women. Their persevering and telling efforts for woman's advancement are not from the standpoint of woman as woman, but from the standpoint of the unity and solidarity of the race; the proper balance of the social forces.

Woman has been, and forever will be, a hero-worshiper, but the hero enlarges. It is neither man nor woman, but humanity. To her, the woman cause means the "righting up" of this deformed hero, humanity. She labors for justice to woman as a means to an end, and that end the conformity of civilization to the perfecting organic principle which Spencer styles "a moving equilibrium." The women invested with largest power to bring about this state of social equity are women who in their spiritual forces have

attained this condition of "a moving equilibrium." There is perhaps nothing else that will bring the rank and file of women so quickly and surely into this state of spiritual balance and power as a realization of the magnitude of woman's relations to the entire system of economics.

The lad who believed himself to be the child of a peasant, expressed in his personality and bearing only the common nature and manner of the peasant life; but learning one day from a stranger that he was the child of a king, he was transformed, by his consciousness of the fact, from the peasant weakling to the dignity and power of spirit native to his true relation.

Woman then being the oldest factor in economics, under what aspect of truth do we now regard her as the new factor? Looking at her economic relationships to-day, and comparing them with those of the past, the contrast is as marked as that of day with night. It is the recognition of this contrast that fixes her as the new element in industrial development. The light of morning is new to one who wakens, but that same light was on its way through the darkness, and it is old with travel. What engineer has ever laid out the line where darkness terminates and dawn begins? So with woman's industrial advance. She attains new areas, but the attaining is old with continuity of unflinching struggle.

The new economic area to which woman has attained in this latter half of the nineteenth century is that of the creation of wealth. Her economic responsibilities are no longer limited to the application and distribution of supplies; she is a wealth-producer in the broadest meaning of the term — not indirectly, but directly; and this it is which constitutes her new relation as an economic fact. What is it to be a creator of wealth? What is wealth? No one has furnished us with a better definition than Henry George. "Wealth," he says, "consists of natural products modified by human exertion so as to fit them for the gratification of human desires; it is labor impressed upon matter in such a

way as to store it up. When a country increases in wealth, it increases in certain tangible things, such as agricultural and mineral products, manufactured goods of all kinds, buildings, cattle, tools, machinery, ships, wagons, furniture, etc." Into this spacious wealth-producing domain, the autonomy of which determines a nation's place among nations, woman has found entrance as an active agent among its complex forces. Still further does she illustrate Henry George's definition of a producer of wealth, as he adds, "Nor should it be forgotten that the investigator, the philosopher, the teacher, the artist, the priest, the poet, though not engaged in the production of wealth, are not only engaged in the production of utilities and satisfactions to which the production of wealth is only a means, but by acquiring and diffusing knowledge, stimulating mental power, and elevating the moral sense they may greatly increase the ability to produce wealth; for 'man does not live by bread alone.'"

Into this higher atmosphere of wealth production, where professions are ranked and ideas generated, woman has seemingly compelled her own ascent; for whenever and wherever we lift our eyes to these intellectual ramparts, she passes before our vision. I state this advisedly, for the number of industries and professions now open to woman runs into the hundreds; and one authority states that all occupations and callings are now open to her, if she have the courage to enter them. If a general should say to his soldiers, "My boys, the enemy's intrenchments are ours if you have the courage to take them," it would not mean that the intrenchments were thrown open for possession. So far as women have hitherto made headway into the promised land, even from the first step upon its boundaries, they have cast up this highway of courage every inch of the route. So I dare not claim large comfort from this authority, certainly none that justifies us in laying aside our armor or stacking our arms. The hopefulness of the outlook arises from the fact that the area yet to conquer narrows, the line of struggle shortens, the intrenchments

of opponents weaken and diminish. This fact is due, not simply to the persistent courage of women, not to their tireless importunities, but to many causes inherent in the increasing complexity of our civilization. Society being an organization, it experiences all the expansions and transformations of any cell or egg. There is a time in the history of an egg when the limitation of the shell is a protection to the homogeneous, inchoate substance within; but differentiations beginning in this life substance, functions being specialized, and the whole individualized, that which was protection becomes imprisonment. The organism wrenches and struggles, the walls gradually yield, and the organism walks forth into the light and responsibility of freedom. If the beak of the hatched eagle could speak for itself, it would claim that the weakening of its prison-walls was due to its own persistent knocking and battering; and the wing and talon would put in a similar claim of merit for themselves. But it was the increasing complexity of the entire organism, the one differentiating life within, that compelled the beak to knock, the talon to scratch, and the wing to push and struggle.

There is a seed in Southern California (I think it is a variety of clover) that if it had consciousness would surely claim that it planted itself. It lies upon the surface of the packed soil during the dry season, but when the rain of winter comes it takes a notion to bore a little depression in the softened earth and put forth roots. "Behold my efficiency," it might well say. "Yet mine made yours available," the rain might reply. But the incubating genius of life brooding over mountain, cañon, and mesa could say, "I am the awakener and supply of all your forces." A like interdependence of progressive forces permeates the entire structure of modern society. Simultaneous transformations, seemingly foreign to each other, are occurring in the body politic, the genius of evolution burning at its center, having the providence to initiate all normal expansion in radii, thus preserving the equilibrium of

growth. Impartially breathing her quickenings throughout the entire structure, she thereby secures balance with movement, and links progress to order. A long-headed deviser does this genius of evolution prove herself to be, in that she puts in the heart of each separate reform a feeling that the true welfare of society depends almost wholly on its own special success. It is this feeling which secures the most remarkable concentration of effort, and leads each reform to battle victoriously, step by step, with the obstacles of progress. In the vantage-ground of industrial emancipation which woman has already gained, I would in no wise divest her of the feeling of the superimportance of the woman cause. For I believe Spencer affirms it is feeling and not opinion that moves the world. But I speak rather to establish scientifically and philosophically in woman's comprehension the fact that her special movement has the backing of the universal movement; that the divine mania which has taken possession of her for culture, independence, complete freedom, and full responsibility holds even cosmic relations. Woman will not abate her zeal, but give larger possession to the ideas which compel her to do battle for them, when she understands that they emanate not from woman in the interest of woman, but from the one life in the interest of life. This is the true basis of our faith, the genuine "substance of things hoped for." "Attractions are proportioned to destinies." The line of movement is forward and upward, and the destiny of the woman is above, not below, the present outlook. It is the inevitable. The urgent fire in the woman-soul, forever impelling her to larger enterprise and venture in every department of human action, that leads a Mrs. Sheldon into the heart of Africa, is the Pentecostal flame of this same destiny. It is well to keep in remembrance the interrelation of the entire output of social reforms to which I have referred, and the fact that the permanent success of each and all of them depends upon this relationship. It is not difficult to perceive that the woman cause is allied to temperance reform.

It requires closer scrutiny to perceive its relation to tariff, ballot, and tax reform, to government ownership of railways, and a financial system less open to individual and class manipulation. Nevertheless the fact is there; for woman being industrially emancipated, a recognized independent factor in the production of a nation's wealth, every reform that affects the production and distribution of that wealth touches the woman cause. After this manner and direction has been the movement of freedom for any class or people from the beginning.

The interrelationship of all economic factors to which I have referred always reveals itself along the lines of justice and injustice. For example, it is preëminently a matter of equity that woman should receive equal wages with man for like quantity and quality of work. When this is withheld the standard of wages which working-men combine to maintain in their own interest inevitably lowers. There is no real security for man's good fortune except through equity to woman. The want of this has really been the source of all his woes. For the race is one, and "a house divided against itself shall not stand." Observe the social scourges that follow in the train of the unequal wage. How it bears direct relation to the dark problem of poverty, and how that darkness widens and merges into the sloughs and slums of immorality! How it broadens the margin of unemployed men who constitute the industrial reserve which enables capital to dictate its own terms to labor! How it compels the latter to array itself against its own kith and kin and do battle for its enemies! How it necessitates in the names of sympathy and pity the effort and expense of organized charities to eke out the earnings which are either not sufficient for maintenance or not sufficient to meet the exigencies of misfortune! Surely a knowledge of the one fact that the average yearly income of the working-woman of Boston exceeds her yearly expenses for positive needs only about eight dollars might well fill the consciousness of every man who is normally

bright and apprehensive with a sense of impending doom. Yet this is but one illustration of the evils which follow a special line of injustice, afflicting the wrong-doer even more than it does the wronged. And were we to follow out all the social iniquities in which woman has been involved, we should surely find that there is a certain point in these entanglements where the same disastrous lesson and result for man is revealed.

"Every benefactor," says Emerson, "becomes a malefactor by continuation of his activity in places where it is not due." From the hour when woman was sufficiently awakened through intellectual quickening to board deliberately the car of progress, every obstacle that man puts in the way of her advance reveals him as a malefactor; that is, a train-wrecker. All the constabulary of the universe are after him, and the law of equity or equilibrium has dealt and will deal out punishment to him proportionate to his crime.

Yet what better evidence can there be of a concession and recognition on the part of man, which must ultimate in the fulfillment of our largest hope, than the place so cordially assigned to women in this Columbian Exposition? It is no less than a world-wide announcement of her coming on in every form of art, literature, and industry. No niggardly dole is this to us, but the greatest privilege of all history, dating in myriad forms of art and mechanical skill, the fullness of time for woman's economic début. Permit me to direct your attention to the wonderful significance of this sentence, "the fullness of time." There is no sentence in all Scripture so crowded with philosophic meaning. It solves for us the vexing problem of delay and procrastination which seemingly attends woman's advancement. If hope deferred has heretofore made the heart grow sick, this sentence from henceforward should preserve us from all such abnormal lapses. We must learn and remember that nature delights in appropriateness, and will have all things in keeping. She will not vary one hair's-breadth from this principle, though humanity, frantic with desire

and wild with importunity, should go down on its knees to her. As a woman of good taste will seek to have the details of her costume present that equalness of grade and quality which establishes harmony and unity of value, so nature, with faultless and exquisite judgment, arranges in like manner her evolutionary series through all the realms of matter and mind, proceeding always from the simple to the complex, from sameness to variety, from the coarse to the fine, from the crude to the finished. And though an æon should be necessary to each grade in the series, yet shall the details of this grade be held in perfect relation and keeping. For nature is congruous, whatever else she may be. There is due preparation for the proper advent of her successive creations or becomings, each of which waits on her fullness of time, and the longer the period of preparation the higher the outcome ranks in the scale of her series.

Who can guess how long vegetable life waited on chaos, and the perturbations of protoplasm, before cosmic propriety permitted the first lichen to drape the earth's nudity? How long did the vegetable kingdom creepingly unfold as the expression of organic life before it was appropriate for the world to put in an appearance and accept all that had preceded as a gratuitous offering to the animal economy? How long before man "capped the climax of the vertebrate series in mathematical concurrence with the fullness of time?" And if at the era of his appearance on this planet he possessed even tolerably good sense and understanding, he must have congratulated himself on the minutiæ and perfecting of detail which delayed his coming. For it is ever the last result which utilizes preceding effects.

And for woman the logic of events has transformed obstacle and hindrance into those necessary equipments of character which belong not to partial but to complete citizenship. What does this equipment for the responsibilities of complete citizenship indicate? It is no superfluous trick of historic evolution. Desired or dreaded, woman is pro-

ceeding straight to the inevitable goal of largest social and political responsibility. We might as well endeavor to avert the fact that we were born as this fact; and we are under equal necessity to utilize resignedly these two facts. Industrial emancipation broadens by an inevitable principle into social and political equality; and as the combined forces of the stone, iron, press, and steam ages were engaged in shaping and molding civilization into fitness for woman's economic coöperation, so the genius of religion and government far back in the mist of ages began the preparatory work for her ultimate début as the full complement of man.

In connection and parallel with the changes in religious and moral ideas, which antedated woman's advent as an economic factor, are the transformations which have occurred in forms of government and social institutions. A beast of prey, the primitive man rose to nomadic forms of society, patriarchs gave place to kings and emperors, and these in turn to constitutional monarchy, and this to the democratic idea and the rights of man. The bloody track of governmental evolution, conspicuous with the panoply of war, was built upon fallen thrones and devastated dynasties, the patriotic sentiment broadening in the red struggle from the family to the nation. And woman waited. Not yet the fullness of time for her awakening to the world's need of her citizenship. Something more of brute crudity must be eliminated from the tumultuous powers of civilization. Some larger and more sympathetic conception of human life and its universal relations must modify the world's ferment ere woman would arise from her world-old hypnotic trance, with a new consciousness of her individual ability and power, and the necessity of her taking an equal hand with man in working out a universal order. The ages had thundered from date of chaos, and she had not wakened. But there came a noiseless white-winged thought into the human atmosphere, and woman rose, and stood upon her feet, and knew herself and the world's need. And this was the white-winged thought which refined the

way for her feet: "There is but one life, and humanity is its spiritual image." As the genius of the spring-time sets all the forces of nature in sweetest passion for expression, so does this truth — the spiritual unity of the race — quicken the hearts of men and women into a mania to make the material interests of the entire humanity correspond in their unity to this spiritual fact. To a no less work than this is woman called and awakened: to convert discord into harmony, rivalry into emulation, jealousy into magnanimity, competition into coöperation, poverty into comfort, and the love of money into the love of man. Need I say that such transformation of the motives of human action, slow, silent, invisible, must sooner or later work out a system of society and government in which each shall stand for all and all for each? It is only a question of time. The century plant, that waits a hundred years for its life's perfection, is no less sure of its final glory than the convolvulus that greets the dawn with expanded petals.

There is no uncertainty in the eternal goodness, and woman's inevitable advance into all the lines of free citizenship is but a part of the "divine event to which the whole creation moves."

THE DISCUSSION WAS INTRODUCED BY A PAPER SENT BY LINA MORGENSTERN OF GERMANY.

I send you sisterly greeting over land and sea, and regret that I myself can not be present to be a witness of that exalted moment when the women of all lands unite to form an international bond of union. May this bond help to overcome all prejudices of nations, races, and faiths! May it further the welfare of our sex, maintain and protect its rights, and secure justice to it for the good of united humanity! For the future of the human race lies in the hands of women.

During the past year I have been engaged in compiling a

work called "Die Frauenarbeit in Deutschland," which will give a complete survey of the position and activity of women in all departments of domestic and social life, and of the institutions already founded in Germany for the education and training of women.

The accomplishment of the task which I had set before me was even more difficult and comprehensive than I had anticipated, the statistical aids and the material being secured only with the greatest trouble. Nevertheless, since I have been requested to give a report concerning the condition of women in my native land, I send you the first proof-sheets of the book, which gives evidence not only that woman is capable of working in all departments of industry, but that it is a pressing necessity for her to acquire a calling by which she can earn a livelihood, in order that she may maintain her self-respect. In the light of these statistics is seen also how little appropriate is the formerly universal observation, "Woman belongs in the house, and her only natural calling is to be housekeeper and mother."

Aside from the fact that there are in Germany two million seven hundred thousand more women than men who are unmarried, and who thus do not come to fill the office of housewife, statistics show that at least ten per cent of the married women are compelled to work outside of the home in order to support their families. There are in all two million five hundred and thirty-four thousand nine hundred and nine women who work outside of their homes, as opposed to five million seven hundred and one thousand five hundred and eighty-seven men workers; and each year shows an increase in the number of women engaged in business of thirty-five per cent, against an increase in the number of men of sixty-one per cent. Two million one hundred and sixty-four thousand two hundred and four self-sustaining women are engaged in domestic service, as against one hundred and seventy-five thousand four hundred and forty men.

According to the statistics of 1882, two hundred and

seventy-six thousand eight hundred and seventeen women are engaged in independent farming. There are two million two hundred and forty-eight thousand nine hundred and nine women working as farm-helpers, of which number, nine hundred and twenty-two thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight are members of the family, while six hundred and nineteen thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight are servants and seven hundred and six thousand two hundred and thirteen day laborers.

In all the industries combined are found one million five hundred and nine thousand one hundred and sixty-seven women workers. They are distributed as follows:

Mining and building	54,522
Shopkeeping, trading, and restaurants	144,377
Clothing and laundry	551,301
Handelsgewerbe	184,537
Textilindustrie	362,138
Innkeeping	141,407
Cooking and catering	96,724
Paper-making	31,256
Hardware and metal-working	27,660
Wood-carving	27,372

Comparative statistics show that the proportion of women to men in the different industries gives the following per cents:

	Per cents.
Spinners	54 to 69
Weavers	22 to 39
Lacemakers and embroiderers	42
Crocheters, knitters, and lacemakers	84
Bleachers, dyers, and pressers	35
Bookbinders	25
Passementerie makers	56
Papermakers	35
Basket and mat makers	27
Cigarmakers	43
Gold and silver embroiderers	66
Penmakers	63
Makers of linen goods	56
Noodle and macaroni makers	59
Employment agents	63

	Per cents.
Market-gardeners	16
Peat-gatherers	23
Shell-workers	16
Shirtmakers	10
Polygraphists	13

In several industries the number of women workers preponderates even.

Married women employed in all factories, excepting the spinning and brick-making industries, are as follows: In Prussia, forty-two thousand seven hundred and sixty-one; in Saxony, twenty-one thousand nine hundred; in the remaining of the United States of Germany, thirty-nine thousand one hundred and thirty-nine; in Baden fifty per cent of the workers are married women, and we find a still greater number of married women, and especially widows, engaged in housework and farming. In the last mentioned there are two million seven hundred and twenty-eight thousand eight hundred and thirty women to three million four hundred and twenty-seven thousand eight hundred and twenty-five men engaged. One-tenth of the entire number of women in Germany are domestics.

In the liberal or higher callings two hundred and forty-seven thousand and seventy-eight women earn a livelihood; these are distributed as follows:

Teachers and instructors	124,000
Physicians, medical assistants, and nurses	46,177
Administrators and directors	23,522
Stewards	9,806
Church wardens and clerks	8,724
Musicians and actors	6,032
Civil and municipal officials	4,793
Authors	350
Railroad officials	1,302
Postal and telegraph clerks	1,012

The table of statistics on the pay of women workers which I have given in my book, with special reference to the advancement of the labor union, shows the domestic situation of all these women workers.

From these statistics appears the deplorable fact that the work of women is paid from one-half to two-thirds less than the work of men; in the lowest class two marks a week and in the highest ten marks. Pay differs in the different German States, as the statistics of West Prussia and Silesia show. In Berlin the highest wages are paid, but house-rent, taxes, and living expenses are dearer. In the individual callings women receive monthly salaries as high as one hundred and fifty marks, for instance, as directors in laundries and confectionery establishments, as bookkeepers, cashiers, and photographers.

Compared with day wages received by men, the pay of women is on an average half and two-thirds, and in many cases three-fourths less. According to the province the pay differs, for grown women, from seventy-five pfennig to two marks; for girls under sixteen years, forty to eighty pfennig — also one mark.

The condition of the women workers in the factories leaves much to be desired, and justifies the organization of women workers whose aim it is "to secure like pay for like work." Those women who are better situated are able to devote themselves to the material elevation of the great masses of their poorer wage-earning sisters through helpful organization, and should do so.

THE DISCUSSION WAS CONTINUED THUS BY ELIZABET KASELOWSKY OF GERMANY:

It is with great pleasure that I comply with a request to report on the Lette-Verein. I am proud to give you a brief history of one of the oldest associations of German women; one of the best, I think; one I know and love dearly, whose secretary I have the honor to be. I pray for your indulgence. I am a stranger in your country, and not accustomed to your language, yet I hope to win your sympathy for an undertaking worthy of being known everywhere. The

American ladies are intelligent and strong; they have not to suffer as we do, or rather, let me say, as we did, from social errors and prejudices of an older history. It has not been long since German women, poor and with no one to protect them, thought it a disgrace to labor for money. Many a fine talent withered slowly away, many a widow and elderly girl led a miserable life because they feared to use the gifts God gave them. Suffering in silence, they had no courage to mend the evil.

It was in 1863 that Mr. Lette, president of the central institution for the welfare of the laboring classes, wrote at the head of its history: "For individuals as well as associations it is well to look back, to recognize their deeds and efforts, to give account of what they did and what they wished to do." In such a review he remembered the poor and helpless women, and proposed the founding of a new institution in connection with the above-mentioned, which should strive to open ways of labor to women in want. It was the first time any one thought of those poor women, who struggled so hard and did not know what to do or where to go for employment or instruction. The proposition of this man, known for his benevolence and charity, a friend of Schurz and Wesendonk, was most favorably received by his hearers, and the best of them, men and women, assembled to effect its realization. Even the young Princess Victoria, now Empress Frederick, took such a warm interest in the undertaking that she promised to become the protectress of the new association, *Zur Förderung der Erwerbs-fähigkeit des Weiblichen Geschlechts*, which she has remained to the present.

The first rule was that every prejudice in regard to women earning money should be dropped; that new industrial and commercial schools should be founded and relations established between laborers and employers. It was at a most unhappy time, when in 1866 the war between Austria and Prussia began, that the institute was opened by a bazaar, called "Victoria Bazaar," at which all kinds of

articles made by women were sold. Women brought paintings, drawings, or fine needlework, embroideries of every kind, which a committee appointed for the purpose sought to sell. The bazaar was not merely temporary, but was continued in a fixed locality rented for the purpose. The eldest daughter of President Lette, Mrs. Annie Schepeler Lette, a widow, became its president, which she is to-day. The undertaking prospered in a most gratifying manner. It was not to be regarded as a work of charity; the articles brought for sale stood business rivalry. A directress, pattern-cutter, and bookkeeper were engaged, forty women found employment in the establishment itself, and more than a hundred have been enabled to sell the products of their work.

Soon after she was married to Prince Frederick Wilhelm of Prussia, the Princess Victoria founded a home for governesses and young girls, strangers in Berlin. This home, called Victoria-Stift, needed reorganization, and the crown princess wished that the bazaar before mentioned should take care of it. Two stores were rented in Leipziger Strasse, in the building in which the bazaar was located. The home and bazaar were united, and nineteen young girls found board and rooms. Its restaurant for women is the first establishment of this kind in Berlin. In a short time the institution was over-occupied; an agency and inquiry office, which rapidly became popular, was opened. Here every sort of information was given and requests and offers were received and answered.

In the year 1868 President Lette, a most noble, unselfish, unanimously beloved man, died, and in 1869, by proposition of Professor von Holzendorf, chairman of the institution, the name of it was changed to Lette-Verein, association for the promotion of higher education of women and of women's earning a livelihood. Wishing to honor the name of Lette, the speaker said, "Let us do the best we can; let us give an opportunity for a scientific and technical education." This proposition was unanimously

HARRIETTE A. KEYSER.
M. LOUISE MCLAUGHLIN.

AUGUSTA COOPER BRISTOL.
ALICE M. HART.

accepted. At the same time a small capital was deposited to furnish loans to those who wished to start in business.

The Lette-Verein was no longer the only institution of this kind. In November, 1869, meetings of different associations of women for education and industry were called. I only mention the popular kitchens of Mrs. Morgenstern, the Victoria Lyceum, with its noble directress, Miss Archer, the Academy of Female Painters and Friends of Art, the Laborers' Union for learning and social entertainment — all these and many others were founded on the same principles. In autumn, 1872, the Lette-Verein settled in its own home, Königsgrätzer Strasse, ninety; the Victoria-Stift had thirty-eight residents, and a matron who was as a mother to the young girls. The commercial and drawing school, comprising a large number of classes, occupied two stores. Several halls were given to the ladies for restaurants. An agency for the registering of pupils was opened, and books were started to keep an account of the scholarship and development of different classes. The opening ceremony was honored by the presence of the Crown Prince Frederick Wilhelm, and the Princess Victoria, our high protectress. When the secretary, Miss Hirsen, had finished her report, the prince said: "Did I understand you well? You possess eight thousand dollars; you have borrowed twenty-five thousand dollars; you bought a house worth ninety-five thousand dollars, and you say this as unconcernedly as if everything was right. How will you continue?" "We don't know," she answered, "but we trust; the past gives us hope for the future." "Your faith will help you," replied the prince, and so it was. The words of our beloved emperor, who was himself so great a sufferer and so faithful a believer, were as a prophecy.

Twenty-seven years have passed since the Lette-Verein was founded. Its schools occupy three buildings; its pupils, now numbering fourteen hundred, come from every part of the world, many of them from America and Australia. We teach almost every branch of woman's industry — dress-

making, manual labor, millinery, fine needlework, sewing by machine, cutting of linen, hair-dressing, ornamental drawing, fabrication of artificial flowers, washing, ironing, cooking, housekeeping, and bookkeeping. The course of study is optional. Pupils may choose a single branch or a number of branches. Charges are small and the teachers of the best. We seek to grant as much free instruction as possible. Our pupils are not from the poorer classes alone, but from the wealthiest families; many a bride seeks here to perfect herself in the art of housekeeping, that she may be able to instruct her servants properly. The house resounds with youth and gladness, and delight in work. Order and cleanliness are strictly observed, and the relations between pupils and teachers are most cordial. The certificates from the commercial school enable our pupils to find good situations as bookkeepers, those in manual labor open to them positions as teachers in manual training schools.

The agency and inquiry office in 1892 supplied as many as two thousand ladies with positions as teachers in scientific and technical branches, as kindergartenerinnen, lady companions, etc.

The institution last opened is a photographic school, where young girls learn not only the art of photography, but every kind of graphic reproduction, retouching, coloring, etc.

The Lette-Verein has grown until it has come to be one of our largest institutions. Its means are small, but its president and chairman, filled with a spirit of love, are working bravely and fearlessly; they try to recognize the needs of the time, and of life, and are always willing to exchange the good for the better.

Many similar institutions conducted on the same principles have been founded during the past years, and their prosperity shows the usefulness of their existence. Many tears have been dried, many eyes have grown brighter, many a young heart has won new hope; indeed, much has been accomplished, and, gratified with our results, we struggle on to mend the evils of the time.

A New Avenue of Employment and Investment for Business Women — Address by Juana A. Neal of California.

While in 1836 only six occupations were open for women bread-winners, viz., teaching, millinery, sewing, tailoring, factory labor, and domestic service, now over three hundred are open, and women are successful in all these, with new avenues opening every day. Women entered four hundred applications for patents last year. Women are everywhere, in colleges, banks, stores, and counting-houses, as clerks and capitalists, managing with distinguished success both small and large affairs.

An avenue which has only recently been open to women, and which promises to her wonderful opportunity, is life insurance, which appeals to women as strongly as to men. Leading companies are among the greatest institutions of finance in the world. Thirty companies possess assets of over nine hundred and three million seven hundred and thirty-four thousand five hundred and thirty-seven dollars, and their total income for 1892 was two hundred and thirty-two million twenty-four thousand nine hundred and ninety-three dollars. The number of policies in force in these thirty companies is one million five hundred and thirty-two thousand eight hundred and twelve; of these policies the number carried by women is estimated at only seventeen thousand. Policy holders were paid in 1892 one hundred and two million six hundred and twenty-one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one dollars, and in the last fifty years one billion five hundred million dollars has been paid to beneficiaries. This provision when realized by women must appeal peculiarly to them. What homes this has kept unbroken! We must acknowledge life insurance to be a safety-bridge that even death can not break.

The largest insurance carried by a woman in the United States is four hundred thousand dollars, one hundred thou-

sand dollars being taken for charity. Several women carry two hundred thousand dollars each, and a number, one hundred thousand dollars; many carry from seventy-five thousand dollars to fifty thousand dollars, and great numbers carry policies to the amount of five thousand, ten thousand, and twenty thousand dollars.

The same appeals come to women as to men for protection, investment, annuities, and guaranteed incomes. In many cases the reasons hold even more strongly, because women are more timid and less confident, from lack of experience in manipulating money, hence absolute securities appeal more strongly to them.

The wives of to-day are the widows of to-morrow, and a few hours make one the head of the family with sudden responsibilities and moneyed interests. In New York City alone women control five hundred million dollars in money and property. For years women were not recognized as desirable "risks," and only recently have they been permitted by companies to carry large amounts. Now the maximum of one hundred thousand dollars, in the three large companies writing that amount, can be carried by women.

Hitherto women have been sought only in special cases, the majority of women knowing nothing of its benefits and provisions as applicable to themselves. It must occur to the thinking woman that financial investment held in such esteem by business men is well worth investigation. Investigation will dispel prejudice and doubt. The same business principles which apply to men apply equally to women. If policies of one thousand dollars and upward were carried universally by working-women, seeds of thrift and foresight would be sown among a vast part of the population that now accumulates nothing. An investment of from twenty-five to forty dollars a year, according to age, would carry one thousand dollars, and could be afforded by the earners of even low wages. This would give a sense of security, and would provide in case of sickness better care, which could be paid in any case, whether health returned or death

ensued. Such insurance would also secure the return in cash of moneys paid out, with added dividends at the end of ten, fifteen, or twenty years, according to contract.

All insurance companies, recognizing the great possibilities for the future in insuring women, are seeking to engage women as insurance agents, believing that a woman can approach people and work in this special field as no man can do. Insurance companies give women as agents every liberty accorded to men — of writing men as well as women.

The first women engaged as insurance agents have found that pioneer work in this business, as in all others, is beset by difficulties, but the success which women have met in the business of insurance has opened a new and lucrative industry to them.

The Bohemian Woman as a Factor in Industry and Economy — Address by Karla Machova of Bohemia.

From time immemorial woman has controlled industry and economy in the home, but it is not long since she stepped from the home circle into the wider field of manufactures and public economy. The life of the woman of to-day varies greatly from that of the primitive woman protected and supported by husband or father. The work of woman has undergone a transformation. The people have not noticed this great change, they have grown accustomed to it; for day by day it is taking place before their very eyes, and is therefore becoming a necessity. This transformation has simplified the work of woman in the home. In this age of cheap mechanical manufacture it is unnecessary for women to make their own candles, soap, cloth, and bread, as their great-grandmothers were obliged to do. It no longer requires many women to perform the duties of one household. The social revolution has been and is being evoked by the strife for existence in which both married and unmarried women must take part. If

woman is to conquer in the strife she must use all her mental and physical energy.

The development of manufactures and private economy necessitates a woman's supporting herself and her family, for a man who is a day laborer is unable to do it alone. It has made woman's position in the strife for existence in a certain degree characteristic. The question of woman's higher education is morally important; equally important, however, is the question of the position which woman shall occupy in the field of labor.

Not only the revolution in manufactures, but her intense desire for independence, has greatly modified woman's condition. These influences have been so powerful that woman has occupied an ever-growing department of industry.

Statistics clearly show that there is not a branch of industry in which women are not employed. Besides the reasons for this stated above we must take also into consideration the technical perfection of machinery which makes great skill in the workman unnecessary. Manufacturing has thus become a mechanical operation easily performed by women.

In Bohemia there are one hundred and thirty-three thousand women, seven thousand and seventy-nine girls employed in factories; three and one-half millions in the Empire of Austria.

During 1890 there were in Prague and vicinity:

934	women	at 139	gulden	a year	employed	in	book-binderies.
79	"	138	"	"	"	"	millinery establishments.
400	"	156	"	"	"	"	paper factories.
559	"	180	"	"	"	"	printing establishments.
600	"	136	"	"	"	"	laundries.
479	"	173	"	"	"	"	working factories.
186	"	159	"	"	"	"	powder-mills.
60	"	140	"	"	"	"	confectioneries.
40	"	165	"	"	"	"	brick-kilns.
80	"	175	"	"	"	"	shoe factories.
70	"	180	"	"	"	"	tailor-shops.
28	"	165	"	"	"	"	leather factories.
524	"	180	"	"	"	as	waitresses.

Judging from these statistics we see that women are more and more employed in commerce and manufactories; but they are paid so little for their twelve hours' labor that they can not earn even a meager livelihood. Such wages, and often less, are paid throughout Bohemia, Austria, yea, even Europe. A woman working twelve hours in the field earns thirty-five kreutzers a day, if providence be kind and the day pleasant, for every rainy hour is deducted from her small earnings. These women are employed only five or six months of the year for thirty or forty kreutzers per day. Glove-makers are paid sixty kreutzers per dozen, and they must furnish their own silk and machine. Women are paid fifteen kreutzers for thirty-six buttonholes, thirty-six, forty, or at most sixty kreutzers for making a dozen shirts. Women occupy a very unfortunate position in manufactures, for more than seventy per cent are paid wretchedly. They are so easily imposed upon that manufacturers prefer to employ them. A further reason for the increase of woman's labor is the system of competition existing among manufacturers. Women are accustomed to doing their housework after working hours, and they are prevented, not only in Bohemia but in all Europe, from taking an active part in public affairs, and for that reason they lack organizing ability, and unorganized they are defenseless, and employers can treat and pay them as they choose.

Woman's work in the home being underestimated by men, she is paid less for labor done outside of the home. It is not to be wondered at that men look with ill-favor upon the employment of women, whom they consider rivals, since the work of the latter, being cheaper, if of equal quality, is given the preference everywhere. Here we encounter a problem. How can this underestimation of the value of woman's labor be prevented? The problem can be solved easily by moral suasion when public opinion strives to influence the speculator and manufacturer to increase wages according to quantity and quality of labor performed,

so that they can no longer profit by the weakness of woman (or by the slight demands of women). If woman is forced to fight a hard fight for her daily bread, it is the duty of all to lighten her burden. Society must become interested, aroused; it must endeavor to have working hours lessened so that woman may have an opportunity to educate herself and to regain physical strength, so that she can live the life of a human being.

These questions of wages and shorter hours involve employers as well as employés. Women laborers throughout Bohemia and Europe should demand that women be employed as their overseers, for women, as more sensitive, more finely organized, require gentler treatment than men.

Apart from the branches of industry already mentioned, women employed as field laborers merit special attention; their condition is deplorable. These women wander about from place to place in search of employment. From spring until autumn they must do without the comforts of a home, the pleasures of home ties. The wealthy landowners impose upon these poor unfortunates, let them do thirteen or fourteen hours of hard work gathering sugar-beets, pay them from two to three gulden a week, and lodge them in so-called barracks.

These women must work even on the Sabbath-day, for in these places the commandment, "Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy," is not observed. One can conceive how alarmingly all desire for home life disappears.

A pitiful life is led by women in restaurants and cafés, where they often receive no remuneration whatever for twelve, or even fifteen, hours of work, and are dependent entirely upon the fees of the guests. In the world-famed Karlsbad and Franzenbad waitresses must pay hotel-keepers, who are millionaires, one gulden and twenty kreutzers for the probability of breaking dishes.

I could mention many other employments in which men profit by underpaying women. One thing is evident; women are ruining themselves physically, especially moth-

ers deprived of the necessities of life, for, according to statistics in Bohemia, one child out of thirty-six is still-born. Some people claim that women do not wish to return to the idyllic family hearth. Let such help to make it possible for women to return, and they will find but a small per cent remaining aloof from it. It is not woman herself who destroys family life, it is society; it is the employer's unscrupulous thirst for gain; this is the scourge that drives woman from the home out into the battle of life. Therefore it is the duty of every thoughtful member of society to make an effort to improve, materially and spiritually, the wretched condition of women laborers. Woman can reach a higher social status only when she ceases to be an automaton. When her labor in the home is justly valued and paid, only then will she cease to be man's competitor and become his companion.

The Contribution of Women to the Applied Arts — Address by Florence Elizabeth Cory of New York.

Seventeen years ago, at the close of the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, there was no practical woman designer for any industrial manufacturing purpose. There were women in England, Scotland, France, Belgium, and America who assisted male designers, and who occasionally put ideas on paper — as suggestions merely, as to what might be pleasing for wall-papers, textiles, jewelry, and dainty novelties. These drawings, however, were not practical working-designs, and could not be manufactured from directly, but were simply sketches which had to be redrawn and recolored by a practical man before they could be either woven or printed.

To-day there are in America alone hundreds of women who have learned, or are learning, the arts of practical, applied, industrial designs — women whose work can be

carried to the printing-drum or Jacquard loom and be manufactured from at once, without the intervention of a practical man. Unskilled labor and incompetent workmen have been the bane of the manufacturer, who has found it necessary to send abroad for designs made by skilled artists. There is no reason why the American woman should not prepare to retain some — if not all — of the remuneration now awarded the foreign designer. The field of industrial art is most interesting to women, and they certainly are possessed of a refined taste, a quick perception of color and form, delicacy of touch, originality of ideas, a sense of the fitness of things, and the patience necessary to work out their ideas, provided they know the mechanical requirements, and the proper way to set forth these ideas on paper.

A few of the results already achieved by American women in the applied arts may be summed up as follows: Women have designed successfully for jewelry, lace, book-covers, stained-glass, oil-cloths, carpets of all grades, rugs, wall-paper, silks, table-linen, dress-goods, ribbons, handkerchief-borders, and many other things. Miss Emma Humphreys of Delaware, Ohio, for the past few years has supported herself easily by making designs for wall-papers and printed silks. Miss Carrie Smith of Smithville, L. I., has for the past seven or eight years secured an ample livelihood by designing rugs. Miss Elsa Bente of New York is employed by the Tapestry Brussels Company to make designs for woven silks. Miss Clara Woolley of Wilkesbarre, Pa., earned in ten weeks over five hundred dollars on wall-paper designs. Miss Mary A. Williamson of Indianapolis, Ind., designed the brocades for the inaugural robes of Mrs. Harrison and Mrs. McKee. Miss Ina Bullis of Troy, and Miss Mary Gazgam of Utica, N. Y., are employed by two of our largest and best-known wall-paper manufacturers. Miss Ama Malkin is employed in the designing room of Messrs. Cheney Bros. silk-mill of South Manchester, Conn. Miss Alice Laus is employed in a silk designing room

of Paterson, N. J. Miss Celia Craus of Bath, N. Y., is in the designing room of Hilton & Hughes (the old A. T. Stewart carpet factory). These few examples will serve to show that the position of women in the applied arts is no longer problematical, but an assured fact; that they can and do succeed as designers is a certainty, provided their instruction is practical, not theoretical.

As to the payment received by women for their designs, it is quite as high as that received by men for the same grade of work; and best of all, there is a steadily increasing demand for it. New factories are constantly springing up, old factories are enlarging their plants; each man is the rival of the other, and tries to produce the greatest variety of goods twice a year. American women have also designed for foreign manufacturers. The pupils of the School of Industrial Art and Technical Design for Women have designed ingrain carpets for Leeds and York, England, china for Carlsbad, Austria, toweling and table-linen for Dundee, Scotland, and embroidery and matting for Japan. Therefore let the would-be designer learn how to apply the principles of design practically, as well as artistically, let the originator herself be a practical designer, and thus secure independence.

DISCUSSION OF THE ABOVE SUBJECT WAS INTRODUCED BY EMILY SARTAIN OF PENNSYLVANIA AS FOLLOWS:

It is currently asserted that the goodly city of Philadelphia, whose art I have the honor to represent to-day, is very slow, but I must claim for her the credit of having founded — fifty years ago — the first school of practical design for women. She already had founded the first American academy of fine arts, enriched by donations of casts from Napoleon Bonaparte, Emperor of the French; had established the first illustrated magazines, those far-flying messengers bearing art education to widely scattered

firesides; and also the first theater, that potent educator for good and for evil; while in the library founded by Benjamin Franklin, for the first time in the world, the idea of the circulating library was illustrated.

In these days of revived reminiscences of our Centennial Exhibition these words are surely not out of place.

With all the increased facilities for women's industrial art education offered to-day in so many well-equipped institutions, let us not be ungrateful to that noble woman, daughter of a governor of Ohio, daughter-in-law of a minister to England, who, a long half-century ago, divined the importance of opening this career for women, and whose work is still continued.

Art, applied or pictorial, is a plant of slow growth, and does not reach maturity outright. Mrs. Peter originated in the United States the movement to bring the taste of women, and their inherent love of color and grace of line, into touch with commercial demand through a thorough training in practical design, a movement which was followed within a few years in New York, Boston, and Baltimore. That peculiar disease of the eye called color-blindness exists among the sterner sex in the fixed proportion of four to five in the hundred, while among women the ratio is so small as not to amount to a percentage, it being only three or four in the thousand; so in this reunion to report progress it is natural that we should have to note great development in the applied arts, where sensitiveness to color is an essential. I do not narrow the term applied arts to mean alone those industrial arts which need a machine to translate and to embody the brain's conception, great as has been the progress in those branches.

In the Woman's Building, in the women's rooms of the Illinois and the Pennsylvania State buildings, you will see stained-glass windows, employing the latest resources of the art on its practical side to heighten the effect of color and tone qualities; mural decorations showing the impulse of the most recent movement in art thought, which started

with the story of St. Genevieve on the walls of the Pantheon; embroidered portières, which are full-chorded symphonies of color, the complementary and contrasting tones of warm and cool hues, giving the base and treble clef in the shortened scale of light and black. In engraving, both on wood and steel, in etching, in book illustration many women are now doing work of the highest class; and at least one woman architect, Minerva Parker Nichols, is changing the aspect of her city's streets with her many creations in brick and in stone, while Miss Hayden's beautiful building before our eyes here speaks for itself.

So many women have so long been doing first-class work in the applied arts that I think a young woman who is thoroughly equipped finds little discrimination against her sex; in fact, she perhaps obtains readier acceptance than her brother. For myself I may say that during many years of a successful business career as an engraver, my capability being once proven, my womanhood has been in nowise a disability among business men; chivalry even taking the form of prompt payment. Twice my father and brother have lost large amounts through the failure of publishers who had settled up my equally large accounts in full, and the only time I ever lost a bill was once when my engraved portrait of a man's wife did not portray her as handsome as she appeared in his eyes.

But many of the pioneers among our professional women were less fortunate, and carried graven on their faces the lines of nerve-tire and harassment, revolt against the trammels of destiny, and protest against the derision and skepticism of environing conservatism. The skepticism was sometimes justified by want of thoroughness; the fault not of the woman, but the racial fault of this new nation whose tense nervous organization responds readily in the all-accomplishing "spurt," and often fails to apppreciate the dogged, steady, persistent pull upon the collar possible only to the certitude and mastery of thorough training. But now that the solid phalanx of competent professional wage-

earners has closed in about these leaders, who are no longer exceptional women to be stared at, their countenances are relaxed, the trade-mark of aggressiveness is gone, and the "becoming" is studied, the evidence of the photographic pass to the Exposition to the contrary notwithstanding. We have now in hand to-day's most powerful business lever, coöperation, and with our joint-stock companies of women building women's club-houses and temples, we have our firms of associated artists ready to coöperate with our architects in making a house beautiful.

It is one of the elements of the progress of the last seventeen years that women do now join together, and are gaining an *esprit du corps*. In the Woman's Building of the Centennial, the names of the finest women artists were conspicuous by their absence; but those same women have contributed of their best toward the Woman's Building of to-day's Exposition. I speak with knowledge, for I gave hard service in the art collection of the Centennial.

The most important art lesson of the Centennial, and of the exquisitely beautiful buildings in which this Columbian Exposition is housed is addressed not so much to the artist and to the art student as it is to the public. It is you, the great public, who need instruction in art, that you may know what is really fine. Our women decorators and designers, sculptors and architects are ready to do good work for you. As you ask for more harmonious coloring in your homes, purer styles, appropriate construction in building and ornament, you will appreciate understandingly how much they have accomplished, and stimulate them to still higher attainment. Have faith in them, not the credulity which prostrates itself before false gods, but a discerning faith; and as you ask, so shall you receive.

THE DISCUSSION WAS CONTINUED BY M. B. ALLING OF NEW YORK IN THE FOLLOWING PAPER ON THE INFLUENCE OF WOMAN IN CERAMIC ART, READ BY MISS NELLIE MORRIS OF OREGON:

Charles Elliot says, "A correct knowledge of it may now almost be called a liberal education."

From it we learn the domestic habits, the public amusements, and the methods of honoring the dead of nations that have long passed out of existence.

If the remains of Roman pottery had not been found it would be impossible definitely to establish the boundaries of the ancient Roman Empire; this is true also of the Mohammedan and Aztec empires. History is therefore greatly indebted to ceramic art.

"There exists at Athens a feeling of devout admiration, and perhaps gratitude, for the ancient art of the potter."

The portions of Athens occupied by the shops of the potter and painter were the first school of taste, the primitive sanctuary, where abstract form, unceasingly elaborated and studied under the eyes of an inquisitive and free people, was revealed to the first architects. It is the ceramic art that inspired the authors of those antique structures which, renewed at a later date with the marbles of Mount Pentelicus, became temples worthy of the gods to whom they were dedicated. Ceramic art and architecture are closely united.

This art has always been an object of interest to royal personages and historical characters. Among celebrated women we find the names of Helene de Hangest, to whose auspices is due the famous Henri-Deux ware; Catherine de Medici, Marie Theresa, Elizabeth, and Catherine II., to whom Russia owes the establishment of her ceramic art; Madame Pompadour, who by her influence brought the porcelain of Sèvres to perfection and Queen Charlotte of England, under whose patronage Wedgewood brought out his earthenware.

I am told that at this Congress there will be a greater number of representative women than at any other to be held during the season of the Columbian Exposition. You are interested in the advancement of "arts and all professions and trades underlying the home." I wish to call your attention to the fact that there are in this country over twenty-five thousand women of all classes who are engaged in decorating wares. To many it furnishes a means of livelihood, while others employ it only to beautify and decorate their own homes.

The fact that work produced by factories or private decorators, no matter how excellent, can not compete with imported goods does not tend to improve the art. It has been said that public opinion will do more than any other agency to remove an existing evil. Where are the American women of to-day who are willing to become allies of American ceramic art, handing down their names to history as its patrons?

Buy the best American goods; exhibit them to your friends with pride. Courage and freshness in design should always be recognized. The desire to buy cheap goods will prove utter destruction to the art. Beautiful forms and compositions are not to be made by chance, nor at a small expense.

It depends entirely upon our American women whether our country shall lead the world in this art. Would it not be worth the while to see our wonderful clay beds developed, factories built, thousands of women finding in them an honorable employment, and the enormous sums of money that annually go to enrich foreigners flowing into our own coffers?

THE DISCUSSION WAS CONCLUDED BY LUETTA E. BRAUMULLER OF NEW YORK, WHO READ THE FOLLOWING PAPER ON ART IN CERAMICS.

It is my object to show my hearers the distinction between two very common terms employed in ceramic art, viz., china painting and china decorating. It is generally believed that china painting is confined to the decoration of cups, saucers, plates, and other articles of tableware, with vases, placques, jardinières, lamps, etc., as occasional adjuncts, and that high art, in the general acceptance of that term, is excluded from or is foreign to ceramic art.

I would at once state that china painting and china decorating must be considered as two distinct branches of the art, the first as high art aiming to attain the highest possibilities, and the second as applied art, the same as any other subservience of art to utility.

The artist who employs oil or water colors to illustrate his conceptions has a meager appreciation of the capabilities of mineral colors; in plain words, his ignorance leads him to form an erroneous opinion, and to influence the opinion of others in the same direction.

One of the commonest charges made against ceramic art, by the artist who styles himself one of the "legitimate school," is that our artists must confine themselves to copying the works of the masters, and can not themselves create a great work.

This general accusation no one, to my knowledge, has ever attempted to substantiate, and probably no one ever will. The technique of mineral coloring is the most difficult to master of all the various pigments employed by artists, requiring not only a knowledge of color, experience and skill in manipulation, but a thorough understanding of the firing necessary to perfect the colors and make them permanent. The firing of china might be termed a science, and the assertion that not one of our artists, many of whom

have spent years in the study of true art, is capable of creating a great picture because he chooses to perpetuate his work in mineral coloring, is as absurd as it is false. In proof, I would refer you to the biographies of some of the greatest artists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, who did not find it beneath their dignity to work with mineral colors.

Madame Hortense Richards, a well-known French painter, an officer of the Academy and pupil of Bouguereau and Jules Lefebre, is an enthusiastic china painter. Some of her most noted works are on porcelain, and she has been awarded twenty-three medals at as many exhibitions held on the continent, in Great Britain, and Australia.

A favorite disparaging comparison made by painters in other branches of art points out the relative sizes of the works in oil and mineral colors. Paintings are neither valued nor sold by the yard, but by merit alone. If any one believes china painters are limited in this respect, I would refer her to that magnificent painting now on exhibition in the German department of the Manufactures Building at the World's Fair, entitled "The Triumph of German Art." Its height is sixteen and one-half feet and its width ten feet.

True, it is not painted on a single piece of porcelain, but the majority of the works of the old masters are painted on a wood surface formed with narrow strips glued together, and this painting is done on tiles skillfully joined to form a perfectly smooth surface. There are several other large paintings in the same exhibit, which are sufficient proof that china painters are not confined to miniature works.

I will mention some superior qualities of mineral colors. In purity, beauty, and brilliancy, no other colors can compare with them; and in figure painting, which is conceded to be the highest style of art, the exquisite flesh tones obtained with mineral colors are absolutely unrivaled. The underlying glaze lends a transparency so characteristic in life that figure painting on porcelain is undeniably the highest degree of perfection attainable in art. Colors

which depict so faithfully the beauties of the human form are not less adequate to copy the grandeurs of nature and subjects of lesser importance.

A second quality of equal value is the durability of mineral colors. The same glorious tints that gladden the heart and brighten our surroundings to-day may serve the same purpose a thousand years hence. There is practically no limit to the duration of porcelain and its decoration. Time leaves no trace, and the elements are powerless to mar the brilliancy of the glaze or dim the luster and beauty of the coloring.

I will concede that the fragility of porcelains is to be regretted, but they require far less care than other treasures, such as jewels, laces, etc., and there are porcelains shown at our great exposition to-day which, with ordinary care by successive possessors, will no doubt endure unchangeable when the existence of Chicago and its inhabitants will be a circumstance of remote antiquity.

Since china decoration first attracted the attention of American women it has become the most fascinating employment, and in many instances the most lucrative means of self-support to the higher classes of women.

Pottery in the Household — Address by M. Louise McLaughlin of Ohio, Read by Katherine Westendorf of Ohio.

Whether our sex can lay claim to the idea which resulted in the addition of household utensils to the home of primitive man, we do not know. The solution of that question is forever lost in the mists of antiquity. We know only that since prehistoric ages woman has figured largely as the maker and decorator of the vessels in which the food provided by her liege lord has been served. Now, when her rights and privileges have been increased in a measure undreamed of by her aboriginal predecessor, we find her

still the conserver, and happily frequently the producer, of beauty in the household.

In the complication of modern life it is not given to every woman to devote herself to the pleasing task of providing with her own hands, and at the same time rendering beautiful, the household utensils. Let not the woman, however, who may be engaged in the practice of one of the learned professions, or busy in the reformation of the abuses which have become ingrained in the polish of this old world, look down upon her sister upon whom has descended the time-honored profession of her foremothers. In our time many a woman finds in the decoration of pottery, not only the gratification of her sense of beauty, but also the wherewithal for the support of her family. While from this point of view the practice of the art may be considered one of the lucrative occupations for women, it is from that of the household that we are to regard it. Viewed within the narrow circle of the home, the matter assumes almost paramount importance. From its more practical side, the ceramic art is seen to fill the necessity which was probably the first to arise, in furnishing the most satisfactory receptacle for food. In this capacity its importance in our households can scarcely be overestimated. Whatever may be said of the abuses of the table — the interference of high living with high thinking — the consumption of food is a daily necessity, and no substitute by which our civilized brains can be kept in good working order has been found. No change in the good old custom of families meeting around the common table has proved desirable, nor is there anything so delightful as the assembling of kindred spirits round the festal board.

Many refinements have been added since our forefathers gathered around the primitive bowl in which the household food was served, and helped themselves without other utensils than those which nature had provided them. Much of the grossness of the satisfaction of this natural appetite has been taken away. How much, we who are

accustomed only to the manners of the latter part of the nineteenth century can scarcely realize.

Shorn of its grosser aspects, bounded within the limits of temperance and common sense, this appetite for food should not be considered something which an intelligent being can pass over without consideration. Upon its proper gratification depends life itself, and during life the health of body and mind. Considered in this light, the art of the cook is the highest, and as an adjunct the ceramic art comes not far behind. That the palatableness of food has an actual influence upon its digestion and consequent benefit, is a fact acknowledged by medical authorities. How much of this benefit is derived from the tasteful serving of the viands has not been computed, but the effect is something of which people of refined tastes are keenly conscious. Good food served upon coarse and ugly dishes loses half its savor. How much, then, does the art of cooking owe to the beautiful china in which its products may be presented! As a very essential aid in the serving of our daily food, decorated china plays a very important part, and thus may be considered a practically useful art.

Very early was the sense of beauty manifested in the decoration of necessary utensils. We, following in the line of what should be progress, are inclined sometimes so to decorate these articles that the original use is lost sight of. In this, to our shame be it said, we fall behind our aboriginal models, who in their simplicity never lost sight of the fitness of things, and whose work consequently ranks high in true artistic beauty. The principle which underlies all good work—the abrogation of self—is applicable to this branch of art as well as to all others. The questions which must be answered by all decorative art are these. Is it suited to its purpose? Does it really beautify the object upon which it is applied?

To the decoration of household pottery these questions appeal with more than usual force. Here there is no room for the exhibition of skill unless it is subordinated to use.

That is the all-important point of view, and from it all personal display becomes impertinent. We have much to learn upon this whole subject, but much has already been accomplished. In the light of the present exposition of woman's work it will be seen that a wonderful progress has been made. We can not here enter into the question of what constitutes the best decorative art, or what are the best means of developing the talent which, as has been demonstrated, woman has in her keeping.

Let us hope that the time will come when she will exercise this talent, freed from the shackles of custom and fashion; the time when she will not tie ribbons on jugs, paint pictures on plates, or transform her home into the likeness of a bric-a-brac shop. To paraphrase a well-known saying, let me decorate the homes of a people and I care not who teaches them.

The Trades and Professions Underlying the Home, Address by Alice M. Hart of Ireland.

In asking me to speak to-day before this great and wonderful congress on the trades and professions underlying the home, or in other words on home industries, I gratefully recognize the graceful compliment that has been paid me on account of my ten years' work in developing the home industries of Ireland.

In Ireland the conditions of life are much the same as they are in Saxony, Bohemia, and the Tyrol, but in these countries a watchful and more sympathetic government has encouraged home and hand industries, and helped to make them a substantial means of support to the people, and it is therefore from these countries that we have so much to learn. It must be hard for you in America, where you have large farms and a paucity of labor, to realize the condition of things where there are small farms and an abundance of labor. Yet this is the condition of labor which prevails in

certain parts of Italy, Bohemia, Saxony, and in what are known as the congested or the poor districts of Ireland. In these countries and districts where, as a rule, the farm is too small to give the means of support to the whole family, home industries become of inestimable value. It is surprising to those who think that everything is made, and best made, nowadays by machinery, to learn how large a part in production hand-work still plays, and that notwithstanding the amassing of capital and labor in large factories, home industries do still hold their own. Thus, in Germany, in the Black Forest and Saxony; in Austria, in the Bohemian Mountains; in Switzerland, in the Tyrol, and in France, in the Vosges Mountain districts, large populations are employed in their own homes in the making of toys, dolls, and clocks, and in the manufacture of lace and passementerie, and in the weaving districts of Wurtemburg in Germany, and in Lyons in France a large portion of the finest work is still done in hand-looms in the cottages. The advantages of home industries are many; their disadvantages are also patent to all. Among their advantages I may claim those of living in the healthful country and the preservation of family life; among the disadvantages are, the length of the hours of labor and the smallness of the earnings; but, as almost invariably where home industries flourish the population is partly agricultural, and each family has its little farm or flock to cultivate, the time not spent in some hand industry would be idle, and the money thus earned, though little, is supplementary to the earnings made by farm labor. It may seem to you that one to two dollars a week earned at lace-making or knitting is a miserable pittance, and that it would be far better to gather these workers into factories, to multiply their power of production a hundred-fold by machinery, and increase their wages perhaps to ten dollars a week, but such a policy would leave the agricultural populations without the means of supplementary earnings, and agriculture would become what it is in England, a forsaken industry, and the country

districts would become depopulated. As long as home industries flourish the agricultural districts in the old countries of Europe remain thickly populated; but also, so long as hand industries are pursued by an agricultural population as supplementary work the earnings, on an average from one to three dollars a week, of such work will control its market value, and consequently town-workers will find that the same industries yield them a pittance on which life in cities can not be supported. Thus the dollar or two dollars earned weekly by the lace-girl living at home on her father's farm, who gives a hand at the dairy or in the fields, will help keep the family from want in the winter, or, if put by, will give her a dower for her wedding-day; but the lace-worker earning the same wages in a city will be plunged into the depths of poverty. Thus I advocate cultivating home industries to the utmost in the country and in agricultural districts, but carrying on such work in the cities in shops and factories under proper supervision and correct sanitary conditions. It would be impossible to consider the whole subject of home industries in the short time at my disposal, and as this congress of women is called to report the progress of women all over the world I think it would be more interesting for you to hear what women have done and what I myself have been privileged to do in encouraging home industries in Ireland, that distressful country for which our sympathies are so constantly invoked.

Ireland is essentially an agricultural country. From causes which I need not describe the people have been driven back upon agriculture as their chief means of support, and from this fact arose that land hunger which became on one side the motive of oppression and on the other the mainspring of revolution. The people being rooted in the soil, the cultivation of home industries among them becomes a vital necessity. Women have been the first to recognize this in Ireland, and to women and their practical pity for the poor are due some of the most flourishing industries in Ireland. As these stories of women's

work and pity are little known or have been forgotten, I should like briefly to tell them. In the Woman's Building at the World's Fair, in Lady Aberdeen's exhibit of cottage industries in the Plaisance, and in our own Irish Village when opened, there will be found beautiful examples of Irish lace; these laces are known as Carrickmacross, Limerick, Yoghal, Innishmacsaint, and crochet. Each one of these lace industries has been either founded or revived by a woman's pity.

The Carrickmacross lace industry originated in 1820 in the efforts made by Mrs. Gray Porter Anne Stedman to copy a piece of Italian lace. Miss Reid of Rahns, near Carrickmacross, taught herself and her sister the new art, and subsequently established a school in which poor children were taught lace-making as a means of supplementing the earnings the family obtained from working the little farm. The town of Carrickmacross is on the Bath and Shirley estate. When twenty-five years later the great famine was in the land Mr. Tristam Kennedy became manager of the Bath estate, and he was so much impressed by the benefit conferred on the neighborhood by Miss Reid's lace school that he raised a public fund and built several lace schools in and around Carrickmacross. He subsequently secured a grant of one hundred pounds from Parliament to teach drawing and designing in his schools. Mr. Kennedy's schools and the lace industry which sprang from them were of the greatest help during the famine years. Many of them were subsequently closed, but the central school at Carrickmacross is still in existence and does good work, owing to the annual grant still paid it by government, and it has sent a fine exhibit of lace to Chicago.

The Limerick lace industry owes its origin to an Englishman, Mr. Charles Walker, who, on marrying the daughter of a lace manufacturer, determined to try to make a commercial success of an industry which had at that time a most feeble existence. He brought over twenty-four girls from England as teachers, and in a short time a large amount of

good lace was being made in Ireland. During the famine lace-making was one of the great resources of the district, and through an association of ladies who work hard to help the poor in their distress, a considerable sale was obtained for Limerick lace. This was at the time when lace fichus, berthas, ruffles, and frills were much worn by ladies, both young and old. The lace made at this period was very fine — good in design and delicate in execution. After the famine, when death and emigration had greatly diminished the population of Ireland, and the desperate need of an agricultural population for some extra earnings, however small, had passed away, the Limerick lace industry declined: public interest in it was lost; good designs were no longer furnished the workers; Limerick lace fell out of fashion; the industry was transferred to Belgium, and until a few years ago only the coarsest kinds and the poorest designs were made in Ireland; these were sold at very low prices. This pretty old lace was in this degraded condition when it was taken in hand about seven years ago by Mrs. Vere O'Brien, the adopted daughter of the late W. E. Foster, chief secretary for Ireland, who, on marrying an Irish gentleman, the son of the late Smith O'Brien, and settling near Limerick, opened a school to teach again the making of the charming old lace of the district. Under this kind and wise influence the industry has revived, and at Mrs. Vere O'Brien's school are now produced the most beautiful ran and tambour laces, fine in execution and artistic in design.

Irish point owes its origin to the earnestness and ingenuity of a nun in the convent at Yoghal, who was anxious, as all good nuns of Ireland always have been and still are, to find industrial employment for the children of her schools. Chancing upon an old piece of Italian point she unpicked it, studied the stitches of which it was composed, and reproduced them with success. She then determined to teach some of the poor children who were in need of bread to make point lace as a means of livelihood. She succeeded

so well that the first specimens of Irish point were sold at a high price. New point stitches were invented and designs were improved, and, in a short time, owing to the devotion of this good nun to her poor children, Irish point became an established success. It is now made in many convent schools, but that made at Kenmare, Kinsale, and Yoghal is the best. Irish point also fell into a low condition, owing to the poor designs and coarse thread used, but of late years the lace committee at the South Kensington Museum, the School of Design at Cork, and Mrs. Power Lawlor have done excellent work in stimulating the production of good lace designs and in aiding the workers and teachers to obtain them, and consequently Yoghal point has taken its position again as one of the finest laces made.

Away in the wild and desolate County of Donegal, in the midst of Lough Erne, there is a holy island called Innishmacsaint, to which the poor peasants of the district often come on pilgrimage or to perform pennance. Extremely poor the peasants of Donegal always are, but in 1846 their condition was desolate. An old piece of Italian point excited the attention of Mrs. McLean, the wife of the rector of the parish of Tynan, exactly as a similar relic had attracted the nun at the convent of Yoghal. The old piece of lace awoke in each lady similar trains of thought and induced each to make the same effort to help the starving children about her. This old piece of point was unpicked, and the stitches of which it was composed discovered, and Mrs. McLean began to teach the making of Rose point to the girls of her parish. Private orders sustained the school, and the earnings resulting were a great boon to the people. This lace was, however, near extinction when, about sixteen years ago, it was taken up by the late Mr. Benlindsey of Dublin and reëstablished as an industry.

A school at which reproductions of Greek and Italian Reticella lace are made has been established by Mrs. Halldare at Newtonbury; the lace produced is admirable, and nothing finer was made in Italy in the sixteenth century

than the Reticella turned out from Mrs. Halldare's school in Ireland.

Irish crochet is known all over the world. About the year 1836 it became fashionable in England, owing chiefly to the pattern books published by Madame Del Riago, a lady who was always deeply interested in promoting the crochet industry in Ireland, who, when she died three or four years ago, left her fortune to be devoted to the encouragement of lace schools in the south of Ireland. It was, however, the great famine of 1846 which stimulated the crochet industry, when, owing to the government grants, the energetic action of the Netherland ladies, and the intelligent industry of convent schools, crochet lace became the chief hope of the people of County Cork, and gave an immense amount of employment during a period of dire distress. The nuns of the Ursuline Convent at Black Rock, County Cork, had already begun to teach their scholars to make crochet lace before the famine, and when the unhappy country lay prostrated by the scourge the crochet industry springing from this industrial center became the main support of the people of that district. The little hook-needle was turned indeed into a very wand of hope, crochet was taught in almost every convent, and ladies exerted themselves to form classes, introduce and invent new designs, and to keep up and improve the standard and quality of the work. The names of two ladies are particularly associated with this effort to save a starving people by creating a new industry, namely, those of Mrs. Roberts of Fountain, County Kildare, and Mrs. Hand, the wife of Lovicka, of Cloynes, County of Monaghan. These ladies took as their models of design five old Italian guipures and Venice points and adapted them to crochet; and it is due to their intelligent direction that much of Irish crochet is so rich and Venetian in appearance. Every girl taught was obliged to teach three more, and she could not get employment till she gave evidence that three girls had been taught by her to do good work. In this way the spirit of

Christian helpfulness spread, and thousands of girls were soon earning money to support their families. Irish crochet laces, for which sympathy for suffering created so great a demand, unfortunately fell so out of fashion, a ruinous trade competition and the demand for cheapness so lowered wages and degenerated the once beautiful work, that the industry almost died out. Mr. Biddle of London has of late years done much to revive it, and has supplied the Irish workers with beautiful designs. He has also introduced a splendid crochet lace in lustrous silk, both black and white, which is now called "Royal," owing to the fact that the queen, in order to encourage the work, wore a quantity of this lace on her dress at a recent drawing-room.

Before concluding this account of the Irish laces I must mention an effort now being made to introduce the pillow and the making of Torchon or platted laces into Ireland. Mrs. Dawson of Bedford, County Mayo, has been for many years engaged in this work and has taught numbers of girls to make good Torchon laces. I have also in Gweedore, County Donegal, made an effort to establish pillow-lace as one of the industries of the place, and have opened a lace school where girls are taught Torchon and Kells laces. In the effort to draw public attention to the beauty and capabilities of Irish laces I have exhibited them at a great number of the recent international exhibitions, and at the great exhibition in Paris in 1889 I was awarded the silver medal for my exhibition of Irish lace.

The Irish Industries Association, which has been recently formed by Lady Aberdeen, will do useful work if it carries out its programme, namely, to associate the lace industries and lace centers of Ireland, to provide good and marketable designs and to find a foreign market for their products.

Brave pioneer work is being done in Ireland to encourage home industries, by women little known to fame. The story of Miss Sturge's work has always struck me as one of the most touching and inspiring. Miss Sturge, a young

and beautiful Quaker lady, touched by stories of the need of employment of the people in Connemara, left her home in Birmingham and settled on the wild coast of Connemara in order to teach the peasant boys the art and industry of basket-making. She has succeeded so well that she has now a flourishing little industry. Numbers of ladies are doing, similar work in other industries, among whom I may mention Mrs. Power Lawlor of Dublin, Miss Johnson of Ardglass the Duchess of Abercorn, Miss Roberts of Burtonport, Miss Greene of County Tyrone, Miss O'Hara of Raheen, County Galway; Miss Chaine of Port Stewart, Mrs. Davidson of Balinakille, Mrs. Horne Payne of London. To many of these our Organization for the Encouragement of Irish Home Industries has been of the greatest value, as we supply them with work and designs for their classes and employés.

This brings me lastly to speak of my own work for the encouragement of home industries in Ireland, which is so well known that I think it is necessary for me to make only the briefest allusion to it.

Ten years ago my attention was attracted to the congested districts of County Donegal by the stories of distress and destitution which were said to prevail there, and I urged my husband to go with me on a tour of inquiry into the causes of the people's poverty. We went, and found a population numbering no less than one hundred thousand living along the creeks and bays of a wild coast, or squatting on the bogs, striving to cultivate a barren soil and separated from the rest of the world by thirty miles of uninhabited bog; a population living always on the verge of distress and whom a misfortune such as a failure of the potato harvest would plunge into the depths of distress. I came to the conclusion that the question here was not agricultural but industrial, and that these people require not charity, which was ruining them, but the cultivation among them of industries such as were of so great benefit to the people of Bohemia and the Tyrol, and which were so large and well organized in other and more prosperous parts of Ireland.

Having once decided that this was the solution of the difficult problem I set to work at it, and for ten years I have labored incessantly, devoting time, brains, and money to the cause. That we have succeeded in teaching them to produce marketable wares is proved by the fact that some of the leading houses in New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago have placed orders for our hand-made stuffs, our embroideries and home-spun linens. I consider this the best test of success.

The next test of success, and of permanent benefit to the people, is to make these industries thoroughly self-supporting as commercial undertakings. The collapse of many of the lace industries of Ireland, of which I have told you the story, is due to the fact that, though founded in enthusiasm they have not been related to commerce, and have often after the first outpourings of generosity, languished and died from inanition. Now the organized cottage industries of Ireland, which have been founded by the great firms of Belfast and Derry, have been established and are conducted on commercial lines, and are hence of permanent benefit to thousands of homes in Ireland. You will be surprised to learn how large and extensive are these cottage industries. In the great industry of Belfast, the products of which are the embroidered handkerchiefs and household linen so much liked by American ladies, there are at least twenty thousand girls all employed in their own homes in embroidery alone. One large Belfast firm which furnished me with returns for an article on this subject, stated that they employed six thousand five hundred sewing girls, and turned out one million two hundred and fifty-five thousand dozen handkerchiefs a year, mainly for the American market. This industry was severely curtailed by the McKinley tariff. In the shirt-making and under-linen industries of Derry, numbers of women are employed in their own homes, either sewing by hand or by machine, and it is estimated that at least seven thousand women are employed in their own homes by the Derry houses.

Pondering all these facts I determined to found my work for the poor of the congested districts of Donegal on two broad principles, which are, that all public industries to be successful must be based on practical technical teaching, and that they must be carried on on sound financial and commercial principles; on these lines, through good report and ill report, I have tried to accomplish my task, though acting always myself as a disinterested volunteer in the matter. With regard to technical teaching, I first demonstrated seven years ago that the native homespun industry of the people of County Donegal could be immensely improved by the practical technical teaching we had given in dyeing, spinning, and weaving, and on bringing the subject before the government I received a vote in Parliament to enable me to carry out a scheme of training technical teachers in villages and sending them on itinerant tours through the county. This scheme was carried out by us in 1888 and 1889, with the result that the old and nearly defunct industry of making homespun received such an impetus that it now brings in not less than from seventy-five to one hundred thousand dollars a year into this poor district. A technical school has also been established in Gweedore, with a congeries of workshops, where the village boys and girls are taught wood-carving, carpentry, wheelwright work, tailoring, sewing, and lace-making. The cottage industries of knitting and homespun have been most carefully and laboriously taught and directed, and made a means of earning to large numbers of households.

The benefit to this desperately poor district of the revival and encouragement of these simple home industries has been incalculable, but more than the money that they have brought into the district — and I have paid more than three hundred thousand dollars into Ireland for work and wages — is the revival of hope and the preservation of self-reliance among this worthy peasantry. In other parts of Ireland also are organizations, one of which is known as the Donegal Industrial Fund, which has its headquarters at Donegal

LADY LINCHEE SURIYA.

ISABELLE BOGELOT.

CALLIRRHÖE PARREN.

House; another, the Depot for Irish Industries, 43 Wigmore Street, London, has established a new cottage industry of the Kells embroideries, of which the linens are woven in hand-looms in the cottages, and the embroidery done by poor ladies at home. The making also of under-linen, of lace and sprigging has been taught and encouraged, and numbers of convent schools and small organizations have received from us direction and suggestion.

This brief account of the efforts made by women to encourage home industry in Ireland, when we remember the work past and present done by such women as Barbara Uttmann in Saxony, Mrs. Hansom in Constantinople, and the Baroness Burdett-Coutts in Baltimore, will show that women can be the very mothers of industry, and that while not neglecting their own homes they can make the homes of thousands of women who are bowed with care and tortured with penury brighter, happier, and holier.

THE ABOVE SUBJECT CONTINUED IN AN ADDRESS BY HELENA T. GOESSMANN OF MASSACHUSETTS.

In the history gleaned from the pages of holy writ are the cradle-song of a Virgin Mother; the noble love of a penitent Magdalen; the gentle suasion of a womanly Salome; the first Sister of Charity, Dorcas of Lydia; the Christian mothers and scholars, Lois and Eunice; the woman merchant of Thyatira, Lydia; the tent-makers, Aquila and Priscilla, model workers and wives. Turning pages to the days of Roman power we read with tender pity, pride, and even surprise, of the slave maiden and martyr of Lyons, Blandina; the patrician dame, Perpetua; Marcella of the Eternal City, pupil of philosophy; Fabiola, the city missionary; and Pukacia, the foster-parent of an emperor. In the ages that follow are such examples as Genevieve of Nontare, the shepherdess; Clotilda, Bertha, and Ethelberga, queens and reformers; Lioba, counselor in matters spirit-

ual of bishops and abbots; Hilda, of a royal race, student of Scripture and foundress of many schools; Gisella, sister of the mighty Charlemagne, patroness of science and literature; Hrosvitha of Gandersheim, writer of classic comedies; Herrade, compiler of the first encyclopedia; Margaret of Scotland, queen and architect; Elizabeth of Hungary, foundress of hospitals and orphanages; Catherine of Siena, apprenticed in the dye-house of her father; Joan of Arc, leader of a royal army; Theresa of Avela, mystical writer; Cassandra Fidele, professor at the University of Padua; Helena Kanaro, honored by this same institution with its highest degrees; Maria Agnesi, mathematician, eulogized by Fontwell, Bosway, and Colson of Cambridge; and lo! we touch the history of our own century replete as well with its familiar examples of woman's work in every field of labor.

"Like a man choosing a profession, when a woman marries," says John Stuart Mill, "it generally may be understood that she makes a choice of the management of a household and the bringing up of a family as the first call upon her exertions during so many years of her life as may be required for the purpose, and that she renounces all other objects and occupations but those which are consistent with this." And again he exclaims with great earnestness, "Women are most wanted for the things for which they are most fit."

Horace Mann writes, "God has created the race of male and female on the principle of a division of labor." And he adds, as if to give a key to his dictum, "No higher respect is due the greatest inventor or discoverer than to the woman who has mastered the science of domestic economy."

From this point begins the outward influence of the home, as into a busy, demanding world crowd workers of both sexes, cultivated according to the home's tone and elevation.

Labor sustains the homes, and in a free land it is the trades-people, with the knowledge of a craft, that make, support, and dignify a great nation.

To-day a puzzling picture greets the observing eye, and the truly philosophical pause and ask themselves what can be the natural outcome of an evolution which places woman in a position broader and more exacting than that enjoyed by her grandmother and her mother. She labors for love of labor, when conditions do not demand it. She walks side by side with her brothers in the halls of learning, on the business thoroughfares, judging and adopting opinions of life freely for herself, and making her mark for excellence in certain lines so frequently and brilliantly that the skeptic pauses, and for a brief moment at least doubts his own preconceived opinions. Still she is a woman, and as long as she remains such, respect is her due. No true man will deride her, and no honest member of her own sex misunderstand her; but let the mantle of her female modesty and womanly attributes fall from her, revealing an identity that uses privileges as rights, progress as license, and mistakes clamor for applause, and we have before us something which is possible when woman leaves the home shelter not to benefit but to impress humanity.

There never was an age since the day of woman's creation when so many legitimate opportunities were given her to become a part of the working world, a beneficiary of its latest and best crafts, and a sharer alike with man in its emoluments. Setting aside the professions of politics, law, and arms, wholly, for the majority, unfitted to a woman's nature, we find her as the physician of her own sex, the trained nurse of the hospital, the successful pharmacist, the student of astronomy and botany, the teacher of the young, the publisher, the printer, the artist, the architect, and the housekeeper, all of which occupations open to her fields replete with chances for a cultivated and honest life, without one iota of compromise as regards the position of her sex, while unlimited ways of doing good, advancing the interest of human society, and growing mentally and morally herself, blend with these conditions.

If in these varied avenues she does not find a congenial

occupation, then her own individual nature and not social usages are at fault. She need not weep, and claim her vocation is as "Hobson's choice." There is plenty of work for the willing laborer, but there is no sure antidote known for the chronic grumbler. The old adage of "room at the top" applies to woman as well as to man in their suitable occupations. Her possible trades, her legitimate professions, are, because so ordained by God, and sustained by reason and common sense, more noble the closer they are allied with her domestic nature. Her influence over man lies in this very fact.

"Her well-ordered home," says one who has studied her, "dignifies and ennobles a well-ordered state," and "wide and illimitable," claims John Stuart Mill, "as is her work of love, its center and beginning must be home."

The Effect of Modern Changes in Industrial and Social Life on Woman's Marriage Prospects—Address by Kaethe Schirmacher of Germany.

It is the marriage prospects of the modern woman in Germany that I shall discuss before you.

The marriage prospects of every woman depend as a rule upon three circumstances, the first of which is the number of eligible men living in the country. In this respect the German women are not particularly favored, for their number exceeds that of the men by a round one million and a half, so that it is impossible for every German woman to marry, unless we institute polygamy, put a tax on bachelors, or forbid young men to emigrate.

The second circumstance upon which the marriage prospects of a woman depend is the greater or less facility her countrymen find in founding a household of their own and supporting a family. In this direction the prospects of German women are not bright. All over Germany you will hear the same complaint, that wants are great, money

and employment scarce, no new openings to be found, the struggle for life harder than ever, and the possibility of making both ends meet less than before. Under these circumstances the number of marriages is likely to decrease, and actually is decreasing.

I come to the third point to be considered. It is of a less material character than the two preceding ones, but of still more vital interest. It refers to the views the two sexes hold on marriage in general, and the ideal type they expect one another to live up to.

Now what is, as a rule, a German man entitled to expect his wife to be? The answer is very short. His inferior, but a pleasant one; an inferior that at the same time is a lady, meets with all the outward marks of respect due to a lady, and yet in all the more important questions of life remains an inferior. This is no exaggeration.

Consult the church in Germany — she says: The Christian wife is an obedient wife.

Consult the German law — it says: The German wife, as a person being supported by her husband, has in all outward circumstances to submit to his will, and in affairs of great importance may not act without his permission.

Consult the army, as the most privileged and most highly considered class of German society — it will answer: A wife is a very pretty, agreeable, and lovable object, but incapable of doing military service, and therefore inferior to man.

Consult the men of science, and, except some of broader views, they will pretend, even should it be into the teeth of fact, that a woman is incapable of thorough work, high intellectual training, and high intellectual achievement.

Consult the German government — it has hitherto shut woman out from the university as a student, from the upper classes of girls' high schools as a teacher, from the school board, the advisory councils, from all public affairs, and all public functions. A German woman is no citizen.

Consult the German press—and except some liberal papers

and reviews, exceptions to the rule for which we are most truly thankful, it but re-echoes the judgments quoted above, and even liberal-minded editors of great liberal papers are taken aback at the idea of a woman's discussing political economy and politics.

Consult German literature—and you will find it knows only of one relation between men and women, the relation through love and passion. The relation through thought, opinion, work, and the modifying influence of these on love or passion seem to have been perfectly unknown hitherto.

Then, after having consulted all these authorities, address yourself to an average German man on the point of getting married, and ask him what he expects his future wife to be. I think he will answer, "Pretty and gay, ignorant of life, able to follow me in my thoughts to a certain extent, but by no means independent."

Now, a modern woman may be pretty and she may be gay, but she is never ignorant of life, and she is always independent in feeling and opinion; therefore, her marriage prospects in Germany, and all the countries sharing the German ideal, are poor.

Hitherto a German woman, on the average, had but one way of being happy, useful, and respected — through marriage, through man; and she could attain this without a special training of her faculties, or a thorough development of her character.

A modern woman, on the contrary, does not consider marriage as her inevitable fate; nor is she convinced that it is every woman's chief vocation, or that it should be every woman's disposition to fulfill the duties of a wife and mother; nor does she believe that without a special training of her faculties and a thorough development of her character a woman can be able to fulfill these duties as they should be fulfilled. She therefore asks as her right, considers as her personal duty, considers as a general necessity, that a woman should in the first place be a character and full-grown personality; that she should, secondly, make sure of her chief

gift or capacity, and train it, so as to know what regular work means and be able to support herself.

Then, having obtained this, she asks for the liberty to choose marriage if she feels particularly disposed toward it, and to refuse it if she sees another way of being more happy, or more useful to the world; and this latter decision she wants to be allowed to make without being pitied by the world or blamed for it.

A modern woman having thus developed her brain and her will, there is still one quality she can not do without—a warm heart. She must have a feeling of fellowship toward all other women, pulling, so to speak, at the same rope with her; the wish to help all those who, striving in the same direction with her, may be less gifted or less fortunate than she; to help all those who, losing courage, have ceased to fight. Unless she have the backbone of a conviction, the desire to stand with others for a cause, and to claim justice, she is no modern woman.

I now repeat my question, Is this modern woman the wife her German countrymen expect? And I make the same answer as before, No, she is not, and therefore her marriage prospects in Germany are poor.

Though the modern woman knows that marriage in the present actual state of development in Germany is not meant for her, yet she is not at all averse to marriage in itself.

Being a full-grown and fully developed woman, she is perfectly capable of love, of passion and devotion. She does not pride herself on being insensible to love, nor affect a lofty and ridiculous disdain for men in general. On the contrary, knowing how hard it is to develop a character, and how much it has cost her to make her way, she will fully appreciate a man who, having done the same, expects the same from her; a man with whom she may share her ideas, thoughts, and feelings, her experiences, her tendencies, perhaps even her profession; a man whose comrade she will be, as well as his wife; for the modern marriage, in spite of all

the rapture, love, and passion attached to marriage, is based in the first place on comradeship and mutual understanding.

Unless the modern woman find a man to appreciate her strength of will and tenacity of purpose, as she does his; unless he admit her to his life on a footing of perfect equality, for the simple reason that she is his equal; unless she can be sure of finding all this in a husband, I think she will not marry.

She supports herself, and so does not want to marry in order that she may be provided for. She is fond of her work, absorbed by it, makes friends by it, is respected for it, and so need not marry in order to obtain the regard due to a useful member of society.

That at times she will suffer from being alone, that she will have her hours of temptation, of depression, the modern woman is far too upright to deny. Yet, so far as I can see, a character of this stamp, a modern woman, will cherish liberty above all, and will be happier still when living alone, free to think, to feel, and act as she likes, than if, having married (for marrying's or passion's sake) a man she does not thoroughly agree with, she must be bored by his presence all her life.

And the modern woman begins to be rather easily bored. Hitherto women have been taught to look up to men, and on the whole they have done so. Now this innate feeling of respect for a man as such is more and more declining in the soul of the modern woman, and this change I consider most decisive as to the marriage prospects of our sex. It is not a change one can rejoice in — it is very painful to realize; for who would not prefer admiring, venerating with all her heart, to blaming, judging, and condemning?

Yet this change from innate respect to downright indifference is actually coming about. It can not be avoided, for it is the natural result of the modern woman's deepening experience of life — of her knowledge of the realities of the world. It is this knowledge that estranges woman from man. A woman that has come to know by direct per-

sonal experience what this world is actually like, what she may meet with, in spite of being a lady, when trying to make her way by herself and going out unprotected by a great name or a chaperon; a woman who has come to realize that there are two moral standards, and that what is morally wrong for her is allowed to men; a woman that has looked into the depths of society, has understood its sham and its shame — such a woman is not likely to consider men as her superiors nor to be satisfied with the world as it stands. From her own experience, her own reflection, a quiet, concentrated, but very earnest protest is rising, a protest against the world as it is. And taking into account her character, how can it be otherwise?

Considering, however, the views of the German husband this state of affairs can but displease him. For women leading independent lives, holding certain decided views; women with ideas and principles, women who before marriage have taken to their own wings and made their way in the world; women judging men and asking them to account for various very unpleasant things in the world; such women are, in Germany at least, still a great, a very great and startling innovation, and therefore, I repeat, their marriage prospects are poor. Things will not always remain like this. The modern woman is highly organized; the weather all over Europe is black, and times of storm and stress are always favorable to the rising types. Let the modern woman stand the test of troubles now threatened, and she will see her claims admitted; let her exemplify the survival of the fittest, and she will be respected; let her with all her independence still be a woman, and she will be desired. Until the times come when the modern woman shall meet the modern man, we have to work, to sow and plant with a never-resting hand, that there may grow great characters for the world, characters able to grapple with the great problems at issue; it is characters we want, for as Walt Whitman says, "Have great men and the rest will follow."

THE DISCUSSION OF THE PRECEDING SUBJECT—INTRODUCED BY ALICE TIMMONS TOOMY OF CALIFORNIA.

I hope it will not seem ungracious if I preface my remarks by saying that the expression "Woman's prospects of marriage" jars on me. There is to my mind the jingle of money and traffic back of it. The word prospect at once suggests rise and fall in the price of grain or in the stock markets. Woman, as I love to picture her, after a few more congresses, will, with God's blessing, be able to create her own prospects. It is my theory that every little girl ought to enjoy physical life, and be talked to frequently, just as a boy is, of what she is going to be and do. I would teach every girl a profession, business, or trade, so as to give her a definite purpose in life, as well as a means of self-support. God has given girls talents and capacities, just as he has given them to boys. Surely he did not mean the girls to be purely ornamental, as they so frequently are. I know there is a pretty theory that every woman ought to have a supporter in father, brother, or husband, but even if this were a desirable condition, statistics show that through the result of wars and other excesses there are not enough fathers, brothers, and husbands to supply the demand. It may be objected that earning her living would be hard work for a woman; but my observation is that the average privileged society woman does as hard work as the woman who follows other occupations for several hours a day.

The society woman's idea of duties and work might not accord with that of a business or professional woman, but one is just as full of affairs as the other. Do any of us know any woman who has time? The plea of every one is, "I am so busy, I have no time." Considering marriage as a prospect, I think the growth of luxury and expensive habits is one of the great hindrances to marriage. Club life spoils men for married life.

Costly bringing up and inability to earn her own living make a woman without a fortune dependent on getting a rich husband.

The luxurious young man of the present day has unlimited capacity for getting rid of money, and is consequently a little shy of sharing his income with the undowered object of his affection.

These are, I think, the effects of modern social changes on marriage prospects; not only on the number of marriages, but on their quality.

True marriage brings, of course, the completest fulfillment of a woman's nature as wife and mother. John Stuart Mill describes the highest marriage as "a union of two persons of cultivated faculties, identical in opinion and purposes, between whom there exists that best kind of equality, similarity of powers, with reciprocal superiority in them; so that one can enjoy the luxury of looking up to the other and can have alternately the pleasure of leading and being led in the path of development." That this is not purely a theoretic picture is proved by the fact that John Stuart Mill himself enjoyed just such an ideal marriage. But for such marriage there must be freedom of selection, untrammeled by mercenary motives.

The woman with a fortune or a bread-winning capacity is alone free to make such a marriage. Every advance, therefore, in the development of occupations for women increases the opportunity of marriage on this high plane.

DISCUSSION CONTINUED BY REV. ANNA H. SHAW OF MICHIGAN.

The question before us is this, "What is marriage?" Is it a mere coming together of two people who have fallen in love? Do you know that love is the only thing people ever fall into? If a man undertakes any form of business in the world he deliberates upon the business, his attainments,

his preparation to manage and master it, and the possibility of his success — the whole ground is studied over carefully; but when two people undertake to enter upon the most serious business in life — that from which they can not well ever be rescued — instead of deliberating they "fall" into it. A young man sees a young woman "with marvelous bangs," and that is the last of him. A young woman sees a young man with "a marvelous mustache," and that is the last of her. They have fallen in love. After they are married they find that marriage means something besides bangs and mustache. My idea of marriage is of the highest and holiest kind. I believe marriage, and the home that is the result of marriage, is the holy of holies this side of the throne of God; and that any two people who enter upon this sacred relation should be those who are fitted to found in this world a home which is a type of the home which awaits us all beyond. I believe that whatever broadens and enlarges woman, whatever develops any of the capacities which God has given her, fits her to become a founder of this kind of home. Anything which makes a woman free, anything which develops her physical, mental, moral, or spiritual life makes her better fitted to be the founder of a home.

Now the whole thought upon this question is that women develop, but that during this age of development which has come to woman, men have remained stationary. As women grow broader, men are also growing broader, and I believe the man of the future will demand for his wife the woman of the future, as the man of to-day demands the woman of to-day. As our boys and girls are reared together, as they become educated in our institutions of learning together, as they go out in trades and professions together, our young men will never know any other kind of womanhood than that with which they are reared; and so I believe a woman's marriage prospect is equally good with a man's marriage prospect, for if a woman loses her prospect here a man must lose his prospect also. Since men will not give up

marriage, women also, you see, can not give up marriage; so the marriage prospect of one sex is equally good with the marriage prospect of the other under any condition in life. But I believe the man of to-day is beginning to demand a nobler woman for his wife; and although in the past, men considered that absolute innocence and ignorance and inability to do anything but entertain them were admirable traits in a sweetheart, it is marvelous how much good sense they expected of the woman after she became a wife. The difference between what a man demands of the woman with whom he is passing a few of his leisure hours and what he demands of her when she becomes his wife is wonderful; and I believe the man of the future will demand of the woman of the future that kind of training which will make her not only a good cook and a good housekeeper, but also his companion in all that interests and concerns him.

Why should we care for marriage unless it is the highest state into which men and women can enter? Why should one seek marriage unless it is better to her than the unmarried state? If marriage offers nothing better than the conditions out of which one goes, unless marriage has something that it can hold up as an inducement over against these conditions, we can not expect the modern woman to give up her leisure, her independence, and all that comes to a woman outside of marriage.

I am not one who believes that motherhood is the highest crown of glory which a woman can wear. I must confess I have heard that poetry all my life. It is good poetry; it sounds well, and it comforts us, but it is not true. Woman is something more and greater than a mother. Woman is something more and greater than any of the external conditions of her life. The highest crown of glory that any woman can wear is pure, strong, noble, virtuous, dignified womanhood. After a woman has attained to that fullness of perfect womanhood, then let come to her what will, motherhood or spinsterhood, either will be equally with the other a crown of glory.

I say again that marriage must have something to offer to the average woman of to-day, the woman of culture, the woman of education, the woman able to earn a good salary and make for herself a beautiful home. Marriage must have something in it worthy of that woman, and worthy of the sacrifice which she shall make of her independence. I believe that marriage has much to offer. The ideal, the marriage which I believe God has in his mind when he conceives of home, is the marriage made by two who enter into the home as equal partners. So long as in the marriage ceremony of any church there remains the command on the part of one to obey, and of the other to compel or demand obedience, the home founded can not be the highest and best place for men and women. When public sentiment has risen to that high plane which shall demand that no woman shall become subservient to her husband or commit perjury, we shall have the ideal marriage, and until we have ideal marriage we can not tell what effect any change in either business or social conditions can have upon woman's marriage prospect.

I believe that underlying the perfect marriage must be perfect equality of the two entering upon this estate; perfect equality everywhere and perfect respect; neither to rule as head over the other, neither to be submissive and subordinate to the other, but each to be the equal, the comrade and the friend of the other.

Now concerning this whole change in woman's life, I admit frankly that there may be some little harm, some little hurt, resulting from it. There has never been any great reformation without some harm in the transition period. In giving liberty to the slave some harm came to both slave and master. From any great movement we expect some evil to follow. There has never been a great revival of religion but some evil came in its train. So in this transition stage from subordination and dependence to self-respect and independence there will be some friction.

DISCUSSION CONCLUDED BY EMILY MARSHALL WADSWORTH OF NEW YORK.

It is plain to me that the time has not yet fully come for us to know what really are "the effects of modern changes in industrial and social life on woman's marriage prospects." The earth still awaits her queen, and the sex is as yet only moving toward that grander type of woman, which, as part of the great onward march of humanity, she must attain.

These great changes are, however, now promising, nay, even giving, much that is best and grandest in life to woman, and it is not in nature that they do, or will, or can, in any sense jeopardize her marriage prospects; for to woman the holy state of matrimony must ever hold the fullest, noblest, completest life, "that fairer Eden where wifehood and motherhood take on something of the divine tenderness of Godhood."

But call these changes what you may — higher education, emancipation, freedom of the ballot for woman — they all mean the same thing — advancement — and one of their most marked effects is to raise the standard of marriage, chiefly perhaps in this sense, that women may and do require more than they once did; and as, happily, it is no longer necessary to regard marriage as a means of livelihood, they may await the coming of the man of kindred tastes and temperament, and marriage may at last be based solely on love, respect, equality.

There was a time, and not many years ago either, when it was safe to say that any man might marry any woman he chose, but now I believe that any woman may deliberately choose her man and marry him, and, what is more, make him do the asking.

It is objected that wage-earning and higher education make women less likely to love. On the contrary, I believe they elevate and ennoble heart as well as head. As for the

wage-earner, I grant that at first she feels a proud independence and thinks she does not want to marry, but soon the novelty of this wears off, and then if she tells the real truth she will say she wants to marry just as much as ever before, and just as much as the woman who is not earning money; for woman, with all her faults, is rarely sordid by nature.

And then what about the effect of higher education? Little difference that makes with a woman's heart. Educate and develop the brain as you may, the heart still cries out for love; and not only do college girls marry quite as often proportionately as ordinary young women, but it is generally believed that few college girls have ever been divorced.

Turn now to the social side.

It may with some truth be claimed that the lost simplicity of social life is a hindrance to matrimony, and that this condition of affairs is growing worse and worse, but we can not go back to the old social simplicity any more than to the old methods of transportation. Steam and electricity have come to stay, and so have these advanced social conditions, and even ordinary life must now be lived under that white light which used only to surround the throne.

I admit that this lost simplicity does shut the door in the face of many a fine young man, whose limited bank account will not allow him to marry the gay society girl, who demands, and must have, so much that only money can buy.

Can it be possible that much of the responsibility of this lies at the door of that greatly overworked function known under the generic term of afternoon tea?

Another notable change in social conditions is, that the beauties of society no longer enjoy the national fame which was once theirs, and no longer can it be said of them, as it was of my distinguished kinswoman the beautiful Emily Marshall, that "scores of offers of marriage are daily refused."

REV. AMANDA DEYO.

HANNA K. KORANY.

SIGRID E. MAGNÜSSON.

Organization among Women as an Instrument in Promoting the Interests of Industry — Address by Kate Bond of New York.

I am asked to consider the application of this great promoter of effects, organization, to the production of material things, and believing "that progress may simply be regarded as the development of order," I gladly speak to you on this subject, for I believe that to secure order organization is essential; and "socially as well as individually organization is indispensable to growth; beyond a certain point there can not be further growth without further organization."

Side by side with national progress, and in the wake of modern civilization, has followed the necessity of order. Organization has developed as population has increased, and new possibilities have presented themselves to the people.

With increased knowledge and multiplied industrial resources, there has developed a consciousness of personal power. The Ego is emphasized, and individualism expresses itself in our age as never before, and as a consequence we reap the advantage of personal enterprise and success. Democratic principles prevail, and each man recognizes his own needs, discerns his possibilities, and claims his individual rights. Equality has become the watchword of progress.

Equality is an individual possession given by law, and upon it rests human liberty; but individuals make up the collective whole, and order requires that in protecting the one we shall also subserve the interests of the many.

Hence, while all men may be born equal before the law, citizenship has its limitations; and its best individualism can only be attained when, by organization, protection is secured to the entire community.

Reckless use of power and indiscriminate violence is no essential part of equality. Order requires that participation

of many shall be essential to progress, and by it only can continued growth in civilization be maintained.

The warfare of to-day is an internecine one — it is based upon enmity among brothers; and this enmity, whatever its source, whether it arise from social, or economic, or political causes, can never be effaced by personal conflict. Power may control and overcome tumult, law may limit action that is detrimental to the general welfare, but the happiness of all concerned and the growth of progress depends upon conciliation between the offended parties, and organized effort, that shall tend to the welfare of each.

It has been well said "that the industrial economy which divides society absolutely into two portions, the payers of wages and the receivers of them, the first counted by thousands and the last by millions, is neither fit for nor capable of indefinite duration; and the possibility of changing this system for one of combination without dependence and unity of interest instead of organized hostility depends altogether upon the future development of the partnership principle."—MILL.

The past has been remarkable for the increase of actual force; the force of combined members on the one hand, of concentrated wealth on the other. The problem of the future is therefore a double one. Industrial progress depends upon two constituents, material and human, and the solution of this problem which has arisen must be adequate to meet the material as well as the human demands.

By the provision of an all-wise Providence, human needs can not be met by economic laws alone. Moral aspects and influences must also be comprehended and considered. The issues involved in the use of capital and the payment of wages can not be confined to economic results. The life of the race depends upon the moral adjustments connected with man's relation to man; and however progressive civilization may have become, and however great the class distinctions, the eternal command to love our neighbor as ourselves will continue to repeat itself and to exact obedi-

ence — and the demands of humanity will not be silenced until God's voice is heard and heeded.

While recognizing this supreme command individual liberty will not be interfered with; nor will competition be removed. Men will come to see that individual interests can be reconciled, and that the measures which promote personal advantage will tend to the collective welfare.

Money is powerless unless controlled in its employment by men, and coupled in its outlay with labor, which has been well defined as "wealth-creating effort." When this conception of wealth is accepted the employer and the employé will stand upon a common basis of possession. The man who has capital will recognize his dependence upon labor, which is also capital; in manufacture a fair estimate of how much each party has contributed to the forces of production will be considered; by conciliation and mutual settlement individual interests will be protected, and the problems in industry which seem to-day so difficult of adjustment will not long continue unsolved.

We have seen that the beliefs of one age have been dissipated by the innovations of successive years. We have learned that ideas which it would seem could never be overturned, because of their fixedness in the public mind, have been displaced without visible processes, but through the silent influences of public sentiment. Education has brought enlightenment; and that which was deemed an incontrovertible argument for their permanency has come to be regarded as a palpable absurdity.

So the fancy that the employer and the employé must remain separate in interest will eventually become a thought of the past. The signs of coöperation and conciliation are even now visible, and in the labor unions, trade societies, corporations, and syndicates, which seem in their methods oftentimes so unwise, disorderly, and grasping, we yet behold the recognition of the power of organization, which shall ultimately tend to develop order in industries.

Men no longer act singly, but unitedly. Self-protection

and emolument demand union of effort. All classes perceive it. Public opinion is fast being educated to this belief. Observation is busy collecting facts upon which the future structure of civilization and trade shall be built, and with divine patience Christianity enforces her precepts. Angered and misguided men may revolt and delay organization, but progress, though it may be hindered, can not be stopped.

So-called socialism, which "consists in party organization, in spreading the desire for material improvement among the masses, in pressing into the service of the social propaganda all centralizing tendencies in the State, in trade and in journalism, can not accomplish the desired result."

The leaders of this unjust socialism consider but one class in the community. They criticise capital, and style private property "robbery," and by so doing they lose their opportunity to promote the cause which they have at heart. They are disorderly in their outbursts of passion and in their violence; consequently progress is not promoted by their combinations and public benefit is not realized.

Calm judgment will condemn this sort of socialism, nor will it approve gross individualism. Justice and kindness will ultimately prevail and win to their leadership the best among us. Men will come to see that selfishness and greed will result in reactionary revolutionary efforts; that directed by self-indulgence the evolution of the people will not manifest itself in intellectual advance, but in moral retrogression.

Whatever plans of adjustment may be made between the proprietors of industries and the men employed by them must be originated by themselves, and the overtures must come from the proprietor. The association between these parties exists under a system which is unsatisfactory to both. It is uncertain and subject to interruption, and such interruption is likely to interfere with profits and to prove injurious to business.

To prevent uncertainty in production, labor must be

secure, and without production there can be no distribution; hence this security must be provided first.

How to insure production on the best conditions, those involving the highest skill and most economical service, has long been the consideration of manufacturers; and amid much excitement and the adverse influence of strikes among workmen, honest thought has evolved helpful suggestions and practical methods. Conciliation, arbitration, profit-sharing, and recognition of labor as a part of capital have all been tested, and as a whole these various methods have all given satisfaction to the employer and the employed. Capital has augmented, coöperation has been efficient, larger money receipts to the employer and the employed have resulted. Moral sense on the part of the proprietor has awakened it in the employés, and interruption to business has been prevented. The rich and the poor have met together in the conduct of business, and have mutually shared greater or lesser success in trade.

We do not mean to limit our plea for coöperation and order to men alone; women also demand this protection. The old-time fallacy that women will be taken care of by men has proved an empty boast. Women may marry and assume the duties incident to their choice, often to find money-earning added to their domestic burdens. The working-man can not always support his family, even if willing to do so; wages are inadequate to meet rent, food, and clothing; and tenderness often inspires the woman to join the ranks of wage-winners. And even if all married women were supported by their husbands, what is to become of the widow and the unmarried woman?

The introduction of machinery has called women to service outside of their homes. Dexterity of touch and quickness of physical movement have made them available in factories. Thus equal production with cheaper labor has been secured. Men have been thrown out of employment to give place to their wives and sisters, who will work for what they can get; and larger profits have thereby been

obtained; for a half-century or more this unjust labor of women has been exacted, and to-day, despite factory laws of a protective character, and a limit set to labor hours by legislation, the enormities of the "sweating system" and the methods of ready-made clothing-houses bring the blush to honest faces, and pity shrinks helplessly away from the sight of the suffering and penury of women who work sixteen and eighteen hours a day to secure the shelter of a dilapidated tenement, a few cups of tea and bits of bread, meager clothing, and perchance quick release in death.

The horrors of the life of women breadwinners have been vividly described. These oppressed ones are crying for help; and if ever a Macedonian cry went up to the ears of God's servants, it is uttered to-day by the working-women of our cities and towns. They toil from early dawn to midnight and secure but scanty fare. They can not do more; their case is hopeless; and they must keep up the fight with injustice and greed or fall into a pauper's grave.

Women are not taken care of by men in the humble walks of life, and they can not be until men's wages are increased through organization and coöperation in manufacture. Even then a large number of women must depend upon their own exertions for support; and women must submit to the conditions of labor imposed upon them by men, for men are the employers, and there is no appeal from their requirements — it may be the manager of the factory, the superintendent of the works, or the master sweater. Dismissal follows complaint; and want of work to a woman without friends must mean moral ruin or starvation.

Why is the woman worker less fortunately placed than the man? Because woman has as yet made no place for herself socially. She is not recognized by society nor by the commonwealth — she is an unknown quantity in the world; and before her condition as a wage-earner is improved she must win place and recognition. If she ever

had a first estate which entitled her to support and protection, she has not been maintained in it by the force and devotion of man, but stands to-day as one who fills the gap left open by him, and does the work he will not perform and takes the pay he resents as "too small."

Woman has filled a supplementary position, and she has no place, because she has never been trained to skillful artisanship. Woman came to work in agriculture as the helper of her husband and father. She did not own the land, nor gather the products, nor exchange them for money and supplies. She toiled to help those she loved, without thought of personal advantage.

When the factory system was introduced she gave dexterity to supplement the work of machinery. Without recognizing the danger to family welfare she toiled for wages lower than those exacted by man, and instead of augmenting her husband's gain reduced his pay, and became in part the breadwinner of the household without increasing the income.

There was no organization to guard the interests of women and children as participants in labor, and they crowded the factories, and crushed out their lives by long hours of toil and insufficient food and sleep; and for fifty years woman single-handed has continued to work to win decent support, but has failed in her efforts.

Proprietorship and greed have dictated terms to this unrecognized class of laborers; and because no man cared for their lives, they have accepted the injustice done to themselves, and have huddled in tenement attics and burned the midnight oil to keep their heads above the sod.

As yet the laboring-class of women receive no training to fit them for their vocations. To sew is easily learned, and needlework in various forms opens to girls ways to earn a living; but a girl may from early youth to mature years sew furs, gloves, ready-made clothing, etc., and her experience will not cause her to be appointed the

superintendent of the house at whose industry she may have worked long. She continues as "only one of the hands," and has during the years of her toil received no industrial training beyond that of sewing the part given her. No system of promotion applies to her experience; and she gains no outside knowledge that will acquaint her with new methods, nor with commercial demands induced by an ever-changing trade.

Self-assertion and ambition are regarded as befitting manly character; but a woman is looked upon as an interloper in business. She is not welcomed by male workers, and is employed by proprietors only because she works cheaper than do men, or else takes a place in the trades rejected by men.

Women should be trained to become skillful artisans; and the fathers who are in business should see to it that their daughters receive from them exact training in commercial pursuits, such as they give to their sons. Then the woman who must win her bread will have a fair chance to do so. She will be conscious of her own qualifications, and would not find herself so unfortunately at odds in a struggle for place; and added to this advantage there would ensue a willingness among men to be associated with their sisters. Technical training is in part woman's hope for the future. In the days to come she will be equipped by the public school for her life-work; and the fact that the state will bestow upon her this education will avow its recognition of her as a unit in the citizenship of the whole. Woman at present receives no recognition even from her own sex. This condition must change before order can be secured. Women in better condition must give recognition to the lower class, whose existence now is ignored, and who are left to be victimized by avarice and to toil in despair.

Women of superior conditions must ally themselves with the oppressed women in organization; and by their knowledge of life and its difficulties, by their education, and

because their own welfare depends upon it, they must create public sentiment in favor of legislation that shall protect the helpless, and that shall give to the wage-woman recognition and protection through legal statute.

A single-handed fight for justice is hopeless. The mother of one family may refuse to work at starvation wages, and she may be arrested as a vagrant, and find warmth and food at the state's expense; but she can not alone enforce justice to her associates in labor; this must be done by combination. All working-women, and all women who do not need to work, but who know the wrongs done to their sisters in service, should unite to reform evil practices, and to secure righteous measures that shall add to the honorableness of woman's labor and the recognition of its just deserts.

And women can do this — as men have done it. Until men were organized in trades societies and labor organizations they had no way of redress under bad conditions of industry. Each man was at liberty to make his own contract, and to live or die by it, but the welfare of the class was not considered.

Conciliation, arbitration in difficulties, could not be practiced; and no recognition of the laborer was entertained save by those who hired him, and they oftentimes regarded him only as the means to an end. And this condition has existed despite the fact that man for a hundred years has been accounted a citizen in our United States, and has exercised a ballot, and has claimed the right of representation in government.

But it has come that through organization, however badly conducted, men have protected themselves. Wages have been increased and made uniform. Labor has been recognized as coexistent with and essential to capital in the work of production. Trade has come to be recognized as honorable, and men devoted to it have risen to high position and have commanded universal respect. Education has made it possible for men born to labor and experienced

in manufacture to participate wisely in the general government, to legislate for commercial protection, and to promote national wealth.

Labor among men is not *per se* superior to labor among women. Both perform it to obtain personal support; both give time, force, intelligence, and purpose to attain the one result — the means to live. But men have place in the social world. Men by organization secure to themselves a voice in legislation; and the laboring-man's ballot counts as high as that of the luxurious idler.

Men organize for self-protection, and claim for themselves recognition in the community. Men established the proposition that upon them were dependent the women and children of their households, and the employed met face to face with the employer and asserted their just demands; and as a result the rights of working-men have been recognized by society.

Legislation has protected them, and civilization has made it possible for the man who works with his hands, and is honest in his labor, to advance socially and politically. How sadly different is the position of the working-woman. She must do work that men will not do, or else perform labor at a price that men will not accept. She has no vote, and therefore can not introduce to office men who will legislate in her behalf. She has no power to resist the tyranny of employers, for she may decline the offered work, but her hollow-eyed, bony-fingered sisters rush quickly forward to secure the employment she has refused. Men do not recognize women as associates in labor and protect their interests along with their own, for men of the working-classes claim that women are their rivals in industry. Upon women they charge the blame for low wages, and but for women, they declare, a larger class of industries would be dependent upon the services of men. In part this is true. Women do work at reduced rates, and this is wrong.

Like labor should command like returns. A woman who sets type alongside of her brother should receive in the

same ratio wages for her work, but this principle can be established only by organization. Women workers must first secure recognition as a class upon which capital is dependent before rights can be claimed, and before men will acknowledge them. Like labor should command like returns; but this will never be possible so long as every woman cringes before competition, and stoops to accept the least wage offered. Organization among women is the only remedy to right the wrong; but organization should be conducted with dignity and by wise methods, and right-thinking, educated women should join hands with the down-trodden, ignorant workers. American women who work, and command industrial recognition among their fellows because of education, character, and family relationship, should assume the leadership in these organizations. Public sentiment should be created by their influence. The press should be used to call attention to the work and aim of organization among wage-earning women. Without public sentiment in favor of a cause, be it ever so just, action can never arise in its behalf. Society is indifferent to secret suffering only because it is ignorant of it. Let women unite to acquaint each other with the sufferings and wrongs endured among them. Talk to the voters who share your comfortable homes. Influence their ballot in favor of protection to woman's labor. Combine to lift up by practical training the many who are unskilled. Have the children, both girls and boys, taught in the public schools to use their hands deftly.

See to it that technical training-schools are established. Let women do their part to promote the recognition of working-women socially.

It is a pitiful fact that instead of protecting wage-earning women by our recognition of them as members of a whole of which we too form a part, we too often pass them by and are heedless of their injuries.

Organized charity pours oil into the wounds of those abandoned toilers when the good Samaritan finds them by

the wayside; but no woman should fall by the way if another woman's hand can keep her from falling. It is the duty of all women to combine to resist injustice to every woman.

Organize all women throughout the United States into a woman's league, composed of local organizations, and let trade associations be formed wherever a special kind of work is done in quantity by women. Choose cool-headed women of clear judgment to become leaders of these organizations, both national and local.

Let no violent spirited partisans control their actions. Let women of leisure consider the situation, and devise wise government in them. Let women of wealth, alignment, and luxury identify themselves with these movements; study how best to adjust women toward labor and toward society, and when the public are made cognizant of woman's wrongs, and of a united effort on the part of mothers, daughters, and sisters to right that which is wrong, and to deal righteously one with another, good feeling will manifest itself, and will formulate itself in law. Equal wages in return for equal labor will be secured, working hours will be limited, and ultimately the status of working women and men, socially and politically, will be the same. Harmony in labor will prevail. Competition between men and women workers will cease. Wages will be just. Self-support will not be difficult. Education will be universal, skilled labor will be the only labor possible to an American citizen. To preserve the advantages of American civilization and equality in citizenship, immigration will be restricted alike to all nationalities, and the reception of pauper incompetents into our country will be forbidden.

God hasten the day when each soul clothed in human form shall be recognized as the child of the Divine King, and when because of its birthright, be it male or female, it shall receive justice and honor.

Organization among Women as an Instrument in Promoting the Interests of Industry — Address by Harriette A. Keyser of New York.

Organization is a great force of nature. What is one star in the sky, one leaf of the forest, one drop of the ocean, or one grain of sand on the ocean's shore? Our own bodies are results of organization. We might be irresponsible, vagrant, shifting atoms flying apparently helter-skelter through the universe; instead we are organisms, and organization continues until we become an organization of organisms and a social force.

Organization begins early. The children, who do not know the meaning of the word, organize for their sports. So do the lambs skipping about the green meadow or on the hillside. Later we find flocks of sheep; and men who have put away childish things, still continue to organize for every purpose under the sun, from the luxurious club with its enervating influence to the trust whose suicidal policy carried out to its logical conclusion must destroy the private luxury it was created to promote.

Although organization is a law of nature and of society, organization for industrial reform has in the past pursued its way along thorny paths. By way of contrast, survey in England that haggard offender in the time of George III. breaking stones for the offense of striving to organize for industrial interests, and then look at Joseph Havelock Wilson, M. P., speeding to sympathize with the Hull dockers.

It is impossible to trace out the most important cause leading to any great change of public opinion, because such cause is always spiritual and unseen; nor have we time to notice the stages of change from 1810, when the Friendly Society of Iron Founders met on dark nights on the wastes and moors in the highlands of the midland counties of England and buried their archives in the peat, to the great Trades Union Acts of 1871 and 1876.

The conservatives of this age have the views of the radicals in those times; but John Burns, M. P., a radical of this age, is not yet satisfied, and in his late Hyde Park address described Parliament as an organized conspiracy of land and capital.

It is generally believed that the first strike in this country was that of the sailors in 1803, who paraded the streets of New York with a brass band, forcing seamen to leave their work and join in a demand for higher wages. The doughty leader was arrested. Contrast this wretched prisoner with the leaders of present powerful trades unions. Contrast the administration of the laws at that time with the recent decision of Judge Barrett of New York, which refuses the injunction asked by the Clothing Manufacturers' Association to restrain the garment-cutters from issuing boycotting circulars. The refusal was based on the fact that the manufacturers were themselves guilty of what they wished to restrain the employés from doing, and the judge uttered these remarkable words, "You must come into a court of equity with clean hands."

In favor of organization as a means of promoting industrial interests I could, were there time, quote to you many utterances from the wisest and best. I will only say that Mr. Childs of the *Public Ledger*, who is said at the first to have believed labor organization detrimental to the interests of the employer, had so changed that opinion in 1886 that he presented the International Typographical Union with $10,000.

As organization among men has been an instrument in promoting industrial interests, it becomes us to consider the status of women with respect to organization. It is not easy to discover how many women are in existing labor organizations, because the number belonging to such organizations is not given to the public. It has been estimated that one-tenth of the members belonging to unions in this country are women. The mass of women are not organized. There have been and are some striking examples of organi-

zation. In 1888 the Hannah Powderly Assembly, Knights of Labor, numbered eleven hundred women, and is said practically to have controlled the shoe trade in Cincinnati. Since then its influence has declined. There were in Philadelphia at one time women in the cigar and tobacco industry who, as a result of organization, received equal wages with men doing the same work. All tobacco organizations have declined. There is in Brooklyn a powerful local union of women hat-finishers belonging to the International Hatters' Union. There is a very successful local union of shirt-makers in the New York Knights of Labor called the Lady Gothams.

The hotel girls of this country need organization. Efforts to induce these girls to organize, so far, have been made without success, excepting in cases where the waiters have succeeded in persuading the girls whose employments bear upon their own to organize with them.

The saleswomen in the large cities of the United States are in great need of organization. The Working-Women's Club, of which I have the honor to be a delegate, has striven for three years to introduce a bill into the New York Legislature for the betterment of the condition of the saleswomen. They are not discouraged. It took as many years before they succeeded in passing a bill for the appointment of inspectors; and the society intends to continue its fight. If these saleswomen were organized, they would begin their own legislative fighting, and would be sure of help from societies of women interested in industrial reform. Seventy thousand women in New York City alone are struggling with the problem of subsistence by the needle. Many of these are underpaid, and with no adequate protection from exaction or fraud. If even half that number would combine, what a power they would be!

In the late report of the congressional committee appointed to investigate the sweating system, are many facts given by Dr. Anna S. Daniel, out-of-door physician to the New York Infirmary for Women and Children. She

tells of the necktie industry, which is for the most part confined to tenement houses. A worker can earn the sum of forty-five cents per day, and have the privilege of finding her own thread. Frauds are quite common. All advertisements state that women are needed to learn the business, which will take two or three weeks, after which wages will be received. As a matter of fact it can be learned in a few days, and at the end of two or three weeks the unpaid workers depart and their places are filled with more victims.

Employers can thus at any time organize women for their own industrial destruction. Happily, there is a remedy in counter-organization. In San Francisco, several years ago, there was a standing advertisement in the papers for women to learn tailor-sewing, which would take several weeks. They were encouraged to bring their own sewing machines. At the end of two or three weeks they were discharged. A mass-meeting was called and an organization formed, one of its paramount motives being to correct such frauds. There is no need to multiply illustrations. The great search-light, industrial reform, has already flashed into the depths of the dark flood of poverty and despair and revealed the truth.

What shall we do when we turn from the cold pharisaism of ancient political economy, with its bleak and pitiless cry of supply and demand? Organize as fully as possible, and thus provoke strikes; but some of our best thinkers upon economic questions consider organization the ultimate destruction of strikes.

Organization of working-women for industrial interests is difficult. Some say it is impossible to organize the poorest working-women needing it the most. Many reasons are given. One, that women marry and leave the ranks, or that they are ignorant, and a larger *esprit de corps* comes only from education.

Women marry, but they organize for other reforms: temperance, suffrage, education, literature, art. However, many women who marry remain breadwinners to their

graves, and these permanent paupers are not able to rest alone in the few feet of earth we should all possess at the last. It is true that *esprit du corps* is increased by education, and there is no better way of promoting organization than to pass laws in all the States making education to the age of fourteen compulsory. However, the most ignorant working-women of the present day are not entirely without *esprit du corps*. They help each other. Such reasons as these I have named are commonly given. Not so commonly mentioned is the one that, as women have no voice in the laws controlling their industrial circumstances, they find organization more difficult than men do. Working-women, through their misfortune or fault, do not always recognize this. Some girls withdrew from the Knights of Labor because their meetings kept them up until twelve o'clock; very sensible objection. Besides, there was so much talk about politics. They were out of political matters, and did not have sufficient foresight to prepare themselves for the day when they will be in.

Organize; do not wait for great numbers. Remember that Uriah S. Stevens, a tailor of Philadelphia, with eight friends, organized the Knights of Labor. It is the consuming fire of earnestness that must burn the stubble of the present industrial system, and this divine gift is not confined to great numbers or to great minds. Is it not true of any reform that not many rich, not many mighty, not many noble are called?

And is there nothing for you to do who are not working-women? Organize for their protection. Enforce the laws in their favor. Memorialize legislatures until new laws are enacted. Is it not discreditable to be a conservative through tradition or prejudice alone? Mr. Mallock says: "First of all, conservatives need increased knowledge and clearness with regard to economic science." Said Christ, "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! Ye can discern the face of the sky, but ye can not discern the signs of the times." If there is one successful woman here

who rejoices merely in the triumphs of her own individualism, let her glory in the service she may do for others, to promote the solidarity of humanity, for I declare to you this only is woman's chief glory. Oh, remember that the industrial interests of woman mean not the interests of the working people alone, but a higher life for the masses, using that word not to mean, as it once did, all outside of a privileged class, but all sorts and conditions of men, the crowned and the uncrowned, the rich and the poor, the enlightened and the ignorant. If one member of this great humanity is oppressed, the whole must suffer.

The Women's Protective and Provident League of Glasgow — Paper by E. E. Anderson of Scotland.

The Women's Protective and Provident League of Glasgow was founded in 1888. It is a union exclusively for women, and has a membership of over one thousand women workers drawn from various trades, including weavers, tailoresses; umbrella-makers, dressmakers, polishers, biscuit-packers, etc.

The main objects of the Women's Protective and Provident League are to secure for women workers better wages, shorter hours, healthy workrooms, aliment in sickness and want of work, and settlement of trade disputes without strikes.

The need for women's unions has long attracted the attention of the more enlightened and far-seeing philanthropic portion of the community, and it is cause for congratulation that the prejudices that formerly existed against trades unions are rapidly dying out, because the best employers regard them as a useful agency, not alone in the interest of the worker, but as a defense against the unscrupulous employer, who undersells his goods in the open market by reducing his wage-scale to the lowest possible level, and paralyzes the trade of the master who endeavors to deal justly with his

employés and give them "a fair day's wage for a fair day's labor."

To show that women who have to earn their own living or contribute to the support of their families are compelled to do so under the hardest possible conditions, we have but to point to the low wages in the various trades in which they are employed. In the tailoring trade, for example, for finishing a pair of men's trousers a competent woman worker is paid from a penny to four pence half-penny; for making a man's vest she is paid one shilling nine pence, whereas a man receives for the same garment, identical in every respect, three shillings six pence; and as to the comparative quality of the work, we have the assurance of the men tailors themselves that fine white vests or black vests are, as a rule, exclusively made by women, because of their superior skill.

Umbrella-workers are paid as hemmers and coverers at the rate of six and one-half pence a dozen.

Shirt-finishers are known also frequently to receive seven and one-half pence per dozen; that is, for making the button-holes, sewing on the buttons, hemming down neckband, wristbands, gussets, and inside of sleeves, and feathering the breasts of flannel or tweed shirts.

These are comparatively skilled workers; but there are thousands of young women engaged from day to day in many occupations that yield only starvation wages in return for a ten or twelve hour day's labor. Among such are girls employed in confectionery work and jam-making, who wash jam-pots at four and one-half pence a gross, standing for hours at a stretch on wet, sloppy floors, and others who draw the jam from the boiling pots, wheel it in heavy hand-barrows alongside the stacks of jam-jars and fill them with the boiling mixture, at a set wage of from five to seven shillings a week.

In addition to these low wages the workers have frequently to endure the most disgraceful sanitary conditions; some women, such as are known as hollow-ware

workers, having to do a great part of their work in the drying-ovens; and tailoresses having to work in the employer's premises or in the sweater's den in stifling atmospheres in which it is impossible to preserve health. We know of one instance, in an admittedly respectable tailor's shop in this city of Glasgow, where a young woman was found at work in a closet a few feet square, of which the only ventilation was into the men's lavatory. Of course such conditions are a direct contravention of the Public Health Act, but it is a well-known fact that women will endure any amount of suffering rather than lay themselves open to discovery or suspicion on the part of the employer that may lead to their summary dismissal. This points to the further statement that women workers are their own worst enemies, and are themselves to blame for the little headway that the women's unions have made all over the country. What are the sixty thousand women who have joined unions for trade protection compared with the great mass of women workers scattered far and wide over the land?

While men's unions have secured for them fair remuneration for their day's labor, and many concessions that were practically unknown twenty or thirty years ago, the women workers of to-day have yet to learn the value of combination.

The difficulty of organizing women is almost insuperable so long as there are found workers who will step in and, for a miserable pittance, take the place of the female operator who stands out for a decent wage wherewith to keep soul and body together.

There are young women by thousands living in their parents' comfortable homes who are content to earn a few shillings weekly so that they may live more at ease; others, the wives and daughters of idle or drunken husbands or fathers, are compelled to take whatever the employer chooses to offer; and widows, with families to support, who have no choice but to accept the white slavery that the labor market offers as the only refuge from starvation. Still further,

there is the natural timidity of women to combat when endeavoring to organize them. Anything that savors of resistance, however unjust and ill-conditioned the demands may be, or any action on their part that may lead to possible censure from the employer, is a danger too great to be faced. Thus it is that cheap labor and female labor are interchangeable terms.

These are but a few of the considerations that led to the formation of the Glasgow Women's Protective and Provident League.

Coöperative Housekeeping — Address by Mary Coleman Stuckert of Illinois.

Mrs. Stuckert concluded an elaborate discussion of the principles of coöperation as applied to domestic life.

Mrs. Stuckert outlined her own plan for erecting buildings that would accommodate a large number of families. The plan comprises the following points: Forty-four houses will be built around an oblong block, the houses varying in size from four to twelve rooms. In the center of the block will be a building containing on the first floor a kitchen, laundry, and dining-room; on the second floor, apartments for the accommodation of all the help; on the third floor, an entertainment hall, library and reading-rooms, and apartments for kindergartens. From machinery in the basement of this central building the entire surrounding block will be heated and lighted. The central building also contains cold storage and an ice plant. Between the central building and the surrounding homes extends a large court, surrounded by a promenade.

The management of the whole is to be consigned to a board of directors, under whom a superintendent will do the buying and bookkeeping of the establishment and give a general supervision to the practical conduct of all the work carried on in the central building. Only skilled

cooks who understand the chemistry of food will be employed. All the help employed will be specialists experienced in their respective departments.

In the laundry, fitted with the latest labor-saving improvements, laundry-work can be done at twenty-five cents per dozen.

This plan provides for maintaining the absolute separateness of the different homes, if desired by their respective proprietors, with whom it will be optional to have food served in the home or in the general dining-room of the central building.

Mrs. Stuckert gave in great detail the cost of the building of such a block, and submitted the architectural designs for it. She also gave in great detail the cost of living according to this plan in varying scales of comfort and elegance, according to the incomes of the tenants.

Domestic Service and the Family Claim — Address by Jane Addams of Illinois.

Ever since we entered upon the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century, factory labor, work done in factories, has been increasingly competing in the open market with household labor—work done in private houses. Taking out of account women with little children or invalids dependent upon them, to whom both factory and household labor are impossible and who are practically confined to the sewing trades, to all untrained women seeking employment a choice is open between these two forms of labor. There are few women so dull that they can not paste labels on a box or do some form of factory work; few so dull that some perplexed housekeeper will not receive them, at least for a trial, into the household. Household labor, then, has to compete with factory labor not only in point of hours, in point of permanency of employment, in point of wages, but in point of the advantage it affords for family and social

life; and all women seeking employment more or less consciously compare the two forms of labor in all these points.

The three points are easily disposed of. First: In regard to hours there is no doubt that the factory has the advantage. The average factory hours are from seven in the morning to six in the evening, with a chance of working over-time, which, in busy seasons, means until nine o'clock. This leaves most of the evenings and Sundays free. The average hours of household labor are from six in the morning to eight at night, with little difference in seasons. There is one afternoon a week, with an occasional evening, but Sunday is never wholly free.

Second: In regard to permanency of position the advantage is found clearly on the side of the household employé.

Third. In regard to wages the household is again fairly ahead, if we consider not alone the money received but also the opportunity offered for saving money. This is greater among household employés, because they do not pay board, the clothing required is simpler, and the temptation to spend money in recreation is less frequent. The average minimum wage paid an adult in household labor may be fairly put at two dollars and fifty cents a week; the maximum at six dollars, this excluding the comparatively rare opportunities for women to cook at forty dollars a month and the housekeeper's position at fifty dollars a month. The factory wages, viewed from the savings bank point of view, may be smaller in the average, but this I believe to be counterbalanced in the minds of the employés by the greater chance which the factory offers for increased wages. A girl over sixteen seldom works in a factory for less than four dollars a week, and she always cherishes the hope of being at last a forewoman with a permanent salary of from fifteen to twenty-five dollars a week. Whether she attains this or not she runs a fair chance, after serving a practical apprenticeship, of earning ten dollars a week as a skilled worker. A girl finds it easier to be content with four dollars a week when she pays for board, with a scale of wages

rising toward ten dollars, than to be content with four dollars a week and board, the scale of wages rising toward six dollars; and the girl well knows that there are scores of liberally paid forewomen at fifteen dollars a week for one forty-dollar cook or fifty-dollar housekeeper. In many cases this position is well taken economically, for, although the opportunity for saving may be better for the employé in the household than in the factory, her family saves more when she works in a factory and lives with them. The rent is no more when she is at home. The two dollars and fifty cents which she pays into the family fund more than covers the cost of her actual food, and at night she can often contribute toward the family labor by helping her mother wash and sew.

This brings us easily to the fourth point of comparison, that of the possibilities afforded for family life. It is well to remember that women, as a rule, are devoted to their families; that they want to live with their parents, their brothers and sisters, and kinsfolk, and will sacrifice a good deal to accomplish this. This devotion is so universal that it is impossible to ignore it when we consider women as employés. Young unmarried women are not detached from family claims and requirements as young men are, and, so far as my observation goes, are more ready and steady in their response to the needs of the aged parents and helpless members of the family. But women performing labor in households have peculiar difficulties in enjoying family life, and are more or less dependent upon their employers for possibilities to see their relatives and friends. Curiously enough, the same devotion to the family life and quick response to its claims on the part of the employer operate against the girl in household labor, and places her in the unique position of isolation. The employer of household labor, to preserve her family life intact and free from intrusion, acts inconsistently in her zeal, and grants to her cook, for instance, but once or twice a week such opportunity for untrammeled association with her relatives as the

employer's family claims constantly. So strongly is the employer imbued with the sanctity of her own family life that this sacrifice of the cook's family life seems to her perfectly justifiable. If one chose to be jocose one might say that it becomes almost a religious devotion, in which the cook figures as a burnt offering and the kitchen range as the patriarchal altar.

This devotion to family life the men of the family also share. A New York gentleman who lunches at Delmonico's eats food cooked by a cook with a salary of five thousand dollars a year. He comes home hungry, and with a tantalizing memory of the lunch, to a dinner cooked by a cook who is paid at most forty dollars a month. The contrast between lunch and dinner is great, and the solace of the family is needed to make the dinner endurable, but the aforesaid gentleman quiets discontent with the reflection that in eating a dinner cooked by an individual cook they are in some occult manner cherishing the sanctity of the family life, though his keen business mind knows full well that in actual money he is paying more for his badly cooked dinner than for his well-cooked lunch.

To return from the digression — this peculiar isolation of the household. In addition to her isolation from her family, a woman finds all the conditions of her social life suddenly changed when she enters the service of a household. It is well to remember that the household employés for the better quarters of the city and the suburbs are largely drawn from the poorer quarters, which are nothing if not gregarious. The girl is born and reared in a tenement house full of children. She knows them almost as well as she knows her brothers and sisters, and plays with them almost as constantly. She goes to school, and there learns to march, to read, and to write in constant companionship with forty other children. If she lives at home until she is old enough to go to parties, those she goes to are mostly held in a public hall and are crowded

with dancers. If she works in a factory she walks home with many other girls, in much the same spirit as she formerly walked to school with them. Most of the young men she knows are doing much the same sort of work, and she mingles with them in frank economic and social equality. If she is a cloak-maker, for instance, she will probably marry a cutter, who is a man with a good trade, and who runs a chance of some day having a shop of his own. In the meantime she remains at home, with no social break or change in her family and social life.

If she is employed in a household this is not true. Suddenly all the conditions of her life are changed. The individual instead of the gregarious instinct is appealed to. The change may be wholesome for her, but it is not easy; and the thought of the savings bank does not cheer us much when we are twenty. She is isolated from the people with whom she has been reared, with whom she has gone to school, with whom she has danced, and among whom she expects to live when she marries. She is naturally lonely and constrained.

Added to this is a social distinction, which she feels keenly, against her and in favor of the factory girls, in the minds of the young men of her acquaintance. A woman who has worked in households for twenty years told me that when she was a young and pretty nurse-girl the only young men who paid her attention were coachmen and unskilled laborers. The skill in the trades of her suitors increased as her position in the household increased in dignity. When she was a housekeeper, forty years old, skilled mechanics appeared, one of whom she married. Women seeking employment understand perfectly well this feeling, quite unjustifiable, I am willing to admit, among mechanics, and it acts as a strong inducement toward factory labor.

I have long since ceased to apologize for the views and opinions of working-people. I am quite sure that, on the whole, they are just about as wise and just about as foolish as the views and opinions of other people; but that this

particularly foolish opinion of young mechanics is widely shared by the employing class can be demonstrated easily. It is only necessary to remind you of the number of Chicago night schools for instruction in stenography, in typewriting, telegraphy, bookkeeping, and all similar occupations, fitting girls for office work, and the meager number provided for acquiring skill in household work.

The contrast is further accentuated by the better social position of the office girl, and the advantages which she shares with factory girls, of lunch clubs, social clubs, and vacation homes, from which girls performing household labor are practically excluded by their hours of work, their geographical situation, and a curious feeling that they are not as interesting as factory girls.

CHAPTER XI.—THE SOLIDARITY OF HUMAN INTERESTS.

ILLUSTRATED BY THE PROGRESS OF WOMEN IN SPAIN, IN THE SOUTH AMERICAN STATES, IN ENGLAND AND HER DEPENDENCIES, IN POLAND, ITALY, SIAM, ICELAND, AND SYRIA, AND BY THE PROGRESS OF WOMEN OF AFRICAN DESCENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

PREFATORY COMMENT BY THE EDITOR — COPIOUS EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESSES DELIVERED IN THE GENERAL CONGRESS BY ISABELLE BOGELOT, CALLIRRHÖE PARREN, CATALINA DE ALCALA, MATILDE G. DE MIRO QUESADA, MARTHA SESSELBERG, ISABEL KING, HELEN BLACKBURN, C. C. MONTEFIORE, MARY MCDONELL, A. M. BLAKELY, PROF. HELEN WEBSTER, FANNIE BARRIER WILLIAMS, SARAH J. EARLY, NICO BECK-MEYER, REV. AMANDA DEYO, MAY FRENCH-SHELDON, AND HELENA MODJESKA; VERY BRIEF EXTRACTS FROM DISCUSSIONS OF THESE ADDRESSES BY MRS. JOHN HARVIE, EMILY CUMMINGS, KIRSTINE FREDERIKSEN, ANNA J. COOPER, FANNIE JACKSON COPPIN, HALLIE Q. BROWN, AND LIZZIE KIRKPATRICK — ABSTRACTS OF ADDRESSES PREPARED FOR THE GENERAL CONGRESS BY FANNY ZAMPINI-SALAZAR, SOFIA BOMPIANI, LADY LINCHEE SURIYA, SIGRIDR. MAGNÜSSON, AND HANNA K. KORANY.

IN this chapter the reader will meet witnesses convened from all civilized parts of the earth, unconsciously testifying to the proposition contained in the title of the first address.

This chapter proves that the woman question is no longer an Americanism; that it is no longer a local question at all; that it can not be regarded as the curious culminating expression of the insane passion for independence characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Here we find the representatives of that race whose women are most addicted to coquetry, and of that whose men most keenly feel that their personal dignity is con-

ditioned upon the absolute dependence and seclusion of the women of their families, uttering opinions and sentiments familiar only to those Americans who frequent conventions and public assemblies. Here we find Afro-Americans, but one generation from personal bondage, demanding the same freedom of thought and action that is innate in the Saxon.

Stranger still, an Afro-American * who was herself a slave discusses with temperance and without bitterness the social, intellectual, and industrial status of her race.

The representatives of every nationality claim the free exercise of personal judgment; they demand that the whole contention regarding the propriety of a woman's doing this or that work shall be determined by her ability. They demand equal pay for equal work. They demand for both sexes the same moral standard. They demand the highest development of the individual, not only as in itself a noble end, but as a means to the highest development of the race and the highest happiness of society.

They all see not only the reciprocal dependence of men and women, but also the reciprocal dependence of all classes of women, and of all women in any class; and, therefore, they all recommend organized effort as the surest, the most direct, the most cultivating means to the highest ends. In this chapter greater significance lies between the lines than upon them, and it is commended to those "who have eyes to see."—[THE EDITOR.]

* Fannie Jackson Coppin was born a slave, and remained in that state until she was thirteen years old, when an aunt, who had already purchased her own freedom, bought the young girl for one hundred and seventy-five dollars. Fannie graduated from Oberlin College in the classical course (what was then called the "gentlemen's course") in 1865, taking the A. B. degree. She is now entitled to the A. M. degree.

The Solidarity of Human Interests — Address by Isabelle Bogelot of Paris, France, Representative of the Œuvre des Libérées de St. Lazare, and Treasurer of the International Council of Women.

When the mail from America on the 27th of last January brought me an invitation to speak in the name of my countrywomen on the subject "*Solidarité des Intérêts de l'Humanité*," I felt a deep sense of gratitude to the friends in America who thus expressed their confidence and great sympathy by inviting me to speak on a subject so grand.

But with the rapidity of lightning I became conscious of my inability to treat a subject so vast, so important. I had in my memory the magnificent meetings held in Washington in 1888. I felt afraid, but nevertheless I accepted the task which was offered me.

Why did I feel a boldness that did not shrink before so heavy a responsibility — why, if I also felt fear?

The reason for that assurance came entirely from the very title of the subject. The word *solidarité* enlightened me at once and showed me precisely the way on which I was to proceed. "My friends of France," said I, "will work with me; they will help me. We shall make a collective work, to which each of us shall bring her own personal effort. I shall give my practical experience about the works in which I labor. They, my friends, detained by other duties in their homes, will intrust to me the papers which they prepare for the different sections of the congress to which they promise their coöperation. I shall represent them; I shall be their delegate."

The moment I looked upon the work thus as collective, my fears disappeared, a great peace came over me, and I was quite happy to feel that my response was crossing the ocean which should say to you, "I accept, count upon me, in May I shall be with you at my post."

To-day I ask your indulgence for the weakness of the

work which I have the great honor to read to you. Count upon my love of justice and my good intentions; they are all that I personally can offer you.

Five years ago, when I had the good inspiration to come to you, I was chosen by the Œuvre des Libérées de St. Lazare, a work not of science but of pity and justice; and it was to speak of the prisoners whose most unfortunate condition would be ameliorated could all our claims be secured. I came to tell you simply, "We are with you. Let us continue to struggle for the enfranchisement of women. We see misery most horrible and oftentimes undeserved in the prisons. It is the effect of a social state that must be modified. The women prisoners are very often the result of the prejudice and injustice which are crushing our sex."

At that time I was the only Frenchwoman among you. None of those who had struggled to obtain the reforms awaited and desired with so much impatience accompanied me. Why this chance which had assigned to me a part for which I was so little prepared? Was it chance? No, I do not think so. Every effect has a cause and comes in its own good time. The work of prison reform, which generally meets with so little sympathy, but nevertheless is of such importance, since it studies the human heart, ought to receive some honor after having been despised for so long a time. The work brings to light moral suffering in its full extent; it probes all wounds; it is a field of experience where all thinkers can come to study the necessary reforms which we are advocating in this Congress. The work of prison reform is bound to all other social questions. It makes an appeal to all the sentiments; it personifies the spirit of solidarity. This is why this work of the Libérées de St. Lazare, which appeared so modest, but which we found so great by reason of the object which it pursues, came to America to speak in the name of pity, of justice, and of solidarity. It was guided toward you by that same justice which assigns to each the place which he is to occupy.

Five years have passed since that first meeting, since the clasping of hands which made our hearts one.

America and France are old allies. They have fought under the same standard, the blood of the two peoples has been shed on the same battle-fields in the name of liberty, of that liberty which in the loftiest and most absolute sense means justice and solidarity. Several among you are of French origin, and the names of the two republics are inseparably joined. There are imperishable memories which belong to the fortune and history of the two nations. These memories give me courage to speak in this assembly.

It is a pleasure to bring to life all the glorious past in this moment when we are celebrating the fourth centennial of the discovery of the New World in this Art Palace inaugurated by the Woman's Congress which shall be one continued series of successes. What glory for America that this is the woman's congress which is opening the series of meetings that will never be forgotten! What a pleasure for France, which proclaimed the rights of men one hundred years ago, to celebrate at such a festival by raising its voice in this palace here to advocate with you the equality of the sexes and the rights of woman!

Thanks to the grand Congress at which we are present, the century which is drawing to a close will realize that beautiful motto of our ancestors; for true solidarity includes the three words, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, which in the last century sent a thrill throughout the Old and New Worlds. The solidarity of human interests does not admit of a doubt. A good or a bad idea, a progress or a recoil in the amelioration of the condition of men or of women never occurs in vain. The wished-for hour comes, the required psychological moment, the being predestined to be the propagator and popularizer appears, and the idea develops and produces its consequences. At this time, when steam and electricity have eliminated distances, nothing can happen among one people that does not have its echo among all the others. An injustice can not occur in any

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corner whatsoever of the civilized world which will not soon have to be suffered elsewhere. A lovely deed, a just idea, can not be enjoyed in one country whose good effects are not also felt by others. Without our having to yield our citizenship in the fatherland, without being what they call cosmopolitan, there are side by side with those interests of one's country, I might almost say above them, the greater interests of entire humanity which we can no longer ignore.

So we are all one, without distinction of nationality, when it is a matter of humanity.

The question of the place which woman ought to occupy in the world is a general question which joins us all together. The progress which is attained by one country can not help being shared with others. And it is for this reason that we have come from all countries of the Old and New Worlds to say to you, "We are with you to work for the amelioration of the condition of woman, to take counsel as to the best means of attaining our end, to combine and organize our efforts in order that, the work being better regulated, the results may be obtained the more quickly." Let no one deceive himself with the thought that the work which you are undertaking, and in which we have come to join our forces, is, although it has sometimes been so called, a struggle to be engaged in between the sexes.

No; it is the restitution of normal or regular rights, oftentimes ignored, but which exist none the less imperishable.

When our end shall be attained, the other sex will not be the loser, and, with everything brought back to its proper place, it is humanity as a whole that will be benefited. To obtain this result will require many years; but solidarity among the women of all nations will realize it sooner perhaps than we ourselves think.

I close by bringing to your notice the works which I mentioned to you in the beginning: first, the discourse on altruism and solidarity written by our friend Madame

Emilie de Morsier, my associate during seventeen years, and vice-president of the Œuvre des Libérées de St. Lazare, of which I am the directress and official delegate.

I ought to give special mention to Marie Deraismes,* having passed the most beautiful years of my youth in her family. It was, as I had the pleasure of telling you in 1888 in the Congress at Washington, at her school that I received my education; I am most happy to repeat it in this great International Congress of Women. I am proud to call myself her pupil. We have worked together for the betterment of the condition of women, following each the way that her aptitudes, character, and temperament directed.

Having spoken of the living, permit me to recall the memory of two departed ones whom I have deeply loved, and with whom, also, I have worked, Caroline de Barrau of France and Concepcion Arenal of Spain. The latter died only three months ago. She charged me officially to represent her here, and to offer to you her last work which was dedicated to our reform, "Le Manuel du Visiteur du Prisonier." † Her son is piously having the manuscripts prepared which his mother left.

Let us not forget Leon Richer, who during twenty-three years defended the cause of woman, and who did not quit the field of battle until forced by age and sickness. My last word shall be for my husband, M. Bogelot, known by several among you, who has helped me in all my labors. He is following attentively from afar all that is being said during this Congress.

I lay upon the table: 1st. A complete collection of bulletins of our society, in the name of my colleagues. 2d. The collection of *Journal des Femmes*, of which Marie Martin, our friend, is the founder and director. 3d. The articles by Mme. Potonié Pierre on the group of the Solidarité des Femmes, of which she and Marie Martin are the founders and secretaries. 4th. A diagram by Mme. Griess Traut, whose object is to indi-

* Since deceased.

† Translated at this date into three languages.

cate the means of avoiding war, at the same time respecting the interests of all those who have embraced military careers. Destructive armies, she says, can be transformed into productive armies, and she demonstrates this by the adjoined table, which is excellently compiled. 5th. An account rendered in detail of the patronage of young apprentices of the Sixth Arrondissement of Paris, founded and directed by Mme. Marie Breon. 6th. I present to the Women's Library a work in two volumes, "La Femme Affranchie," by Jenny d'Herincourt, who resided in Chicago thirty years ago. It is to pay a debt to her memory that I pronounce her name, and only to bring from France this work for the cause of women is to make her live again.

The Solidarity of Human Interests — An Address by Callirrhöe Parren of Athens, Greece.

Let us leave traditions and come to history. The golden age of Greece is due to Aspasia. Sculpture, the divine art of Praxitiles, was understood by Kora of Corinth. Lalla, the woman painter of Kyzychos, was the mistress of Apollo-Theano, the first pupil of Pythagoras, attended his school and gave lessons with such perfection that Pythagoras himself was jealous. Sappho was distinguished as the greatest poet of her time, while Korinna was seven times victorious over Pindar. Women philosophers were counted by hundreds. To these women Greece owes her wisest, most distinguished, most heroic men.

The Spartan mother said to her son as he took his shield to go to battle, "Come back with it or upon it." With their incomparable patriotism and their greatness of soul, they rendered small Sparta the most warlike place of the world.

Greece falls, and Rome succeeds it. She is prosperous and strong while her men are educated by Cornelias. She becomes weak and falls when her wives and mothers are Agrippinas and Marcelinas.

The people of the West and the North have been developed, civilized, and strengthened by their reverence for women. But in this general regeneration of the European people what has become of oppressed Greece? Has it been lost? Has it degenerated? Has it been extinguished? No. The women are awake. The women are preserving its language, its customs, and its traditions. The Christianity which they embraced, and for the improvement of which they have worked more than all else, as orators, reformers, and apostles, has given to them strength for the great work of patriotism. The milk of patriotism and Christianity with which they have nurtured their children is the blood which the children have afterward shed for their faith and their country.

There is in Greece a rocky corner, a wild, precipitous spot, upon which the green grass never grows. The land there seems to be in mourning and unable to bear flowers. There is a precipitous rock under which flows a foaming river, the frightful precipices yawning like black tombs. They have served as witnesses of a feminine heroism which history has only once recorded. There the later Greek women, our foremothers, have danced the dance of death, singing the song of liberty; they have thrown themselves down upon the rocks from the frightful precipices, preferring with their children an honorable death rather than life in an enslaved country.

From the first years of our independence we have been united quite fraternally with you. On the ramparts of the Acropolis the Turkish minaret was still elevated, and the sentinel was announcing the hours of prayer, when an American lady, who was the first educated woman that came to Greece, established, with her husband, Doctor Hill of blessed memory, the first school for the education of Greek girls. In that school, which to-day is still doing excellent work, most of my companions have been educated. In the volume on distinguished Greek women which I am writing, one of the first places is held by this woman of American

origin, who became the intellectual mother of so many Greeks.

But besides this lady many progressive Greek women have established schools from which have gone forth during recent years many distinguished women, sculptors, writers, poets, of whom the strangers that visit Greece speak with enthusiasm. Our great men formerly worked more for the education of women than they do now. This has not prevented us from advancing. We have overcome opposition and set aside prejudices. Our government has given us only the most elementary education. We are establishing private schools and preparing ourselves for the university, which scarcely two years ago opened its doors to us. But before this was accomplished, when that of our own country was closed against us, many of us sought other European universities. Thus we have to-day ten women who are devoted to scientific, philological, medical, and pedagogic pursuits, and four young girls are now going to the University of Athens.

I am myself, the first Greek woman editor. For seven years I have issued a woman's journal. Its articles are written exclusively by women, but they are read by a good many men. The object of my paper is the education of women and the education of the public in respect to women. I set forth continually in its columns your march in civilization and your stirring activities. I publish the lives of the distinguished women of the world. I exhort women to energetic work, by which alone complete happiness can be secured in this world. I do not ask for the political rights of women, because for us this question is premature; but when the law is unjust to us, we attack the law-makers. I am working now for the establishment of an industrial school for girls, and I hope that I shall be able to succeed by next September. As the first woman editor, I have suffered many attacks and combated many prejudices, and many times have been reproached and assailed; but all this has been forgotten in the absorbing

object which I have had before me, and in the results which I have attained. My youngest sister has established lately a new woman's paper, under the title *The Home*, in which she will seek to promote the practical, technical, and industrial education of women.

Besides my paper, I have published the results of many other studies. During the past year I have begun to publish the history of woman from prehistoric times to our own day. It is a great work, for which for ten years I have been gathering material in the libraries of Europe. It will be composed of twelve large volumes, and will reveal the remarkable influence of women upon the fortunes of peoples and nations. The Greek and the French press have received my first volume with the warmest approval. I have treated therein only the women of prehistoric times and the women of China and India. Five more volumes, relating to women of ancient times down to the Roman period, are ready for the press, and then will follow the Middle Ages. I am working now upon contemporary women. To American women, who now are holding the reins of progress, and who are in advance of all Europeans, I shall devote a large volume. In this endeavor I invite your coöperation and your aid. As far as you are able, furnish me with notes, information, and biographies. My work will be translated into both French and English. I hope it will receive your support. In such labors we must all join hands and support one another.

But let us return to the activity of women in Greece. Political rights are denied to us altogether. We enjoy but few liberties. Work in public offices, in the arts and manufactures is closed to us. But we have united ourselves, and have worked, as you have, for the advancement of women. I represent here ten women's organizations of my country. The most of them are under the protection of the queen. All of them are philanthropic or educational. A house of industry, founded by women, gives employment to nearly five hundred poor women, and work is developed here to

the highest degree of perfection. A large hospital, the Evangelismos, established and directed by women, furnishes shelter and care to a large number of the sick. An orphan asylum for girls, with three million drachmas endowment, was established and directed by women. A hospital for incurables, of which I am one of the founders, was established by the King's Daughters, a branch of the great organization in America. In a Sunday-school which I have established, and which is under the presidency of her majesty, the queen, four hundred working-girls receive instruction every Sunday in reading, writing, arithmetic, religion, history, hygiene, and domestic economy. There is also an institution for working-women and servants, of which I am one of the organizers and general secretary. A society for the education and reformation of youthful prisoners has been established, and is directed by women, under the presidency of her majesty, the queen. There is also a central society of friends of the poor, established and directed by women, and a society for the care of convalescents.

In industry the private initiative of women has wrought miracles. Embroidery, artificial flowers, the making of mats and Grecian carpets, millinery and dressmaking employ a large number of women.

The Greek woman works energetically and with results. If the false, enervating, frivolous, and luxurious life of the salon could show fewer victims, certainly our situation would be better. Vain and selfish women are the greatest and most implacable enemies of our cause, and of humanity in general. They contribute by the education which they give to their sons to the degradation and degeneration of men themselves. Against these women we all, and especially the progressive women of Europe, must unite our forces, because this pernicious class exists in Europe more extensively than in America. The cause of woman, about which you have asked my opinion, will fully succeed when the form of education which produces this

class of women ceases. All women who are wielding the pen for the emancipation of our sex, and all who can exercise any influence upon the fortunes of women, must attack this vain, false, selfish, and pernicious education. We shall never obtain liberty, nor rights, nor equality while such mothers and wives inspire the men through whom we expect our fortunes to be bettered.

Fortunately the number of such women is growing less every day in Greece. While the education of women is still behind in many things, the greater part of the wealthy and fortunate classes have rid themselves of this vanity.

To you, O American women! lovers of progress, we look with hope. You are in the van; you are the flag-bearers.

Women in Spain for the Last Four Hundred Years — Address by Catalina d'Alcala of Spain.

I salute all the women of this great republic, and their glorious flag, the stars and stripes, designed by a woman. In tracing the pages of the past we find that each nation has had some special mission for women to perform. To America has been intrusted the privilege of developing the highest qualities of womanly character and granting unrestrained action to them.

In carrying out the duty assigned me of reviewing the women of my country from the beloved Isabella's time, I must briefly notice the history of Spain previous to that illustrious reign and on down to the present day. For several hundred years after the great Saracen invasion Spain was broken up into a number of small but independent states, divided in their interests and often in deadly hostility with one another. The country was inhabited by races the most dissimilar in their origin, religion, and government, the least important of which has exerted a sensible influence on the character and institutions of the

present inhabitants. They regarded each other with a fiercer hatred than that with which they viewed the enemies of their faith. More Christian blood was wasted in these national feuds than in all their encounters with the infidels. The zeal which did at last unite them in a common warfare against the invaders was inevitably that of a religious fanaticism. The arts used by the ecclesiastical leaders to control the common people naturally resulted in giving Spain the deep tinge of superstition which has ever distinguished her among the nations of Europe. Yet our historians tell us that whatever were the vices of the Spaniards at that date they were not those of effeminate sloth. The privations which they had suffered at the hands of the spoilers had developed in them many hardy, sober qualities. It was under these conditions that the character of Isabella was formed. That with all her admirable virtues she had inherited some of the prevailing fanaticism is true. The fact that such a reign, so successful in bringing about the union of many conflicting elements and stimulating special enterprises, was not followed by the permanent elevation of Isabella's own sex, points to some firmly fixed retarding influence in the economy of the nation. What the Spaniards have already accomplished in the way of learning and development of the higher mental and moral qualities is truly marvelous, in the face of all the obstacles they have been forced to encounter.

It is well known that Isabella, as soon as she could bring order out of the chaos in which she found the government, devoted herself diligently to educational matters; and, stimulated by her noble and intellectual influence, the women contributed much to the general illumination of that period. Female education embraced a broader field in the ancient languages than is common now. The learning of the women equaled their piety, and, far from contenting themselves with superficial attainments, they held professorships of Latin and rhetoric, and widened the domain of philosophical speculation. The queen's instructor in Latin

was a woman, Doña Galindo. Another light was Isabel Losa. She mastered Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, and founded the hospital of Loretto. Sigea Aloysia of Toledo wrote letters to the pope in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Syrian. Even poetry and romance were not shunned by the gentler sex. Indeed, so strong became woman's position under this wonderful reign that Isabel de Rosores was permitted to preach in the great church in Barcelona. However, in this period, as ever since, a mistake was made in importing so many foreign teachers for the youth, thus bringing a mixture of ideas and influences, confusing national characteristics and depressing individual identity. Educational authorities everywhere claim the benefits of native instructors, the lack of whom truly has been a curse to Spain. With Isabella's death departed much of the wisdom of her administration, and the unstable rulers we have since had give rise to the saying that the royal palace became an insane asylum. Yet we find that many women of the time of Charles V. were noted for their political ability. All were eminently domestic in their homes—sewing, embroidering, and compounding home-made remedies for all known infirmities.

Spain can boast of having produced heroines from the earliest records of history. Agostina of Saragossa, with her courage and fortitude, imparted strength to the drooping soldiers when the French were mowing down our men like grass; then did this Spanish maid give victory to her old town. The new government adopted by our neighbors crossed the Pyrenees and inflamed the revolutionary spirit in us. The contest was waged upon the battle-field and in society, and reflected in the character of woman, through whom it entered into family life. Women and men felt alike. They were Catholics, Royalists, and Spaniards; enemies to everything foreign. For this reason the part played by woman in defense against the French was no less active than by man. When the Spanish woman sees her country in danger, she exhibits the indomitable heart

of a true patriot. Yet we have no female party, and since the conclusion of the last civil war women have paid no attention to public affairs. Gradually our position has gone down until at the present day men dominate in everything. Each new conquest made by man in the field renders the rôle of women more passive and confined. Educational freedom and the whole parliamentary system only serve to transfer that power to one-half of society which the other half is losing steadily. You may ask what has brought about this change. Spain is a country of reactions. One extreme follows another. In the time of the first Isabella, women were preëminent. The second Isabella found them at the lowest point in the scale of public influence.

The Spaniard is a jealous being. He has suspiciously watched the late marvelous achievements of women in other nations. He is like a child, inclined to act contrary to the thing his attention is called to. In old times there were so many "woman's movements" he thought little about being excelled. Now in the present age of broad ideas he realizes the danger; that unless he strictly defines woman's position she may excel him, not only in intellectual attainments, but in political management.

The women of Spain are divided into four classes, those of the royal family, the nobility, the middle, and the lower class or peasantry. The daughters of the nobility as a rule are superficially educated, speak a little poor French and dabble in music and painting. Those of the middle class are great imitators of the nobility, although no amount of money will admit them to court society without the badge of a government office. A poor government clerk on two hundred a year can dance with a duchess, whereas the family of a millionaire without official position is excluded from the aristocracy. The women of this class are for the most part educated in convents. The peasant woman is truly a child of nature, with goodness of heart, caring for all who come within her reach, sharing her

last morsel with Christian or heretic, and never accepting any remuneration. Be she rich or poor, the heart of the Spanish woman is a vast storehouse of Christian graces, cheerfulness, devotion, simplicity, and self-denial. The home influence is to-day what it always has been, pure and ennobling. Spanish women, so far as devotion is concerned, are model wives and mothers. When a woman once accepts a man's heart or his name she will die rather than be unfaithful.

Divorces are almost unknown. The uncertainty attending domestic life in some other nations is not felt in Spain. The family relation when once formed is permanent. Whatever may be said against the authority of the church in affairs of state, all must admit that its control in family matters has a salutary effect on the social fabric. When even a member of the demi-monde marries, which frequently occurs, she never returns to her previous life, but remains true to her family ties. I may say right here that this class of women is not nearly so numerous in Spain as is generally supposed, and fewer still would be the departures from rectitude if there were as many avenues of self-support open to women there as in the United States. Women are taught from childhood to depend on their natural protectors. In Spain every man expects to provide for some woman of his household; if not for a wife or daughter, then for a mother or sister.

Necessity makes the opportunity. The fact that so many women are self-supporting in America does not argue favorably for the gallantry or ability of the men. The few Spanish women who are thrown upon their own resources scarcely know where to turn for an honest living. Housework and cigar-making are their principal occupations. Even sewing is not much of a public employment, as the majority of women, both of the wealthy and the poorer classes make their own garments. They do not care for reading or any other mental improvement, so how else should they spend their time but in sewing? Much of the

needlework is done by the nuns in the convents. There is no other country able to furnish such fine work in this particular.

Those who have not the health or inclination to become servants turn to the factories. The cigarette-makers are deserving of more sympathy than they receive. Many of them are true-hearted women with children to support, and they rock the cradle with grace and tenderness while they roll the cigars. The stage does not include as many classes of women as it does in almost any other country, for the reason that when a Spanish actress marries she always retires. The reports which have been circulated concerning our hospitals are sadly untrue. They have been for many years past conducted by women, and the Spanish Sister of Charity has proven herself to be a superior nurse. The prisons of Spain include one exclusively for women, which is said to be well managed by the sisters, and is never, I am glad to add, overcrowded.

A woman's resources are naturally limited in proportion as her education is restricted. The great need of Spain is widespread primary instruction. A compulsory law was enacted in 1877 for children between the ages of six and nine, free schooling being provided for the poor; but the law is not enforced, and even if it were, its provisions are too meager to meet the wants of a practical education. The universities are open only to men. Educated college women are the exception, not the rule, and the number of university-educated women is very small.

I do not wish to leave the impression that there is no longer any intellectual individuality or personal ambition among my countrywomen. Their meager advantages, their scanty education, their few chances to mingle on equal terms with the talented and good of the opposite sex have brought down upon them a long night of darkness. But we shall emerge from the shadows.

Woman's Position in the South American States—Address by Matilde G. de Miro Quesada of Lima, Peru.

Whether woman be considered as the mainspring of domestic life, or as a mere auxiliary force intended to lift up the many small obstacles that encumber the field of man's labor and force him to waste his energies, her coöperation is undoubtedly a most essential part of man's success in his struggle for life. Whenever he feels exhausted and worn out by the painful strife, or inclined to succumb to the pressure of persistent adversity or deliberate injustice, the glowing warmth of woman's affection, and not seldom her own example, give him renewed courage and fresh hope, or the tranquil submission of conscious dignity and manly endurance combined. The share thus assigned by nature to the weaker sex in the work of life is more or less comprehensive in every country, according to the race, the stage of civilization, the soil and climate, and other conditions arising from local or transient causes. Our American continent exhibits in this respect so curious and striking a contrast that I deem it to be one of the most interesting and useful subjects of study; yet I will not venture in this paper beyond a few general remarks such as the sympathy for my own sex and the natural aspiration for the welfare of mankind may suggest to one who is neither a philosopher nor a political expert. It would be idle to discuss the faculties and conditions common to all members of womankind. Therefore I will confine my observations to the position of the Anglo-American woman and that of her sister in the Spanish-American States. In order to obtain a correct appreciation of the latter's condition it will be necessary to bear in mind the influence exerted by many circumstances appertaining to ancient times, as well as the action of more recent and immediate causes. The bulk of the Spanish-American population is

mainly composed of two elements: first, the descendants of the Spanish conquerors; second, the native Indian races of Central and South America. The first one, although far inferior in numbers, has always been and continues to be the only ruling power in all the states. These two elements brought into contact during four centuries have never become assimilated to any considerable extent. It might be said that they have rather kept themselves at a distance from each other, so that the overwhelming majority still remain pure-blooded.

But even a partial union of those elements could not produce any substantial change in the position of woman in the Spanish-American colonies. She had always lived surrounded by a similar atmosphere and placed under similar circumstances in Spanish and Indian civilization, her field of action never extending beyond the narrow limits of the family and of religious institutions, churches, convents, etc. In the whole compass of public life she was totally absent, absolutely ignored, as if she could not have any political significance whatever. Beyond the walls of the family dwelling she could become nothing but a Spanish nun or an Indian vestal. The form of government was essentially monarchical and theocratic in Spain, as it was in Indian communities. The divine right of kings was the same on both sides; and as a natural consequence, in the course of several centuries the most exclusive religious sentiment became the main characteristic of the population. It must be added that the secular war in which Spain fought for her national independence and religious creed made a single block of these two principles, and melted patriotic feeling and Catholic faith to such a degree that they became one and the same thought and aspiration in every part of that warlike and proud nation. Such is the mold in which Spanish-American character was shaped.

The effects of this cause were, of course, much deeper in woman's character, owing to her natural sensibility, her instinctive religious tendency, and the docility with which

she adapts herself to the influences prevailing in her home. Being inexorably excluded from all participation in political or public life, her patriotic feeling remained latent, the whole of her activity being thus completely absorbed by her domestic duties and religious worship. Laws, traditions, and habits worked together in restraining to an excessive degree the freedom and power of woman, even in the narrow field of her strictly private life — her existence from beginning to end passed in submission to the authority and will of her lord and master; and in spite of the chivalrous character of the Spaniard, the companion of his life was no better than any of her oriental ancestors, an imprisoned or enslaved beauty, deprived of all the blessings and advantages of education and learning. Yet it is doubtful if there is a more intelligent or better endowed woman in any region on the face of the earth. Her quick comprehension, her bright imagination, her artistic propensities, her truly wonderful precocity, and even her impulsive and passionate character, evidently will cause in the course of time the transformation of this brilliant and fascinating spoiled child into the noblest type of woman, shining as one of the elements of national and universal progress. I am conscious of not overestimating the richness of her nature when I affirm that there is no heroic self-abnegation, no sublime ideal, no delicate refinement, no degree of moral courage that may rise above the level of the Spanish-American woman's natural powers.

The war for the emancipation of the Spanish colonies of America was the first shock that awakened the Spanish-American woman from her slumbers, and opened to her astonished eyes a new and brilliant horizon. She was everywhere an enthusiastic agent and a devoted champion of the independent party, carrying her action so far that on several occasions the Spanish military executions reddened with her blood the soil she labored to liberate.

During the protracted period of internal convulsion and civil war that preceded the organization and present state

SARAH A. STEWART.

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GRACE GREENWOOD.
(Mrs. Lippincott.)

HULDA LUNDIN.

of the Spanish-American republics, the influence of woman was felt frequently in prominent events of political life.

She had no right granted by law to interfere with such matters; but she deemed her right to be justified by her own self-sacrifice in the war for independence. Her action, if not a legal one, was in many instances an efficient force that brought about the final solution, and gave rise to deep changes, nay, to the very existence of new governments.

In later years new laws swept away some of the most powerful obstacles opposed by ancient legislation to the improvement of woman's position in private and public life. The barrier of religious intolerance was partially demolished in several of the new republics, and the free access of foreign immigration to their respective territories produced a large number of intermarriages and of new homes where an enlightened and liberal spirit rules over the family.

Public and private education began to spread in the upper classes of the young nations, although for the most part it still remained in the hands of sectarian teachers and religious institutions. But in the last score of years a most considerable progress has been accomplished, by the united action of governments and private individuals, in the principal Spanish-American states. It is with the deepest feeling of joy and pride that I state the fact of the influence of our sex in this great evolution. Nearly all the schools for girls are placed under the control of female teachers; normal schools for women are supported amply or protected by the national authorities; large and beautiful buildings, that in some cities are veritable palaces, have been erected for educational purposes; and hundreds of foreign professors are being brought continually from their native countries to the hospitable and promising homes of Spanish-America. The majority of female teachers are native young ladies who have obtained their credentials in a strictly regular way; and it can be asserted confidently that there will be in the future no deficiency in the supply of intelligent direction for all public schools. This has been the first

authorized step of the Spanish-American woman's career beyond the limits of domestic life. Another important movement, attained by a strength of will and moral courage of which no one unacquainted with Spanish countries can form even an idea, is the admission lately granted to female students to the curriculum of the regular universities.

To appreciate duly this success it will be necessary to remember certain circumstances peculiar to several of the Spanish-American countries, which formed an almost impassable barrier against so great an innovation. For many generations woman had been regarded in every Spanish community as a being deprived by nature of every attribute of mind and character fit for any sober or serious purpose. She could be but a comfort and an ornament in the home of her proud and indolent master. On the other hand, legal and military affairs being excepted, labor, in whatever form, was despised sincerely by the nobility or governing class of the country. Even such professions as medicine, architecture, and engineering as existed at the time, were carried on by individuals of the colored race, and not infrequently by slaves. Thus contempt for labor had become in all classes of society a habit, an instinct, a deeply rooted feeling, that even to this day shows its vitality in spite of foreign intercourse and advanced education. Daily experience, with its eloquent teachings, has to a certain extent undermined that ancient prejudice. Still, what remains of the old spirit is enough to shake the most resolute courage. It might therefore be said in all truth that the Spanish-American woman has carried the position by storm, and she may justly be proud of her new victory. Although in very limited numbers, there are at present women who, as lawyers, physicians, dentists, and midwives, sustain a decorous position among their male colleagues.

The expansive force of this woman's natural talent has made a broad field besides in almost every branch of art and literature — drawing, painting, music, poetry, and romance,

afford a pleasant employment to the leisure hours of the educated woman, and in many instances have given her a reputation which extends beyond the boundaries of her native country. The works of several ladies rank as high in Spanish literature, especially in poetry, as some of the old classics, and stand almost on a level with those of the very best poets of the present day. Even the political press begins to feel woman's influence, there being already a few daily or periodical papers edited by ladies, and devoted to the interest of some political organization. It is unnecessary to add that they are always enthusiastic defenders of woman's rights.

It must not be forgotten that the foregoing remarks concern only a small class of women placed in the most favorable circumstances, and that even among them the literary and the artistic labor are never remunerative in any degree whatever. Still, there is no doubt that before long such labor will become as useful and productive as that of any profession or business opened to our sex. The number of girls and women belonging to the middle class (and they are generally more or less educated) who find by their own exertions some means of support is very limited indeed. In the great majority of cases they remain a burden to their parents, their husbands, or some other male members of the family, and in spite of their natural disinterestedness girls are sometimes induced to accept a marriage by necessity rather than by choice.

This truly deplorable condition of affairs can not be changed suddenly, as it is a natural effect of the peculiar organization of Spanish society. The Spaniard, and still more his American descendant, deems himself disgraced, dishonored, if it is known that his wife, his daughter, or his sister works for her living or for the improvement of her home. Such a prejudice and false pride could be explained in the period of fantastic wealth, when almost everybody in the Spanish colonies lived rich and happy without the trouble of any personal labor, for all the work

was carried on by slaves. That immense wealth passed away long ago, yet the old proud feeling still remains. How long will it last?

Let us hope that more frequent intercourse with foreign population, together with the necessity of securing domestic happiness by providing young girls with the means of self-support, so as to make them the companions and helpmates, not the servile attendants, of their husbands, will soon do away with the unnatural inactivity of so many intelligent and educated women.

With the exception of some of the post office, telephone, and telegraph offices, there is not a single official bureau where women regularly are employed; and excepting certain lines of tramways in a few cities, and occasionally in a small number of stores and shops, they are never seen anywhere in the vast field of public or private activity.

To close these brief remarks, I submit to your attention two very significant facts, viz.—First, the spirit of association for serious and useful purposes, lately initiated in Spanish-American female society and attaining every day more remarkable proportions; second, the ever-increasing circulation of literary and scientific books and periodicals among the female population of the principal cities in almost every one of those states.

It is the moral duty as well as the practical interest of the North American people to extend to the young and promising nations of Spanish-America the influence of their modern institutions, and the liberal and progressive spirit which is advancing the cause of woman, and very particularly the atmosphere of freedom and encouragement that surrounds the life of our sex in the North. No object richer in promise can be offered to your energies than the more complete social emancipation of the Spanish-American woman. It seems to me an axiomatic truth that to complete the freedom of woman in domestic and social life is to secure her legitimate influence and civilizing power in the general evolution of mankind.

The Women of Brazil — Address by Martha Sesselberg of Brazil.

The women of Brazil in character and education are a home-loving, home-abiding class. They are born to be home-makers, housewives, and mothers. Their home is their world; for that they live, and for that they could die. Still, as has been said of Spanish women, with whom in character they are closely allied, "They contribute greatly to the wealth and prosperity of their country, by their habits of order and economy, and by the education they give their children, maintaining the national sentiment by the poetry of their nature."

A Brazilian girl as a rule leaves school at an earlier age than does an American girl. If she attends a day school some member of her family escorts her thither and brings her home again, for a Brazilian mother would sooner die than allow her daughter to roam about at will, or indeed go anywhere unattended. If it be the girl's brother who accompanies her, his proud, if rather ostentatious, protection of his sister helps in reality to develop in him that almost national trait of the Brazilian gentleman — chivalry.

Many of the girls' schools in Brazil compare favorably with your own. Besides private there are boarding schools designed for destitute orphan girls, who therein receive gratuitous primary instruction, domestic education, food, clothing, and, when they marry, a wedding outfit and a small dowry. These establishments have a special directorship composed of philanthropic men, who provide a situation for these girls, if they do not marry, when, having concluded their studies, they are obliged to leave the college. All expenses connected with these poor children's asylums are defrayed at the cost of the state or government treasury.

Brazilian girls generally marry between the ages of sixteen and twenty-two. Rare are the cases of infidelity

among the wives. What shall I say of the women of Brazil professionally? What of them in literature and art, you ask? Their natural talent is fast finding a wide scope in drawing, in painting, in music, and in literature. Also in limited numbers they are at present dentists and physicians. I do not know of a lawyer among them. A few excellent journalists have of late entered that profession. In needlework, especially the "labyrinth" lace of Ceara, they excel.

A true wife, a tender and judicious mother, as a friend loyal, in sickness a veritable ministering angel, such is the Brazilian woman.

Women in South America — Address by Isabel King of Argentine Republic.

At one of the meetings at the Art Institute in Chicago during the World's Fair Congresses, a delegate was called upon to give an account of the status of agricultural industries in some of the countries of South America, and especially the relation which woman's work might bear to progress in this direction.

Among other things, she said that in the country, within the limits of one's vision, might be seen the latest inventions that Yankee ingenuity had constructed to aid man in his task of enriching and garnering the treasures that bounteous Mother Nature was ready to supply when petitioned under proper conditions — side by side with the crudest implements used by the peasant class in all countries, whether under an oriental or an occidental sky.

At the same hour that this was being told another speaker, giving impressions about South America in the Woman's Building, told her audience that the South American countries were three centuries behind our age in the knowledge or use of agricultural implements and in modes of living.

The extremes noted in the statements of these speakers may well serve to indicate the actual transition period

through which Spanish-America is passing (for without doubt both statements can be verified, both are true; and the cause for this state of things may be only the corollary of a condition which must have its influence as much in the special methods of government adopted in the different countries as in the modes of thought dominant in educational or sociological progress generally).

It must not be forgotten that the autonomy of these South American countries is of a very recent date; also that the elements that arrived centuries ago to conquer and plunder, and exploit the wealth to be found here, were not such as could combine with the natives.

The great part of the South American population, which prides itself on being native, is composed of these two extremes — the descendants of the Spanish conquerors and colonists and the native Indian peoples; the first striving to live out a civilization commenced thousands of years ago, and having its rise in scenes and surroundings of Old World culture and luxury; the other adhering to the customs indigenous to the land of the pampas and the lasso.

When Spain, Portugal, France, and Britain sent out their navigators and colonists in search of wealth in the New Continent, these vast countries were overrun by every grade of explorer, from the religious fanatic to the conscienceless mercenary. The ancient religion and the ancient independence were sacrificed to Rome, to Castile, and to Portugal.

The companies of Jesuits of a later date left their impress in the shape of great public works, roadways, aqueducts, etc., in different countries, which they led their new, willing or unwilling, subjects to construct, at the same time holding them by the blind faith they were enabled to instill. So it is that the conquering few were found leading the vast numbers, accustomed to obey the voice of the commander, until the hour struck for the blue-blood of old Castile flowing in the veins of the descendants of the old-time explorers to become oxygenized under the influence of the liberty-

laden air wafted from the northern countries which had thrown off the Old World yoke; and the giants Bolivar, San Martin, Rivadavia, and other southern generals led their legions through the wars that were crowned with the successful emancipation of the countries of Spanish-America.

It was in these soul-stirring times that woman discovered that her part in the social and political worlds also was important. Up to this moment she had been the subdued and submissive captive beauty, whether in the rancho of the Indian or in the Moorish home of the descendant of the Spanish hidalgo. In this home her activity spent itself in beautiful embroideries and self-adornment; in that one, in pounding the corn and roasting the meat for her guardian. In both cases religious worship and her immediate home affections absorbed all the spiritual life with which she was endowed. Now, however, she learned, through bitter experience, of the larger family, the patria, which called the fathers, husbands, and sons from her side to battle for the independence which was also to be hers.

History records many instances of fiery partisanship and of daring intervention on the part of these hitherto ornamental helpmates, often made precisely at the moment needed to turn the current of success in favor of the native party. At a decisive moment during the British invasion of Buenos Ayres, at the beginning of the century, the invaders were routed when the women came to the aid of their defenders by hurling missiles and hot water from the roofs of the houses. Not civilized warfare, surely, but the importance of the stake at issue and the necessity of the occasion defends the success gained in this manner. At the same place, during the struggle for independence made possible through the victories over the English, the women combined to provide ammunition which was lacking for the ranks of the patriots, at a time when the cause needed the stimulus furnished by such an action.

What was the effect of such uprisings upon beings heretofore passive recipients of what bounty their protectors

might provide? Simply what might be expected of women endowed, as they were, with powerful sensibility, quick intelligence, and strong will to fulfill the religious duties imposed upon them, now turned in the direction of the fulfillment of patriotic ideals. Since those days, although not recognized by law as having any political status, woman's influence has often been felt in the internal struggles with which these countries have been torn in their efforts toward self-government; and more important still has been the effect upon her own intellectual development, strengthened and fortified naturally through polemics and partisanship in which she can not help but join when the very air she breathes is permeated with them. It might not be difficult, even nowadays, to find women who can scarcely sign their names who are able to sustain discussions regarding their favorite subjects in politics, benevolence, or religion, with all the ardor, tact, and correctness of philosophic vision that might well befit persons who had received a more favored education. In the country homes, where many families reside a large portion of the year, owing to the presence of the master being needed to oversee the hands at work at agriculture or at pasturing, it is not uncommon to find the books that have been used at the university by fathers or brothers in the hands of mothers, sisters, and aunts. So, among surroundings that are often very incongruous, may appear the works of Rochefoucauld, Lamartine, Chateaubriand, Shakespeare, Castelar, Cervantes, etc., showing signs of use and appreciation.

As one of our writers observes, the advance-guard of thought may come from the country rather than from the large cities, where the distractions of society draw the mind away from quiet study and the introspection needed for the elaboration of deep plans and elevation of thought; but it is really in the great centers of population that the movement is plainly visible which must end in the application of the principles of liberty, fraternity, and equality to both sexes.

One end of the wedge was inserted during the great access of foreign immigration, when these countries commenced their independent existence, and woman was so often seen working side by side with man, according to customs unknown to the descendants of the Spanish hidalgo or of the Indian "gaucho." True, she had no degree of independence with this permission to work, and could not always dispose of the money she had aided in earning, but the ability to work served as a model, and the advantage gained, in case masculine leadership should fail, was readily seen.

Another strong impetus was felt during the discussions resulting in and consequent upon the abolition of religious intolerance in many parts of the southern continent. Different points of view were opened before the mental vision of those whose horizon, until this time, had been limited by the fiat of the ecclesiastic, whose rule was felt in all circles.

But the power whose influence is making itself felt most strongly now is the diffusion of instruction among the masses of the population. During the past twenty years a wonderful stride has been made in nearly or quite all of the South American countries. Each one has a history almost similar to the others, in that there has arisen some apostle of popular education determined that his own particular republic should not remain behind other civilized nations in this respect.

In the Republic of Uruguay the name of Don José Pedro Varela, called the Horace Mann of that country, is venerated as the founder of common schools, giving instruction alike to rich and poor, to boys and girls; and for making possible the founding of normal schools, well equipped, and giving a very high grade of secondary instruction.

The Señorita Enriqueta Compte was sent to Germany to study kindergartening in its home, and now is installed at the head of a school of practice for kindergarteners in Montevideo that promises to be the beginning of the greatest of

all reforms in education — the beginning at the beginning, and making the foundation strong and sure.

The Señora Stagnero de Muñar is at the head of the Normal School for Girls in the same city, and is laboring with an abnegation and enthusiasm rarely equaled in more favored circles to implant in the minds of the young women gathered from different parts of the country the pedagogical principles that shall enable them to become real teachers.

She is ably seconded in her efforts by the Señorita Adela Castells, a young littérateure whose name is rapidly becoming a power in educational circles. It is somewhat difficult to determine the exact proportion of illiteracy among the general population, owing to the incompleteness of the census returns in this respect; but in the centers of population it has for some years decreased very favorably. With the impetus received from the installation of the Patriotic League, a society founded for the purpose of having the national language taught in all parts of the country (as a safeguard from the encroachments of the Portuguese from the Brazilian boundaries), and with the enthusiastic leadership of Doctor Berra, lawyer and teacher, Señor Gomez Ruano, the director of the Pedagogical Museum, and others, it is safe to affirm that this country will soon take an honorable position among the educated nations.

Most flattering of all, perhaps, is the high esteem felt for the part woman is taking in this elevation of thought, in this crusade against ignorance. She is making her way to the front ranks so rapidly that those who know how recently the awakening has come are surprised, not taking into consideration the many quiet influences that were at work preparing this desire for education to burst into such rich fruition.

Secondary instruction has attained a high rank in the Republic of Chile, and the results of this are easily noticeable in the general deportment of the better class of citizens.

It is probably in the Argentine Republic that the most successful work has been done toward implanting a common-school course of education among the masses.

During the revolutionary period, near the beginning of the century, the great Rivadavia said: "We can not wonder that every state, whether its form of government be monarchical or republican, leaving the conscience of men free, flinging the shield of protection over the religion of the citizen, should with zealous care watch over the education of the rising generations — that men may become familiar with the genius and peculiar features of their own government; form an acquaintance with the laws and institutions of the country in which they live and act a part; and that they may imbibe a spirit of enlightened patriotism, securing them alike from the encroachment of the tyrant on the one hand and the selfish designs of the demagogue on the other."

The great work planned by this noble and far-seeing statesman to secure these ends was in advance of his time, and fell to naught during the epoch of anarchy that soon came upon the unfortunate country. The cruel civil strife that continued so long led men's thoughts far away from thoughts of intellectual or moral development, and the country was reduced to a state bordering on barbarism.

When a better day dawned, during the presidency of General Bartolomo Mitre, a system of secondary education was organized. Colleges were founded by the national government in several of the larger cities. The French Lycée system was adopted and professors brought from European schools.

It was, however, during the administration of Dr. Don Domingo Faustino Sarmiento that popular education received an immense impulse. He had seen what free education had done for the United States, and he determined to establish the common-school system throughout his beloved Argentine country.

Doctor Sarmiento had been on terms of friendship with

Horace Mann and other educators during his term as minister to this country, and had come to realize the importance of providing the means of an education for each child, as the best mode of preparing him for future citizenship.

Large grants of money were voted by Congress for the diffusion of primary instruction in the different provinces, and with this stimulus each province awakened to a greater appreciation of its own duty in this respect.

It was owing to the enthusiasm of this schoolmaster president that teachers from the United States were invited to take part in the training of teachers among the Argentines. About the year 1883 normal schools for girls were founded in the capital city of each province, while before this there had been but three in all the republic, and these located near Buenos Ayres, very far from many of the other centers of population, and especially inconvenient in a country where popular sentiment would condemn the separation of a young woman from the family circle, unless to enter one of the boarding-schools, the greater number of which were directed and taught by the Catholic nuns.

Now, however, all this is changed, and in this Columbian year the Argentine Republic sustains fourteen female normal schools and seven mixed normal schools, these last solving the problem of co-education to the entire satisfaction of all; in a country, too, whose customs and general sentiment almost precluded the possibility of the idea being successfully carried out.

The following statistics will probably be of interest, as showing the great advance made in late years in this first authorized step of the Spanish-American woman beyond the limits of the domestic circle, there being a large preponderance of young women in the normal course preparing for a professional career:

FEMALE NORMAL SCHOOLS.

LOCALITY.	Year of foundation.	NUMBER OF PUPILS IN 1892.	
		Normal Course.	School of Application.
Buenos Ayres	1874	183	273
Rosario (Province of Santa Fé)	1877	36	347
Cordoba	1884	37	218
Corrientes	1884	32	310
Rioja	1884	21	185
Tucuman	1887	52	298
San Juan	1879	25	306
Santiago	1881	38	402
Catamarca	1878	30	247
Mendoza	1878	18	212
Salta	1882	16	83
Jujuy	1884	15	123
San Luis	1879	43	223
Uruguay (Entro Rios)	1873	65	610
Total		611	3,837

MIXED NORMAL SCHOOLS.

LOCALITY.	Year of foundation.	NUMBER OF PUPILS IN 1892.	
		Normal Course.	School of Application.
Parana (Prov. of E. Rios)	1871	112	545
Mercedes (Prov. of B. Ayres)	1887	23	133
Azul (Prov. of B. Ayres)	1887	16	268
Dolores (Prov. of B. Ayres)	1888	29	277
Rio Cuarto	1888	21	213
San Nicholas	1888	24	323
La Plata	1888	25	330
Total		250	2,089

Many of these schools have been or are now under the direction of teachers from the United States. More than thirty American women have found pleasant temporary homes among these hospitable people, who were anxious to participate in the benefits that a more liberal educational system was allowing in the "Great Republic of the North."

These schools are fitted up with great liberality, often housed in fine buildings, containing the most approved North American furniture, and costly apparatus from France and Germany for the teaching of natural history, physics, chemistry, etc.

The instruction is academic and professional, the course for the attainment of the degree of preceptor being now four years, and that of professor being six.

Applicants for admission to the normal course who are girls must have attained fourteen years, and must present certificates of having passed the common-school course, or must pass examination in the common-school branches.

The kindergarten teaching is being spread with great enthusiasm, some of the young ladies devoting themselves to a study of its principles and graduating as "professors" of kindergarten teaching.

A great reaction has set in against the teaching of the merely ornamental in handwork, and now a thoroughly graduated course in sewing, ending in cutting garments with mathematical accuracy, forms part of the curriculum of the higher girls' schools.

Manual training has been introduced under the teaching of graduates from Mr. Otto Salomon's academy at Naas; and, while not properly belonging in an article treating of the advancement of women, we can not help indicating here the great influence the enthusiasm for this branch of the "new education" must have over the future of this country. The contempt for labor, which existed all through these countries by right of inheritance, is being rapidly eradicated, and a wholesome respect for the agricultural and mechanical arts is springing up, which bids fair to transform the unstable condition of this part of the world into one of more permanent prosperity. Greater numbers of young men are entering the agricultural and veterinary colleges; more are taking engineering courses, and consequently fewer graduating as lawyers and physicians. There had always been so great a proportion of graduates in these

liberal professions that many of them had to become merely hangers-on in the political field, and often unsatisfied applicants for political spoils. The leaders of thought look forward to the redemption of the country through this new trend of educational effort, and hope that with the increased prosperity that must come with the exploitation of the bountiful natural resources that belong to this portion of the earth, and by means of its own sons aiding with intelligent, well-cultivated direction the crude efforts of the many colonists, these latest revolutions will soon come to be the last.

Add to this hurried résumé that Argentina, in common with nearly all well-established South American countries, has enjoyed university education for the favored few since the beginning of the century.

For some years education has been compulsory and gratuitous in Argentina, and the law obliges poor parents, as well as employers of children, to prove their more or less regular attendance at some center of instruction, either in the municipal or rural schools. These are far from being equipped as are the normal schools above mentioned, and make only a more or less successful attempt at teaching the three R's. This teaching is gradually improving, as the normal school graduates are spreading out in all directions and making their influence felt in favor of better methods and more complete instruction.

Besides these means of education, provided by the national and provincial or state governments, there exist many institutions founded by the church and working under ecclesiastical supervision, many private schools of a high degree of excellence, and a few schools supported through the efforts of corporations.

In the report on education for the Paris Exposition, special mention was made of two schools sustained in this manner by popular effort in the towns of Goya and Esquina.

The society of Goya, led by Dr. M. I. Loza, an enthusiast on the subject of education as conducted in the United States,

founded a school for girls which attracted the attention of the whole country, as being sustained by the parents themselves who take an active and immediate interest in the higher education of their daughters, under the protection of their own homes, and without the intervention of the government.

Stimulated by the success of this popular venture, Señor Ramon Gracia of Esquina initiated a similar movement in that town. The results have been most flattering, and thus Corrientes boasts of having three educational centers directed by North Americans, in which higher education is made accessible to a very large proportion of its inhabitants; the third one is the national normal school in the capital city, Corrientes.

In these popular schools, as they are called, no expense has been spared to implant all the newer thought of the day, and kindergarten work, manual training, and physical culture have been initiated in accordance with the most approved methods. Teachers from Sweden are training in woodwork, sewing, and physical culture; and in Goya an enthusiastic graduate from the kindergarten work training-school of Parana is directing the attention of parents to the importance of this the foundation work in the elevation of the human family.

The annual examinations and exhibitions of these schools are veritable educational tournaments, being the great event of the year, which all circles of society join in celebrating. The directors hesitate in joining the current of opinion tending toward the abolishment of examinations, believing that in these towns the direct effect of such exhibitions is to stimulate parents and children, and that climate and modes of living will of themselves prevent any danger of overstimulation.

Corrientes is called the revolutionary province par excellence, but it can also affirm, with pride, that it is taking an advanced place in the evolution which is making for righteousness and better living in all parts of this country; and

Argentina may make a similar claim as being the most advanced of the South American republics in providing educational facilities for the masses, although others may equal her in university education.

Three Argentine women have passed with honors into the ranks of the medical profession, two having added to their preparation by study in Europe. Doctora Cecilia Grierson, now having a large practice in Buenos Ayres, is doing pioneer work in educating classes of male and female nurses, and actively aiding the propaganda for organizing a "Society for First Aid."

Her efforts are strengthened by the coöperation of the Señorita Gracia Lagos and Señora Dolores L. de Lavalle, a member of an old historic family, who is president of the ladies' branch of the Red Cross Society, besides being prominent in other works of beneficence.

So in all this southern half of our continent Spanish-American women are advancing, and the few who have stormed the outworks and striven to attain a place in the liberal professions are sustaining their new dignity with success, and so illuminating the path for the many who are preparing to follow. Among women there are but few physicians, dentists, midwives; fewer lawyers and avowed politicians; but there are many who have achieved a degree of prominence in music, painting, and literature. Some periodicals in the larger cities are almost wholly conducted by women.

As yet women appear in but few of the telephone and telegraph offices, and in comparatively few of the stores and shops; the leveling-up process not having permeated the large middle class to a sufficient extent to induce those who can not prepare themselves for teaching to leave the seclusion of their homes.

In the statistics of the few countries that have been available there has not been noticed any great difference between men and women in the compensation for equal work done, where both have been employed; with the very

noticeable fact that women are not found in the highest positions, and therefore are not enjoying the largest salaries.

In recent years the growth and extension of all kinds of manufactories have opened larger fields for the entrance of women to industrial circles, and as there is some complaint as to their lack of business capacity and punctuality, some time must elapse before education will become so general as to effect results in changing this complaint.

In the opinion of many, the next step to be taken is to provide greater facilities for the superior education of the higher classes, and to institute a general system of industrial education for all throughout the country.

The time is ripe, men's minds are prepared, theories have been advanced, and it can be prophesied that the large reforms in this direction will have been commenced by women through the elementary efforts begun in some parts toward teaching poor children to sew. There has even been some talk of opening cooking-schools.

Organization, or association for benevolent purposes (nearly always under some phase of religious government), has been very generally carried out; and woman here, as all over the world, is the recognized dispenser of charity. So far her work has been to feed the hungry and to tend the sick and necessitous, without looking farther than the momentary needs; but now, with the growth of better modes of living generally, more frequent intercourse with other nations, and the spread of greater literary and scientific knowledge, the spirit of coöperation is gaining strength, and a larger philanthropy is being studied, with a view to help the unfortunate to be self-helpful. Although still largely under the active influence of the church, this spirit of association, either from philanthropic motives purely or for higher education, is obeying here, as elsewhere, the impulse of to-day for coöperation in all directions. Judging by the gigantic strides made toward reforms by women here, during the short time since the first steps

were taken for higher education that made such progress possible, and by the quickness of perception and desire for improvement that characterize her, it is not impossible that the Spanish-American woman may startle her sisters by the advanced position she may be able to assume among them when the day shall come for her to be better known. At present, communication is so difficult between North and South America, and so convenient between North America and Europe, that many very intelligent and widely traveled persons in the United States have but vague ideas of the kind of civilization to be encountered among their sister republics. If the culture of a country is to be measured by the place woman holds in it, then the more advanced of these southern countries must be looked upon as possessing the highest and lowest extremes, both in the position woman has held and in the promise that is held forth as to the position soon to be taken by her.

The Progress of Women in England — Address Prepared by Helen Blackburn of England, Read by Harriet Taylor Upton of Ohio.

The progress of women in England is a large subject to be asked to undertake in the brief space of thirty minutes, yet the salient points may be indicated by a glance at the accompanying diagram, with its various ascents and depressions, and ascent again.*

The Saxon period, we must remember, was not one of abiding peace — invasions and predatory attacks fill the history with records of strife; therefore, we must expect to find the idea which underlies all early systems of jurisprudence,

* The diagram referred to, a graphic presentation of the progress of Englishwomen, is too complex to be reproduced here. The line showing the trend of woman's advancement rises so abruptly as to form an almost perpendicular ascent from the beginning of organized effort among Englishwomen.

that the woman is under the protection (mund, to quote the Saxon word) of a man, still prevailing in Saxon law. But what we also find is that the idea of protection did not degenerate into the absolute domination which we find in Indian, Greek, and Roman law at a corresponding stage of development. There was something in the conditions of life in Saxon England which contributed to this. The population lived scattered; they did not congregate in camps or walled towns, whence the men went out to fight or hunt, but they lived, each household in its own homestead, with its own garden, fields, and share of common land. In their daily avocations men and women worked side by side, each working into the other's hands, dependent on each other for mutual help. There is no country which, at a similar stage, seems to have been more favorable to women. The Anglo-Saxon girl was left free choice in marriage, the Anglo-Saxon mother was guardian of her own child, and women filled positions of great responsibility.

The figure of Hilda stands out as one of the wisest and most saintly women in the whole course of English history. "Her prudence was so great," says the venerable Bede, "that her advice was sought from far and near, not only by ordinary people, but kings and princes sought and found counsel from her;" and prelates also, for it was under her roof that the ecclesiastical council was held which allayed the fierce theological controversy about Easter, which was at that time the burning question in the British church. The pupils of Hilda's community were trained by her to thorough and conscientious study—five who became bishops were among her disciples; for she ruled a double community of monks and nuns, as did also St. Ebba at Coldingham, St. Eldreda at Ely, St. Cuthburga at Wimborne—so too, a century earlier, Ireland's great St. Brigid at Kildare. These facts in themselves indicate the respect in which women were held by the church.

While Hilda thus represents the high place accorded to

women in religious matters, Œthelflæd is representative of their political influence. This "martial lady," worthy daughter of Alfred the King, brought qualities of generalship and statesmanship to bear on her troubled times which enabled her to protect and rule her kingdom of Mercia, as the old chronicle says, "with rightful dominion."

A whole century intervenes between St. Edith of Wilton and St. Ela of Salisbury, abbess of Lacock. The conquest of England by William of Normandy had meantime taken place, and the feudal system had become fully developed, with its two predominant ideas of hereditary rights and duties and of mutual dependence of classes. These conditions are well illustrated in the life of this noble lady, who, as heiress of the Earldom of Salisbury, passed the title on to her husband, and after his death by appointment of the king, Henry III., filled the office, which had been filled by both her father and her husband, that of sheriff of Wiltshire. Later she became abbess of a convent which she had herself founded at Lacock, one of those abbeys which were the centers of culture for the young ladies of England. In these stately abodes, if they did not learn much as we count learning by books, they learned all such domestic and healing arts as the knowledge of the day afforded, and the ways and courtesies of a well-regulated, dignified ordering of life. They grew up under the shelter of a community which had a distinct place in the life of its generation, whose mistress was liable to be summoned to the aid of the sovereign, sometimes in camp, sometimes in council, and who, in several instances that might be mentioned, herself held manorial courts and had even power of life and death. These abbeys then were fit training-places for those who themselves would be called on to fill responsible duties, whether as heads of their husbands' castles, or as ladies of the manor, or as custodians of castles. The shield on the effigy of the Baroness of Abergavenny marks her out in a unique manner as one of those who inherited the duties of a knightly position. Such, too, was Elizabeth

of Clare, Countess of Ulster, and Mary de St. Paul, Countess of Pembroke, who are worthy companions of Margaret of Anjou and the other women who founded colleges at the English universities; thus illustrating also the appreciation of learning which many women shared; Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond, being the most remarkable among these founders, both for her own force of character and as the mother of all the Tudors. There were many other women who fulfilled responsible territorial duties. Enough has been said to show that the same freer spirit which preserved the Saxon woman from the protection which is domination pervaded also the feudal period, and saved England from adopting the "Salic law."

But more than this, in the industrial and commercial life of the medieval ages a parallel equality of treatment is often to be discerned. The guilds, which form as important a feature of the industrial life of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as do the friendly societies and trade unions of that of the nineteenth century, nearly all included women as members, and the "systren" are named in their regulations along with the "brethren" as having the same claims upon and duties toward the guild. Also, in the legislation of those centuries there is no such classification to be met with as "women and young persons," with which our modern factory acts have made us so familiar. In the statutes of Henry IV. and Edward IV. it is "man and woman," "father and mother," "son and daughter" that we find. Professor Thorold Rogers, in his "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," states that the average wages earned by a woman in agricultural work now are not more than a third of what they earned in relative value four hundred years ago.

Thus the position of women throughout this long period of time may be indicated by a fairly level line moving upward with the awakening of learning, to culminate in the Elizabethan era, when women held the highest place in culture that they have held at any time until this present

generation. There is an assured dignity about the portraits of the women of the Tudor period which corresponds well with the reputation for learning and for intellectual power of so many, of whom Margaret Roper, Mary Sidney, and the daughters of Sir Anthony Coke may be cited as representatives. Even the substantial richness of the dress of the Tudor ladies seems in harmony with the substantial character of their education.

But just before this culminating point two institutions of the medieval social fabric had been brought to an abrupt conclusion — the monasteries and the guilds. The immediate effect of the destruction of such institutions upon society was general, but a reflex prejudicial effect on women becomes apparent later in the swift decline that took place during the hundred years between the death of Queen Elizabeth and the accession of Queen Anne. In this period we have not only to reckon with the absence of educational and protective institutions, but also with the presence of the Puritan spirit, which, with its deep intensity, was limited in its horizon. It scorned whatever seemed to savor in the least degree of chivalry or of Roman Catholicism; it discouraged all that did not harmonize with its disproportionate interpretation of scriptural injunctions.

Of historic women this period yields indeed no mean number, but their place in history rests on grounds quite different from those of the Tudor period. Able women, with a lofty standard of duty, they would have been under any circumstances, but the deeds which have earned them distinction were drawn forth by the troublous character of their time. They show that great individual heroism and nobility of character can co-exist with, nay, may be perfected by, the evils which are shattering society. It is the lesson of war, a lesson that exalts the individual character at the expense of the general well-being. After the restoration of the house of Stuart, education stood at its lowest ebb, for both men and women, between the morbid narrowness of the Puritan on the one hand and the reaction of a

corrupt court on the other. What wonder that women of ordinary healthy tastes kept quietly to their home circle of duties! There were no stirring events to force them forth; the court repelled them from society, and nothing stimulated them to new thought or enterprise; nay, rather everything was discouraging, as, for instance, the powerful remonstrance of Bishop Burnet against the proposition for a ladies' college, set forth in the writings of Mary Astell, by which that enlightened design was entirely frustrated. Mary Astell, was, in truth, the forerunner of the pioneer women of a century later.

It is from this period of decadence that one of the most unequal of the laws of England is to be dated. The act of Charles II. taking away the court of wards and liveries removed the last remnant of the feudal régime and vested the sole guardianship of children in the father. In replacing the old feudal system of wardship this law simply ignored the existence of mothers. Perhaps women had something to answer for in this oblivion, but we have already shown how surrounded they were by discouragements, and those are few at all times who can stand so firmly by their rights and by their loyalty as Ann Clifford, Countess of Pembroke, Montgomery, and Dorset. And so from the height of the Elizabethan the line of the diagram falls below the Saxon level.

The next century furnishes little to chronicle. Still, though the ensuing years were dead and dull for women, the mothers of the men who were laying the foundations of Greater Britain, and building up our parliamentary system at home, must in many a quiet home have preserved

> "An air
> Of life's kind purposes pursued
> With order'd freedom, sweet and fair."
>
> * * * * * *

And

> "Kept their own laws, which seem'd to be
> The fair sum of six thousand years'
> Traditions of civility."

For here and there — as the portraits of the eighteenth century show – individual women appeared, who, each in her own circle, left an abiding mark. Such women become more numerous as the century advances; some marked by strong religious faith, like Mrs. Wesley, Mrs. Rowe, Selina, Countess of Huntingdon; some marked by literary capacity, like Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, Elizabeth Carter, Mrs. Montague, and the little company of literary women associated with them; some with the reforming spirit, like Hannah More and Mary Wollstonecraft.

As the nineteenth century opens, these pioneer women become more numerous. Maria Edgeworth as a novelist is accompanied by Fanny Burney, Jane Austen, Mrs. Radcliffe, Miss Porter, and many more; Maria Edgeworth as a writer of juvenile stories finds Mrs. Trimmer, Mrs. Barbauld, Anne and Jane Taylor coming up side by side with her. It is indeed significant of their discrimination of the true value of things that so many of the best women of the time devoted so much of their best work to books for children; and here Mrs. Marcet, Mrs. Howitt, and Miss Martineau, should be included, for of all the good work they have done none is better than the good work they have done for young people.

This period may be described as the period of individual workers. Each one of these remarkable women stood alone in her work, but with far-reaching influence on the culture of the future. And here, also, another significant circumstance calls for notice, that those who have had this wide influence have in so many cases had exceptional advantages in their own education. It was for women generally, as Mrs. Delany wrote, in 1770, "rather a hardship on our sex that we have in general our own education to seek after we are grown up — I mean as to mental qualifications." But there were some who shared the more robust teaching awarded to boys. Lady Mary Wortley Montague received the same education as her brother. Elizabeth Carter was educated by her father, who made no distinction in the

studies of his sons and daughters. Hannah More learned much from her father. Maria Edgeworth was her father's companion in all his pursuits. Harriet Martineau and Mary Carpenter are later instances of the same thing, each going to the same school and having the same lessons as her brothers.

Thus individual women were slowly preparing the way to a higher level of intellectual culture, and making it possible for what in the beginning of the century was the exception, to be at the end of the century almost the rule. But meantime the low level to which the standard of interests for women in general had fallen had left them defenseless against a sweeping stroke of legislation, from which they have not yet recovered. The old privilege of voting which women had enjoyed in many places under various old local franchises had fallen into disuse under the discouragements of all the past periods of depression, and this discouragement was sanctioned and sealed, so to speak, politically, by the Reform Act of 1832. The introduction of the one word "male" (before persons) incapacitated women from sharing in any of the new privileges of the act. At the time this was noticed by only a very few, and a similar stroke followed as regards municipal votes in 1835 – yet both acts in reality contravened the old traditional principle that a woman when placed by birth or circumstances in the position of a man should have the rights and duties of that position; a principle by virtue of which, in 1837, Queen Victoria ascended the throne.

The agitations against slavery and against the corn laws both appealed strongly to women's interests, and both were powerful factors in the education of thoughtful minds in the first half of this century, and prepared women for the associated work in connection with their own progress in public interests which is one of the most marked features of the second half of this century. From the year 1848, when Lady Stanley of Alderly founded Queen's College (Harley Street, London) as a school of higher edu-

cation for girls, the line begins to rise and continues to rise rapidly.

Miss Barbara Leigh Smith (afterward Madame Bodichon) wrote her pamphlet, "A Summary of the Laws Relating to Women," which contributed much to the progress of thought on this subject, in 1854. Her powerful mind brought round her a small band of young and earnest women, possessed of culture, of ardor, and of independent means, who set their heads, their hands and hearts, their money, their strength and time, to obtain the amendment of the laws relating to married women, to open new avenues of employment for women, and to combat false prejudices against women's earning for themselves.

The terrible wrongs which the then existing laws relating to the status of married women had brought on a lady of such conspicuous talent and high rank as the Honorable Mrs. Norton had first drawn public attention to the crying evil of perpetuating laws which were wholly out of harmony with their time and were virtually a survival of prefeudal days. The aid of the newly formed association for promotion of social science, with Lord Brougham at its head, was enlisted; many petitions were sent to Parliament, and the agitation began which by the successive acts of 1870, 1874, and 1882 has at length placed married women on an equitable footing, with respect to property.

Meantime Miss Leigh Smith and her associated workers, foremost among whom were Miss Rayner Parkes, Jessie Boucherett, and Adelaide Anne Procter, aided by the sympathetic counsel of Mrs. Jameson, had in 1858 started the *Englishwomen's Journal*, the second shilling monthly magazine in England. In the following year they opened an employment and registry office for women. So began what may be described as the period of associated effort among women. Then as the reform act of 1867 approached, and the extension of the parliamentary franchise to householders occupied men's minds, these women felt that the time was come to make an effort to press the equal claim of women to direct representation.

This agitation drew forth one of those strong characters that appear in times of need. As one of the early band of workers has said to the writer of this paper, alone they never could have borne the shots that greet the advance-guard. "She bore the shots;" her calm judgment, joined with an enthusiasm too deep-seated to be daunted, too controlled to be excited, made Lydia Becker *facile princeps* the general of the women's suffrage movement, and in her hands it became the pivot of all the other movements.

The restoration of municipal rights, the placing of women on equal terms with men in the newly constituted school boards, followed quickly. The restoration of many old educational endowments, the formation of public day-schools for girls and of colleges for women, the opening of the medical profession, and of university examinations were the fruits of the labors of yet others of the pioneers. Nor were these the only pioneers. Women like Florence Nightingale, who gave the impetus to the great change that has come over our nursing; Miss Weston, whose home for sailors last year brought rest and comfort to one hundred and fifteen thousand of her majesty's navy; Miss Robinson, whose work for soldiers and for soldiers' families is similarly extensive; Miss Twining, who first called attention to the needs of workhouses for more housewifely housekeeping; Mrs. Senior, who proved how the children in the nurseries of the state needed "mothering." These, and other women working beside them, have given practical proof that women have organizing and administrative powers that can be of no mean service to the state.

Already the rising generation of pupils of the new schools and colleges are bringing about practical refutation of many favorite assertions of what woman should not do, and could not do, e. g., they could not master mathematics, yet it is the study in which they excel! They could not paint great pictures or compose great music. The works exhibited in the Woman's Building tell how far they have advanced in both these arts in a few short years of equal

study. Well may women work on in the calm and confidence which are strength.

A Century of Progress for Women in Canada — An Address by Mary McDonnell of Canada, Representative of the Dominion Women's Christian Temperance Union.

It is difficult to realize the steady onward march made by the women of Canada during the last quarter of a century. Before that time women entered very few remunerative occupations, but now, with the progress of the modern industrial system, there appears to be no limit to their opportunities. The active interest women are taking in all the great questions of the day is in marked contrast to the apathy and indifference of twenty-five years ago.

Our women have organized missionary, philanthropic, temperance, educational, and political associations on a scale of great magnitude, without much "blowing of trumpets or unseemly boasting." The Canadian woman's development has been aided very materially by the provincial enactments, which secured to her increased educational advantages, municipal and school suffrage, more just and humane property rights, as well as a right to enter the professions. In securing to women enlarged opportunities, provincial law-makers have placed our young nation on a higher plane, for it is a well-known fact that the civilization of a nation may be ascertained to-day more truly by the economic and social status of its women than by its consumption of coal, lumber, or pig-iron.

Therefore, while under heavy obligations to our provincial Parliament for past favors, we feel that the time has come when the question of women's further advancement should receive its thoughtful consideration. The woman suffrage question is now world-wide, and the women who have led the Canadian contingent have had the moral sup-

port of the best men of Canada. Thus encouraged, we are proud to say that we have kept pace with the women of other countries.

But the steps of progress already achieved were not gained without a struggle, as the pioneers are ready to attest. From the married woman's property act of 1872, down to the latest conquest, the right of women to practice law, every right claimed has been contested; ridicule, malice, indifference, and conservatism have in turn been met and surmounted, until now the question of woman's complete political enfranchisement stands before every legislative body in Canada, and challenges final consideration.

In its progress it has benefited all and injured none. The right to earn, hold, enjoy, and devise property are proud and notable gains. The doors of colleges and universities no longer creak their dismay at the approach of women. New avenues of self-support have been found and profitably entered upon. In public affairs Canadian women receive large recognition; at the present time we have women on high and public school boards; and in the management of business affairs women have demonstrated to the public that they have heads as well as hearts.

Every step thus far taken to enlarge the sphere of women has been a benefit to her, to man, and to society. We can see no good reason for stopping here. Just at this point it would be quite in order to consider a few objections met with by the advocates of women's enfranchisement in Canada.

Objectors urge disability to perform military service as fatal to full citizenship, but would not consent to resign their own rights, even when they have passed the age of conscription, nor question those of Quakers, who will not fight, or of professional men or civic officials, who, like mothers, are regarded as of more value to the nation at home. They cite the physical superiority of man, but would not agree to disfranchise the halt, the lame, the blind, or the sick.

Since questions of peace, of arbitration, and of reconciliation have superseded those of war and conquest, physical force is at a discount. Reason and justice applied to human affairs mark the spirit of the nineteenth century; and, as has been demonstrated recently, wars may be avoided with safety and honor to a nation. Many of us think that the money now expended on military equipment might be diverted into more useful channels.

Men regard the manly head of the family as its proper representative, but would not exclude the adult sons.

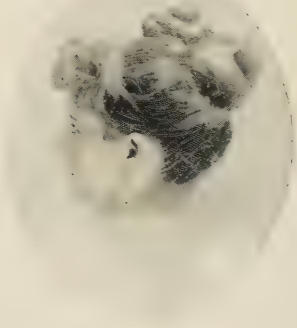
They are dismayed by a vision of women in attendance at caucuses at late hours of the night, but enjoy their presence at entertainments and balls until early dawn. They are shocked at the thought of women at political meetings, but in Canada women have attended such meetings for years at the earnest solicitation of those in charge, and the influence of their presence has been for good.

The often-urged fear that only the degraded would vote, while the intelligent and the virtuous would stand aloof, is fully answered by the fact that the former class have never asked for the ballot, while the women who ask for full suffrage are from among the most-honored women in Canada. Again, it is said that only the strong-minded would vote. We can see no objection to this provided the line be drawn irrespective of sex.

Men would not like to see women exposed to the grossness and vulgarity of public life, they tell us, or have her encounter the rough element one meets at the polls. When we who have mingled among men and women in every walk of life hear men talk of sheltering women from the rough winds and revolting scenes of real life, we pause and wonder if they know whereof they speak, for it seems to us that whatever the man may be, he is known to the woman. She is the companion not only of the accomplished statesman, the orator, and the scholar, but of the vile, the vulgar, yes, and the brutal; all these classes are bound by the ties of family to some women, and if a man

LILLIAN M. N. STEVENS.

MRS. JOHN HARVIE.



GENEVIEVE STEBBINS.

shows out what he is anywhere, it is at his own hearthstone; besides, the women who have voted for years in municipal and school elections attest that even the most degraded are a little more manly at the polls than elsewhere. This is quite natural, for in the eyes of men women voters rank much higher than the disfranchised class.

Those in power always manifest nervous unrest whenever new claims are made by those out of power, even though the request of the claimants may be just and reasonable. They imagine that if the request of the claimant be granted, they must of necessity sacrifice something that they already possess; they can not divest themselves of the idea that individual rights are very much like land, stocks, bonds, and mortgages, and that if every new claimant is satisfied the supply must in time run out, forgetting the fact that in this case it is individual rights, and that though thousands of women may be deprived of the ballot their poverty in this respect does not add to the man's wealth.

We are told that the right of suffrage inheres in the people; women are people. Again, it is said law to bind all should be assented to by all; for that reason women should have a voice in selecting those who make the law.

Men claim the right of the governed and the taxed to a voice in determining by whom they shall be governed, and to what extent taxed. What justification can be offered for the exclusion of women? Women work in the home, but it does not follow that their place is solely in the home, any more than that the farmer should never leave his farm, the mechanic his shop, the teacher his desk, the clergyman his study, or the professional man his office for the purpose of expressing his views at the ballot-box.

It is not enough that men assert the superiority of Canadian women in intelligence and virtue. We want them to consider the gain to the country in their further advancement.

I think that most of us have come to feel that a voice in

the laws is indispensable. Experience has fully proved to us that the influence which we are said to possess is vague and somewhat powerless until coined into law, and that without a direct voice in legislation women's influence is eventually lost. If we have, as is claimed, influence, we should also share in the responsibility, even as we now share with man in his education, his amusements, his work, and his religion. When we are told that politics are unclean, as a remedy we would suggest cleaner politicians. We do not share in the fears of our opponents that politics will degrade women; on the contrary, we believe that women will purify politics. When women vote, the character of candidates will be more closely scrutinized and better officers will be chosen to administer the laws. The polls too will be freed from the vulgarity and coarseness which now too often surround them, and the polling booths, instead of being in stables and kindred places (now thought quite good enough for the electorate), would then be located in more attractive centers.

We believe that when woman takes her place in the body politic, politics will be invested with a dignity and seriousness worthy the science of government.

Man has done well in his onward march, but man alone can not grasp the needs of a whole humanity.

Political questions do not mean merely questions of finance, of currency, of tariffs, and of railways. The great questions of the future will be economic and social ones. Moral questions also are involved, and deeply involved, in politics.

We often hear it asserted that the voice of the people is the voice of God. If that be true the voice of God has never yet been heard in human governments, for half the race is silent.

A Century of Progress for Women in Canada — An Address by A. M. Blakely of Canada, Representative of the Dominion Women's Christian Temperance Union.

The previous speaker has given such an eloquent and exhaustive paper on the progress of women in Canada in general that she has not left much for me to say. I shall therefore confine my remarks to the women of my own northwestern province, Manitoba.

We have large numbers of bright, intelligent women, who have come from some of the best homes of our eastern provinces. Many of them are decidedly more conservative than our American sisters, but are gradually coming to the front on the woman question in all its phases.

We have already municipal and school suffrage. We have not yet had a woman elected to a school board, but one school district has a lady serving as secretary and treasurer. The professions of teaching and medicine are open to our women. Our provincial university admits women, and from year to year numbers of them take the degree of B. A.

I am sorry to say the legal profession has not yet opened its doors to our women. The civil service, however, is open to women. In this department we have one bright example. The accountant of the educational department is a woman. She has full charge of the disbursement of the large legislative grant for our public schools throughout the province. She has performed her work in such a way as to reflect credit on her sex, and to show that women are quite as capable as men of filling such positions.

I have already said that the women of Manitoba are more conservative than the women of the United States. This was clearly demonstrated last winter in the city of Winnipeg when I was arranging to hold the woman's mock parliament, to bring the question of full suffrage for women before the

people, just previous to petitioning our local legislature for the same.

The idea was a new one. I met with no little opposition. Some of our women thought it would be placing ourselves in too conspicuous a position to appear before the public as a parliament of women. After much difficulty I secured the coöperation of twenty-four earnest Christian women. We held our mock parliament in the opera house, and conducted it in accordance with the rules and regulations of our local legislature, with the one exception that we opened the session with prayer. We had five clever lady speakers, three on the government side and two on the opposition. Of course our bill for full franchise was made a government measure. The members of our local legislature, which was then in session, omitted their own evening session and came in a body to our parliament, accepting the front seats, which had been reserved for them. They were both surprised and delighted with the strong arguments and eloquence of the lady speakers, and went away thoroughly convinced that our women are quite as well qualified as men to conduct a parliament. This entertainment did more to educate the people of our province on the franchise question than years of ordinary agitation could have done. A few days later, when our resolution came before the house, not one speaker opposed the principle of the resolution. They promised to give us full suffrage as soon as they were convinced that women really wanted it. They did not wish to impose any added responsibility on us that we might not want. Our Canadian legislators are so considerate. I presume you find them equally so in the United States.

Our province of Manitoba is still young, and our numbers comparatively small, but with the high moral sentiment and the courage of their convictions that many of our women have we expect and intend to take no second place to any province in the Dominion of Canada, or to any state in this grand republic, on the woman question.

DISCUSSION OF THE SAME SUBJECT BY MRS. JOHN HARVIE OF CANADA, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS OF CANADA.

Twenty-five years ago a wonderful change came upon our women, and the first woman's foreign missionary society in Canada was organized in the city of Montreal. That society has grown year by year, and has sent missionaries all over the face of the earth. It was not denominational, and three years ago it died a graceful, natural death because every single denomination in Canada had organized its woman's board of missions. Last year the Woman's Board of Missions in connection with the Methodist church raised thirty-six thousand dollars to send the gospel to China and Japan and the Northwest, and this year the Woman's Board of Missions in connection with the Presbyterian church has raised fifty-eight thousand dollars.

DISCUSSION CONTINUED BY EMILY CUMMINGS OF CANADA.

We have other women in Canada besides white women, and I am going to tell you something about the Indian women. I visited some Indians two years ago who are now in the same condition that the Ontario Indians were one hundred years ago. I visited several tribes of Indians who in dress and habits were thorough savages.

The women are intensely fond of their children, and if a child dies they cut their legs in long gashes, and go around uttering piercing cries of sorrow. To appease the great spirit of the sun they chop off their fingers sometimes. I saw many women with their fingers chopped off for this purpose.

I saw other Indians who had been in contact with white people only a very few years. Something like ten years

ago they were taken in charge by the government, and others have been in contact with civilization for about forty years. They live in neat homes and have nice little farms. A great many of them can read and write, and they are wonderfully advanced when you think it is only forty years since they were like the others I have spoken of.

Coming down to Ontario, let me tell you with pride that we have there an Indian woman who is a noted poetess, who stands high in literature, whose contributions to literature you have often read, I am sure—Pauline Johnson by name. She is a great elocutionist, and is welcomed by large audiences wherever she may appear. Her sister, also, though not a poetess or an orator, is highly thought of in literature, and has contributed to a great many magazines. To show that these women are not the only ones who are advanced, I might say that at our last year's missionary meeting two delegates came from an Indian woman's missionary society, and although they could not understand a word of what was said, a lady interpreted for them, and they discussed all the questions and voted just as intelligently as any white woman in that audience.

The Progress of Women in New South Wales—Address by C. C. Montefiore of Sydney, New South Wales.

It will perhaps not be surprising to those who see the part played by women in the United States to learn that in the Australian colonies also women have for some time past taken a share in the literary, artistic, and university life of our great cities. The principal universities have thrown open their doors to women students, who have not been slow to avail themselves of the advantages thus offered them. There are at present over ninety students at the Sydney University, some studying for medical and others for art degrees. Two women who obtained the

degree of M. A. at the Sydney University were last year appointed tutors to the women students. There are already two women practitioners of medicine in Sydney, who passed all their examinations at the Sydney University in a most creditable manner. One woman who obtained the degree of bachelor in science is now at the head of the Ipswich Girls' Grammar School.

A considerable number of women are now engaged in the active pursuit of journalism as a profession, and from among them and other women of literary tastes has sprung the Women's Literary Society, which, inaugurated in the year 1890 with thirteen members, now numbers over a hundred, and at its bi-monthly meetings debates on various literary and social subjects are held.

At the recent spring exhibition of the Art Society of New South Wales, out of a total of ninety-one exhibitors forty-one were women. In music, toward which there is a strong leaning throughout Australia, the women of New South Wales have not been behindhand. Examinations in connection with Trinity College, London, are held annually in Sydney, a large proportion of women being among the successful candidates. In the Sydney Amateur Orchestral Society there are several women among the first and second violins.

Nor have the women of New South Wales shown themselves behind in their interest in political matters, as is proved by the existence of a womanhood suffrage league, which was established in 1891, and now numbers close upon five hundred members. It may be mentioned that the report of this league for 1893 was printed at an office conducted by women.

There is also a ladies' sanitary association in Sydney which is doing useful work by the dissemination of hygienic principles among the poorer classes.

If this brief record of women's progress in New South Wales should seem small and insignificant it must be borne in mind that these colonies are, comparatively speaking,

young, and that it is only within very recent years that there has been leisure for the cultivation of the higher faculties among either men or women.

Our Debt to Zurich — Address by Helen D. Webster of Massachusetts, Professor in Wellesley College.

This subject, "Our Debt to Zurich," was to have been presented by Frau Dr. Emilie Kempin. Frau Doctor Kempin does not appear, and I must express my deep regret that she is not here. I wish every one of you might hear what we all want to know from the lips of Mrs. Kempin, and my reason for wishing this is that Frau Doctor Kempin has had a remarkable and unique experience at the University of Zurich. She is a graduate of the school of law at this university. You know the saying that it is an ill wind which blows no one good, and it has occurred to me that I can make use of her absence to say something about her. I was myself a student in the school of philosophy at the University of Zurich at the time when Frau Doctor Kempin first made her request to be admitted to the department of law at this university as a professor. The request was a great surprise to the faculty of the university, and immediately, when they were called upon to answer this question, they said, "Can we admit a woman to teach our men law?" They referred to their statutes, and there they saw that German word "Mann" — only the word "Mann"; only men might teach at the University of Zurich. Then there came the question, "Is a woman a man?" This they considered and considered; and as in every question there are two sides, the one side said the German woman is a man; the other side said the German woman is not a man; and the larger number said the latter, and so for a time Frau Doctor Kempin was not allowed to read law to the university students of Zurich. Did Frau Doctor Kempin

immediately retire into a corner and say, "Very well; then I can not"? No. She then said, "I can read lectures of law wherever I will." She announced that in the dining-room of a neighboring place she would read lectures on law; if students wished to come and hear her they might come, and that is what actually happened. She did read lectures on law, and there were students who went to hear her. After that she came, as doubtless you all know, to the United States of America to arouse an interest here among women to study law. She remained in New York City for two years stirring up the women to do what they could toward making a school of law for women. After she had finished this work she returned to Zurich, and again she put the old question to the faculty of the University of Zurich, "Will you allow me to read as a *Privat Docent?*" The question was now for a second time discussed. It was discussed by the faculty of the University of Zurich; it was discussed by the authorities on education for the Republic of Switzerland, and the answer was, "We can not justly exclude women from teaching at the University of Zurich." Now Doctor Kempin, therefore, is one of the faculty of the University of Zurich; one of the first women who ever have taught in a European university — at least I will not say ever, but in this nineteenth century.

And now about our university. Our university, as you know through this experience, has done its utmost for women; and what more can a university do than to teach women and to give them a chance to teach? She has shown her faith in women by doing them justice, and it is for this reason that we have wished to pay to the University at Zurich our grateful homage. The position which the university holds toward woman is a most praiseworthy one. It is not merely because she admits women to all her privileges on the same conditions on which she admits men, for in this she is not alone—other institutions do that; but it is because she has done it simply because it is the just thing to do. It is not because hosts of women have

besieged her doors and have clamored for admission until she could not do otherwise than admit them, but she has done it because it was the simple, the natural, the right thing to do, to admit them to the advantages of the student and to the privileges of the teacher.

At the time that the news reached the United States that Frau Doctor Kempin had been admitted to the teaching corps of the University of Zurich it happened that in the city of Boston the president of Harvard University was addressing large audiences on the subject of education. In one of his lectures he took occasion to say that in women's colleges the equipment was poor and the teaching force was of an inferior quality; that, although women had colleges, yet men had the best colleges. We did not learn that this distinguished lecturer brought out this point for the sake of showing the unfairness of the condition; we did not learn that he himself thought that it ought to be otherwise; we did not hear him say that that school which has grown up by the side of Harvard University, and which has shown itself worthy in every respect, pre-eminently worthy to become an organic part of Harvard University, ought to share the best things which the men of Harvard enjoy. How great the contrast between these two great universities! The women of the world owe it to the University of Zurich that she has struck the key-note of justice to women, thus making the false note of injustice the more distinctly heard around the world. It is not merely in the fact that Zurich teaches women, and also does not deny them the opportunity to teach in her walls, that she has made the women of all the world her debtors. It is in what she teaches, no less than in the fact that she allows women to learn, that she has made women her debtors. She teaches, first of all, the art of plain living and high thinking. She teaches devotion to learning and to science. It is not on her boat-crews, it is not on her trained athletes that she relies for distinction. She does not furnish entertainments for the diversion of her students.

She does not provide amusement for the public in order to win public favor. It is in the achievements of her ablest professors, in the new recruits which she brings to the cause of science, that she crowns her hope. It is in truly cultivating her best intellectual power, in propagating knowledge, and in extending the bounds of the known through original investigation and research, that she looks for her success. Let the women of the world rejoice that opportunities like these are accessible to them. Let them not forget that with all such new privileges which come to them their responsibility is so much increased. Let them remember that the coming centuries are going to answer the question which has been so often asked in the nineteenth century, "Are women capable of performing the tasks which require serious effort of the intellect?"

DISCUSSION OF THE SAME SUBJECT BY KIRSTINE FREDERIKSEN OF DENMARK, PRESIDENT OF THE DANSK KVINDESAMFUND.

Will you permit me to repeat one of the sayings of a distinguished lady who was telling us about the studies and the universities of Europe? I want to repeat this saying because I do want you not to misunderstand it, as you might. She said that Frau Doctor Kempin of Zurich was one of the first ladies to teach in a university of Europe, and I want it to be impressed on you that she is not the first. The first was Professor Karlensky, Russian born, called to Sweden; and this lady died two years ago, in her thirty-fourth year. I think she has achieved as much as hundreds of other women together. She obtained the very highest prize in mathematics in Paris, and did the work so well that the prize was doubled, for they did not know it was a woman when they awarded it to her. And she has made herself noted as one of the very best novelists of Europe; and when she died she was mourned not only in Scandinavia, but to the farthest parts of Europe.

The Intellectual Progress of the Colored Women of the United States since the Emancipation Proclamation — An Address by Fannie Barrier Williams of Illinois.

Less than thirty years ago the term progress as applied to colored women of African descent in the United States would have been an anomaly. The recognition of that term to-day as appropriate is a fact full of interesting significance. That the discussion of progressive womanhood in this great assemblage of the representative women of the world is considered incomplete without some account of the colored women's status is a most noteworthy evidence that we have not failed to impress ourselves on the higher side of American life.

Less is known of our women than of any other class of Americans.

No organization of far-reaching influence for their special advancement, no conventions of women to take note of their progress, and no special literature reciting the incidents, the events, and all things interesting and instructive concerning them are to be found among the agencies directing their career. There has been no special interest in their peculiar condition as native-born American women. Their power to affect the social life of America, either for good or for ill, has excited not even a speculative interest.

Though there is much that is sorrowful, much that is wonderfully heroic, and much that is romantic in a peculiar way in their history, none of it has as yet been told as evidence of what is possible for these women. How few of the happy, prosperous, and eager living Americans can appreciate what it all means to be suddenly changed from irresponsible bondage to the responsibility of freedom and citizenship!

The distress of it all can never be told, and the pain of it all can never be felt except by the victims, and by those

saintly women of the white race who for thirty years have been consecrated to the uplifting of a whole race of women from a long-enforced degradation.

The American people have always been impatient of ignorance and poverty. They believe with Emerson that "America is another word for opportunity," and for that reason success is a virtue and poverty and ignorance are inexcusable. This may account for the fact that our women have excited no general sympathy in the struggle to emancipate themselves from the demoralization of slavery. This new life of freedom, with its far-reaching responsibilities, had to be learned by these children of darkness mostly without a guide, a teacher, or a friend. In the mean vocabulary of slavery there was no definition of any of the virtues of life. The meaning of such precious terms as marriage, wife, family, and home could not be learned in a school-house. The blue-back speller, the arithmetic, and the copy-book contain no magical cures for inherited inaptitudes for the moralities. Yet it must ever be counted as one of the most wonderful things in human history how promptly and eagerly these suddenly liberated women tried to lay hold upon all that there is in human excellence. There is a touching pathos in the eagerness of these millions of new home-makers to taste the blessedness of intelligent womanhood. The path of progress in the picture is enlarged so as to bring to view these trustful and zealous students of freedom and civilization striving to overtake and keep pace with women whose emancipation has been a slow and painful process for a thousand years. The longing to be something better than they were when freedom found them has been the most notable characteristic in the development of these women. This constant striving for equality has given an upward direction to all the activities of colored women.

Freedom at once widened their vision beyond the mean cabin life of their bondage. Their native gentleness, good cheer, and hopefulness made them susceptible to those

teachings that make for intelligence and righteousness. Sullenness of disposition, hatefulness, and revenge against the master class because of two centuries of ill-treatment are not in the nature of our women.

But a better view of what our women are doing and what their present status is may be had by noticing some lines of progress that are easily verifiable.

First it should be noticed that separate facts and figures relative to colored women are not easily obtainable. Among the white women of the country independence, progressive intelligence, and definite interests have done so much that nearly every fact and item illustrative of their progress and status is classified and easily accessible. Our women, on the contrary, have had no advantage of interests peculiar and distinct and separable from those of men that have yet excited public attention and kindly recognition.

In their religious life, however, our women show a progressiveness parallel in every important particular to that of white women in all Christian churches. It has always been a circumstance of the highest satisfaction to the missionary efforts of the Christian church that the colored people are so susceptible to a religion that marks the highest point of blessedness in human history.

Instead of finding witchcraft, sensual fetiches, and the coarse superstitions of savagery possessing our women, Christianity found them with hearts singularly tender, sympathetic, and fit for the reception of its doctrines. Their superstitions were not deeply ingrained, but were of the same sort and nature that characterize the devotees of the Christian faith everywhere.

While there has been but little progress toward the growing rationalism in the Christian creeds, there has been a marked advance toward a greater refinement of conception, good taste, and the proprieties. It is our young women coming out of the schools and academies that have been insisting upon a more godly and cultivated ministry. It is the young women of a new generation and new inspirations

that are making tramps of the ministers who once dominated the colored church, and whose intelligence and piety were mostly in their lungs. In this new and growing religious life the colored people have laid hold of those sweeter influences of the King's Daughters, of the Christian Endeavor and Helping Hand societies, which are doing much to elevate the tone of worship and to magnify all that there is blessed in religion.

Another evidence of growing intelligence is a sense of religious discrimination among our women. Like the nineteenth century woman generally, our women find congeniality in all the creeds, from the Catholic creed to the no-creed of Emerson. There is a constant increase of this interesting variety in the religious life of our women.

Closely allied to this religious development is their progress in the work of education in schools and colleges. For thirty years education has been the magic word among the colored people of this country. That their greatest need was education in its broadest sense was understood by these people more strongly than it could be taught to them. It is the unvarying testimony of every teacher in the South that the mental development of the colored women as well as men has been little less than phenomenal. In twenty-five years, and under conditions discouraging in the extreme, thousands of our women have been educated as teachers. They have adapted themselves to the work of mentally lifting a whole race of people so eagerly and readily that they afford an apt illustration of the power of self-help. Not only have these women become good teachers in less than twenty-five years, but many of them are the prize teachers in the mixed schools of nearly every Northern city.

These women have also so fired the hearts of the race for education that colleges, normal schools, industrial schools, and universities have been reared by a generous public to meet the requirements of these eager students of intelligent citizenship. As American women generally are fighting against the nineteenth century narrowness that still keeps

women out of the higher institutions of learning, so our women are eagerly demanding the best of education open to their race. They continually verify what President Rankin of Howard University recently said, "Any theory of educating the Afro-American that does not throw open the golden gates of the highest culture will fail on the ethical and spiritual side."

It is thus seen that our women have the same spirit and mettle that characterize the best of American women. Everywhere they are following in the tracks of those women who are swiftest in the race for higher knowledge.

To-day they feel strong enough to ask for but one thing, and that is the same opportunity for the acquisition of all kinds of knowledge that may be accorded to other women. This granted, in the next generation these progressive women will be found successfully occupying every field where the highest intelligence alone is admissible. In less than another generation American literature, American art, and American music will be enriched by productions having new and peculiar features of interest and excellence.

The exceptional career of our women will yet stamp itself indelibly upon the thought of this country.

American literature needs for its greater variety and its deeper soundings that which will be written into it out of the hearts of these self-emancipating women.

The great problems of social reform that are now so engaging the highest intelligence of American women will soon need for their solution the reinforcement of that new intelligence which our women are developing. In short, our women are ambitious to be contributors to all the great moral and intellectual forces that make for the greater weal of our common country.

If this hope seems too extravagant to those of you who know these women only in their humbler capacities, I would remind you that all that we hope for and will certainly achieve in authorship and practical intelligence is more than prophesied by what has already been done, and more

OCTAVIA WILLIAMS BATES.

MARY MCDONNEL.

SIGRID STORCKENFELDT.

that can be done, by hundreds of Afro-American women whose talents are now being expended in the struggle against race resistance.

The power of organized womanhood is one of the most interesting studies of modern sociology. Formerly women knew so little of each other mentally, their common interests were so sentimental and gossipy, and their knowledge of all the larger affairs of human society was so meager that organization among them, in the modern sense, was impossible. Now their liberal intelligence, their contact in all the great interests of education, and their increasing influence for good in all the great reformatory movements of the age has created in them a greater respect for each other, and furnished the elements of organization for large and splendid purposes. The highest ascendancy of woman's development has been reached when they have become mentally strong enough to find bonds of association interwoven with sympathy, loyalty, and mutual trustfulness. To-day union is the watchword of woman's onward march.

If it be a fact that this spirit of organization among women generally is the distinguishing mark of the nineteenth century woman, dare we ask if the colored women of the United States have made any progress in this respect?

For peculiar and painful reasons the great lessons of fraternity and altruism are hard for the colored women to learn. Emancipation found the colored Americans of the South with no sentiments of association. It will be admitted that race misfortune could scarcely go further when the terms fraternity, friendship, and unity had no meaning for its men and women.

If within thirty years they have begun to recognize the blessed significance of these vital terms of human society, confidence in their social development should be strengthened. In this important work of bringing the race together to know itself and to unite in work for a common destiny, the women have taken a leading part.

Benevolence is the essence of most of the colored

women's organizations. The humane side of their natures has been cultivated to recognize the duties they owe to the sick, the indigent and ill-fortuned. No church, school, or charitable institution for the special use of colored people has been allowed to languish or fail when the associated efforts of the women could save it.

It is highly significant and interesting to note that these women, whose hearts have been wrung by all kinds of sorrows, are abundantly manifesting those gracious qualities of heart that characterize women of the best type. These kinder sentiments arising from mutual interests that are lifting our women into purer and tenderer relationship to each other, and are making the meager joys and larger griefs of our conditions known to each other, have been a large part of their education.

The hearts of Afro-American women are too warm and too large for race hatred. Long suffering has so chastened them that they are developing a special sense of sympathy for all who suffer and fail of justice. All the associated interests of church, temperance, and social reform in which American women are winning distinction can be wonderfully advanced when our women shall be welcomed as co-workers, and estimated solely by what they are worth to the moral elevation of all the people.

I regret the necessity of speaking to the question of the moral progress of our women, because the morality of our home life has been commented upon so disparagingly and meanly that we are placed in the unfortunate position of being defenders of our name.

It is proper to state, with as much emphasis as possible, that all questions relative to the moral progress of the colored women of America are impertinent and unjustly suggestive when they relate to the thousands of colored women in the North who were free from the vicious influences of slavery. They are also meanly suggestive as regards thousands of our women in the South whose force of character enabled them to escape the slavery taints of

immorality. The question of the moral progress of colored women in the United States has force and meaning in this discussion only so far as it tells the story of how the once-enslaved women have been struggling for twenty-five years to emancipate themselves from the demoralization of their enslavement.

While I duly appreciate the offensiveness of all references to American slavery, it is unavoidable to charge to that system every moral imperfection that mars the character of the colored American. The whole life and power of slavery depended upon an enforced degradation of everything human in the slaves. The slave code recognized only animal distinctions between the sexes, and ruthlessly ignored those ordinary separations that belong to the social state.

It is a great wonder that two centuries of such demoralization did not work a complete extinction of all the moral instincts. But the recuperative power of these women to regain their moral instincts and to establish a respectable relationship to American womanhood is among the earlier evidences of their moral ability to rise above their conditions. In spite of a cursed heredity that bound them to the lowest social level, in spite of everything that is unfortunate and unfavorable, these women have continually shown an increasing degree of teachableness as to the meaning of woman's relationship to man.

Out of this social purification and moral uplift have come a chivalric sentiment and regard from the young men of the race that give to the young women a new sense of protection. I do not wish to disturb the serenity of this conference by suggesting why this protection is needed and the kind of men against whom it is needed.

It is sufficient for us to know that the daughters of women who thirty years ago were not allowed to be modest, not allowed to follow the instincts of moral rectitude, who could cry for protection to no living man, have so elevated the moral tone of their social life that new and purer

standards of personal worth have been created, and new ideals of womanhood, instinct with grace and delicacy, are everywhere recognized and emulated.

This moral regeneration of a whole race of women is no idle sentiment — it is a serious business; and everywhere there is witnessed a feverish anxiety to be free from the mean suspicions that have so long underestimated the character strength of our women.

These women are not satisfied with the unmistakable fact that moral progress has been made, but they are fervently impatient and stirred by a sense of outrage under the vile imputations of a diseased public opinion.

Loves that are free from the dross of coarseness, affections that are unsullied, and a proper sense of all the sanctities of human intercourse felt by thousands of these women all over the land plead for the recognition of their fitness to be judged, not by the standards of slavery, but by the higher standards of freedom and of twenty-five years of education, culture, and moral contact.

The moral aptitudes of our women are just as strong and just as weak as those of any other American women with like advantages of intelligence and environment.

It may now perhaps be fittingly asked, What mean all these evidences of mental, social, and moral progress of a class of American women of whom you know so little? Certainly you can not be indifferent to the growing needs and importance of women who are demonstrating their intelligence and capacity for the highest privileges of freedom.

The most important thing to be noted is the fact that the colored people of America have reached a distinctly new era in their career so quickly that the American mind has scarcely had time to recognize the fact, and adjust itself to the new requirements of the people in all things that pertain to citizenship.

Thirty years ago public opinion recognized no differences in the colored race. To our great misfortune public opinion has changed but slightly. History is full of examples of

the great injustice resulting from the perversity of public opinion, and its tardiness in recognizing new conditions.

It seems to daze the understanding of the ordinary citizen that there are thousands of men and women everywhere among us who in twenty-five years have progressed as far away from the non-progressive peasants of the "black belt" of the South as the highest social life in New England is above the lowest levels of American civilization.

This general failure of the American people to know the new generation of colored people, and to recognize this important change in them, is the cause of more injustice to our women than can well be estimated. Further progress is everywhere seriously hindered by this ignoring of their improvement.

Our exclusion from the benefits of the fair play sentiment of the country is little less than a crime against the ambitions and aspirations of a whole race of women. The American people are but repeating the common folly of history in thus attempting to repress the yearnings of progressive humanity.

In the item of employment colored women bear a distressing burden of mean and unreasonable discrimination. A Southern teacher of thirty years' experience in the South writes that "one million possibilities of good through black womanhood all depend upon an opportunity to make a living."

It is almost literally true that, except teaching in colored schools and menial work, colored women can find no employment in this free America. They are the only women in the country for whom real ability, virtue, and special talents count for nothing when they become applicants for respectable employment. Taught everywhere in ethics and social economy that merit always wins, colored women carefully prepare themselves for all kinds of occupation only to meet with stern refusal, rebuff, and disappointment. One of countless instances will show how the best as well as the meanest of American society are responsible for the special injustice to our women.

Not long ago I presented the case of a bright young woman to a well-known bank president of Chicago, who was in need of a thoroughly competent stenographer and typewriter. The president was fully satisfied with the young woman as exceptionally qualified for the position, and manifested much pleasure in commending her to the directors for appointment, and at the same time disclaimed that there could be any opposition on account of the slight tinge of African blood that identified her as a colored woman. Yet, when the matter was brought before the directors for action, these mighty men of money and business, these men whose prominence in all the great interests of the city would seem to lift them above all narrowness and foolishness, scented the African taint, and at once bravely came to the rescue of the bank and of society by dashing the hopes of this capable yet helpless young woman. No other question but that of color determined the action of these men, many of whom are probably foremost members of the humane society and heavy contributors to foreign missions and church extension work.

This question of employment for the trained talents of our women is a most serious one. Refusal of such employment because of color belies every maxim of justice and fair play. Such refusal takes the blessed meaning out of all the teachings of our civilization, and sadly confuses our conceptions of what is just, humane, and moral.

Can the people of this country afford to single out the women of a whole race of people as objects of their special contempt? Do these women not belong to a race that has never faltered in its support of the country's flag in every war since Attucks fell in Boston's streets?

Are they not the daughters of men who have always been true as steel against treason to everything fundamental and splendid in the republic? In short, are these women not as thoroughly American in all the circumstances of citizenship as the best citizens of our country?

If it be so, are we not justified in a feeling of desperation

against that peculiar form of Americanism that shows respect for our women as servants and contempt for them when they become women of culture? We have never been taught to understand why the unwritten law of chivalry, protection, and fair play that are everywhere the conservators of women's welfare must exclude every woman of a dark complexion.

We believe that the world always needs the influence of every good and capable woman, and this rule recognizes no exceptions based on complexion. In their complaint against hindrances to their employment colored women ask for no special favors.

They are even willing to bring to every position fifty per cent more of ability than is required of any other class of women. They plead for opportunities untrammeled by prejudice. They plead for the right of the individual to be judged, not by tradition and race estimate, but by the present evidences of individual worth. We believe this country is large enough and the opportunities for all kinds of success are great enough to afford our women a fair chance to earn a respectable living, and to win every prize within the reach of their capabilities.

Another, and perhaps more serious, hindrance to our women is that nightmare known as "social equality." The term equality is the most inspiring word in the vocabulary of citizenship. It expresses the leveling quality in all the splendid possibilities of American life. It is this idea of equality that has made room in this country for all kinds and conditions of men, and made personal merit the supreme requisite for all kinds of achievement.

When the colored people became citizens, and found it written deep in the organic law of the land that they too had the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, they were at once suspected of wishing to interpret this maxim of equality as meaning social equality.

Everywhere the public mind has been filled with constant alarm lest in some way our women shall approach the social

sphere of the dominant race in this country. Men and women, wise and perfectly sane in all things else, become instantly unwise and foolish at the remotest suggestion of social contact with colored men and women. At every turn in our lives we meet this fear, and are humiliated by its aggressiveness and meanness. If we seek the sanctities of religion, the enlightenment of the university, the honors of politics, and the natural recreations of our common country, the social equality alarm is instantly given, and our aspirations are insulted. "Beware of social equality with the colored American" is thus written on all places, sacred or profane, in this blessed land of liberty. The most discouraging and demoralizing effect of this false sentiment concerning us is that it utterly ignores individual merit and discredits the sensibilities of intelligent womanhood. The sorrows and heartaches of a whole race of women seem to be matters of no concern to the people who so dread the social possibilities of these colored women.

On the other hand, our women have been wonderfully indifferent and unconcerned about the matter. The dread inspired by the growing intelligence of colored women has interested us almost to the point of amusement. It has given to colored women a new sense of importance to witness how easily their emancipation and steady advancement is disturbing all classes of American people. It may not be a discouraging circumstance that colored women can command some sort of attention, even though they be misunderstood. We believe in the law of reaction, and it is reasonably certain that the forces of intelligence and character being developed in our women will yet change mistrustfulness into confidence and contempt into sympathy and respect. It will soon appear to those who are not hopelessly monomaniacs on the subject that the colored people are in no way responsible for the social equality nonsense. We shall yet be credited with knowing better than our enemies that social equality can neither be enforced by law nor prevented by oppression. Though

not philosophers, we long since learned that equality before the law, equality in the best sense of that term under our institutions, is totally different from social equality.

We know, without being exceptional students of history, that the social relationship of the two races will be adjusted equitably in spite of all fear and injustice, and that there is a social gravitation in human affairs that eventually overwhelms and crushes into nothingness all resistance based on prejudice and selfishness.

Our chief concern in this false social sentiment is that it attempts to hinder our further progress toward the higher spheres of womanhood. On account of it, young colored women of ambition and means are compelled in many instances to leave the country for training and education in the salons and studios of Europe. On many of the railroads of this country women of refinement and culture are driven like cattle into human cattle-cars lest the occupying of an individual seat paid for in a first-class car may result in social equality. This social quarantine on all means of travel in certain parts of the country is guarded and enforced more rigidly against us than the quarantine regulations against cholera.

Without further particularizing as to how this social question opposes our advancement, it may be stated that the contentions of colored women are in kind like those of other American women for greater freedom of development. Liberty to be all that we can be, without artificial hindrances, is a thing no less precious to us than to women generally.

We come before this assemblage of women feeling confident that our progress has been along high levels and rooted deeply in the essentials of intelligent humanity. We are so essentially American in speech, in instincts, in sentiments and destiny that the things that interest you equally interest us.

We believe that social evils are dangerously contagious. The fixed policy of persecution and injustice against a class

of women who are weak and defenseless will be necessarily hurtful to the cause of all women. Colored women are becoming more and more a part of the social forces that must help to determine the questions that so concern women generally. In this Congress we ask to be known and recognized for what we are worth. If it be the high purpose of these deliberations to lessen the resistance to woman's progress, you can not fail to be interested in our struggles against the many oppositions that harass us.

Women who are tender enough in heart to be active in humane societies, to be foremost in all charitable activities, who are loving enough to unite Christian womanhood everywhere against the sin of intemperance, ought to be instantly concerned in the plea of colored women for justice and humane treatment. Women of the dominant race can not afford to be responsible for the wrongs we suffer, since those who do injustice can not escape a certain penalty.

But there is no wish to overstate the obstacles to colored women or to picture their status as hopeless. There is no disposition to take our place in this Congress as faultfinders or suppliants for mercy. As women of a common country, with common interests, and a destiny that will certainly bring us closer to each other, we come to this altar with our contribution of hopefulness as well as with our complaints.

When you learn that womanhood everywhere among us is blossoming out into greater fullness of everything that is sweet, beautiful, and good in woman; when you learn that the bitterness of our experience as citizen-women has not hardened our finer feelings of love and pity for our enemies; when you learn that fierce opposition to the widening spheres of our employment has not abated the aspirations of our women to enter successfully into all the professions and arts open only to intelligence, and that everywhere in the wake of enlightened womanhood our women are seen and felt for the good they diffuse, this Congress will at once see the fullness of our fellowship, and

help us to avert the arrows of prejudice that pierce the soul because of the color of our bodies.

If the love of humanity more than the love of races and sex shall pulsate throughout all the grand results that shall issue to the world from this parliament of women, women of African descent in the United States will for the first time begin to feel the sweet release from the blighting thrall of prejudice.

The colored women, as well as all women, will realize that the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness is a maxim that will become more blessed in its significance when the hand of woman shall take it from its sepulture in books and make it the gospel of every-day life and the unerring guide in the relations of all men, women, and children.

DISCUSSION OF THE SAME SUBJECT BY MRS. A. J. COOPER OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

The higher fruits of civilization can not be extemporized, neither can they be developed normally, in the brief space of thirty years. It requires the long and painful growth of generations. Yet all through the darkest period of the colored women's oppression in this country her yet unwritten history is full of heroic struggle, a struggle against fearful and overwhelming odds, that often ended in a horrible death, to maintain and protect that which woman holds dearer than life. The painful, patient, and silent toil of mothers to gain a fee simple title to the bodies of their daughters, the despairing fight, as of an entrapped tigress, to keep hallowed their own persons, would furnish material for epics. That more went down under the flood than stemmed the current is not extraordinary. The majority of our women are not heroines — but I do not know that a majority of any race of women are heroines. It is enough for me to know that while in the eyes of the highest tribu-

nal in America she was deemed no more than a chattel, an irresponsible thing, a dull block, to be drawn hither or thither at the volition of an owner, the Afro-American woman maintained ideals of womanhood unshamed by any ever conceived. Resting or fermenting in untutored minds, such ideals could not claim a hearing at the bar of the nation. The white woman could at least plead for her own emancipation; the black woman, doubly enslaved, could but suffer and struggle and be silent. I speak for the colored women of the South, because it is there that the millions of blacks in this country have watered the soil with blood and tears, and it is there too that the colored woman of America has made her characteristic history, and there her destiny is evolving. Since emancipation the movement has been at times confused and stormy, so that we could not always tell whether we were going forward or groping in a circle. We hardly knew what we ought to emphasize, whether education or wealth, or civil freedom and recognition. We were utterly destitute. Possessing no homes nor the knowledge of how to make them, no money nor the habit of acquiring it, no education, no political status, no influence, what could we do? But as Frederick Douglass had said in darker days than those, "One with God is a majority," and our ignorance had hedged us in from the fine-spun theories of agnostics. We had remaining at least a simple faith that a just God is on the throne of the universe, and that somehow — we could not see, nor did we bother our heads to try to tell how — he would in his own good time make all right that seemed most wrong.

Schools were established, not merely public day-schools, but home training and industrial schools, at Hampton, at Fiske, Atlanta, Raleigh, and other central stations, and later, through the energy of the colored people themselves, such schools as the Wilberforce, the Livingstone, the Allen, and the Paul Quinn were opened. These schools were almost without exception co-educational. Funds were too limited to be divided on sex lines, even had it been ideally

desirable; but our girls as well as our boys flocked in and battled for an education. Not even then was that patient, untrumpeted heroine, the slave-mother, released from self-sacrifice, and many an unbuttered crust was eaten in silent content that she might eke out enough from her poverty to send her young folks off to school. She "never had the chance," she would tell you, with tears on her withered cheek, so she wanted them to get all they could. The work in these schools, and in such as these, has been like the little leaven hid in the measure of meal, permeating life throughout the length and breadth of the Southland, lifting up ideals of home and of womanhood; diffusing a contagious longing for higher living and purer thinking, inspiring woman herself with a new sense of her dignity in the eternal purposes of nature. To-day there are twenty-five thousand five hundred and thirty colored schools in the United States with one million three hundred and fifty-three thousand three hundred and fifty-two pupils of both sexes. This is not quite the thirtieth year since their emancipation, and the colored people hold in landed property for churches and schools twenty-five million dollars. Two and one-half million colored children have learned to read and write, and twenty-two thousand nine hundred and fifty-six colored men and women (mostly women) are teaching in these schools. According to Doctor Rankin, President of Howard University, there are two hundred and forty-seven colored students (a large percentage of whom are women) now preparing themselves in the universities of Europe. Of other colleges which give the B. A. course to women, and are broad enough not to erect barriers against colored applicants, Oberlin, the first to open its doors to both woman and the negro, has given classical degrees to six colored women, one of whom, the first and most eminent, Fannie Jackson Coppin, we shall listen to to-night. Ann Arbor and Wellesley have each graduated three of our women; Cornell University one, who is now professor of sciences in a Washington high school. A

former pupil of my own from the Washington High School, who was snubbed by Vassar, has since carried off honors in a competitive examination in Chicago University. The medical and law colleges of the country are likewise bombarded by colored women, and every year some sister of the darker race claims their professional award of "well done." Eminent in their profession are Doctor Dillon and Doctor Jones, and there sailed to Africa last month a demure little brown woman who had just outstripped a whole class of men in a medical college in Tennessee.

In organized efforts for self-help and benevolence also our women have been active. The Colored Women's League, of which I am at present corresponding secretary, has active, energetic branches in the South and West. The branch in Kansas City, with a membership of upward of one hundred and fifty, already has begun under their vigorous president, Mrs. Yates, the erection of a building for friendless girls. Mrs. Coppin will, I hope, herself tell you something of her own magnificent creation of an industrial society in Philadelphia. The women of the Washington branch of the league have subscribed to a fund of about five thousand dollars to erect a woman's building for educational and industrial work, which is also to serve as headquarters for gathering and disseminating general information relating to the efforts of our women. This is just a glimpse of what we are doing.

Now, I think if I could crystallize the sentiment of my constituency, and deliver it as a message to this congress of women, it would be something like this: Let woman's claim be as broad in the concrete as in the abstract. We take our stand on the solidarity of humanity, the oneness of life, and the unnaturalness and injustice of all special favoritisms, whether of sex, race, country, or condition. If one link of the chain be broken, the chain is broken. A bridge is no stronger than its weakest part, and a cause is not worthier than its weakest element. Least of all can woman's cause afford to decry the weak. We want, then,

as toilers for the universal triumph of justice and human rights, to go to our homes from this Congress, demanding an entrance not through a gateway for ourselves, our race, our sex, or our sect, but a grand highway for humanity. The colored woman feels that woman's cause is one and universal; and that not till the image of God, whether in parian or ebony, is sacred and inviolable; not till race, color, sex, and condition are seen as the accidents, and not the substance of life; not till the universal title of humanity to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness is conceded to be inalienable to all; not till then is woman's lesson taught and woman's cause won — not the white woman's, nor the black woman's, nor the red woman's, but the cause of every man and of every woman who has writhed silently under a mighty wrong. Woman's wrongs are thus indissolubly linked with all undefended woe, and the acquirement of her "rights" will mean the final triumph of all right over might, the supremacy of the moral forces of reason, and justice, and love in the government of the nations of earth.

DISCUSSION CONTINUED BY FANNIE JACKSON COPPIN OF PENNSYLVANIA.

This conference can not be indifferent to the history of the colored women of America, for if we have been able to accomplish anything whatever in what are considered the higher studies, or if we have been able to achieve anything by heroic living and thinking, all the more can you achieve it. It is an unanswerable argument for every woman's claim. If we fight the battle, all the more can you win it. Therefore you know this is not simply a side issue in which you feel that out of consideration for a certain class of people you ask them to give the history of their life. I have often thought of you when the battle went hard with me, and when it was impossible for me to gain the encouragement I might have gained by looking upon the faces of

the best people of America; for whatever may be said of what we have had to suffer in this country, we have never had to suffer from the best people. The opposition, and the trials, and the oppression and depression and suppression have always come from the middle and lower classes, and that has grown out of their very poor education. And now what is the hope for the future? Every hope.

I wish by no means to be among that class of people that counsel words without knowledge. We, as a people, have suffered greatly from what may be termed the "sizing up," and the regulation "putting down," and setting forth of what it was possible for us to do.

Our idea of getting an education did not come out of wanting to imitate any one whatever. It grew out of the uneasiness and the restlessness of the desires we felt within us; the desire to know, not just a little, but a great deal. We wanted to know how to calculate an eclipse, to know what Hesiod and Livy thought; we wished to know the best thoughts of the best minds that lived with us; not merely to gain an honest livelihood, but from a God-given love of all that is beautiful and best, and because we thought we could do it.

If black girls can calculate equations and logarithms as I saw them doing yesterday, how much more could you with your higher inheritance do? Do you consider that you owe us an obligation for that?

There was a single word used in the address that I heard this evening that I can not hear without having permission to reply. What is that word? We, as you know, are classed among the working people, and so when the days of slavery were over, and we wanted an education, people said, "What are you going to do with an education?" You know yourselves you have been met with a great many arguments of that kind. Why educate the woman—what will she do with it? An impertinent question, and an unwise one. Rather ask, "What will she be with it?" We are getting a better education all through America. I can not think that the

selfishness, the discourtesy that would push down a poor, weak, innocent creature because it could not protect itself will long remain in America. It is bound to succumb to the better education that is everywhere being given, till people will call it after awhile by its right name, viz.: very bad manners. Nobody can be considered well-bred who would cause an inoffensive traveler to leave the table to himself.

At the close of Mrs. Coppin's remarks the audience insisted upon hearing from Hon. Frederick Douglass, who was present upon the platform. Mr. Douglass spoke as follows: *

I have heard to night what I hardly expected ever to live to hear. I have heard refined, educated colored ladies addressing — and addressing successfully — one of the most intelligent white audiences that I ever looked upon. It is the new thing under the sun, and my heart is too full to speak; my mind is too much illuminated with hope and with expectation for the race in seeing this sign.

Fifty years ago and more I was alone in the wilderness, telling my story of the wrongs of slavery, and imploring the justice, the humanity, the sympathy, the patriotism, and every other good quality of the American heart to do away with slavery; and you can easily see that when I hear such speeches as I have heard this evening from our women — our women — I feel a sense of gratitude to Almighty God that I have lived to see what I now see. It seems to me that we are not living in the old world I was born into, but in the one seen by John in the apocalyptic vision. A new heaven is dawning upon us, and a new earth is ours, in which all discriminations against men and women on account of color and sex is passing away, and will pass away; and as John said there

* Mr. Douglass was the only man who, after the opening session, spoke in the General Congress. The occasion was of such historical significance that the editor feels justified in reproducing Mr. Douglass' address here, notwithstanding the published declaration that no one would be permitted to speak in the congress whose name did not appear on the programme.

would be no more sea after they had been surrounded on that desolate island so long, so I say there is a time coming when prejudices, discriminations, proscriptions, and persecutions on account of what is accidental will all pass away, and this great country of ours will be possessed by a composite nation of the grandest possible character, made up of all races, kindreds, tongues, and peoples.

Dear friends, I am full and you are full. You have heard more to-night than you will remember, perhaps, but the grand spirit which has proceeded from this platform will live in your memory and work in your lives always.

The Organized Efforts of the Colored Women of the South to Improve Their Condition — An Address by Sarah J. Early of Tennessee.

In this age of development and advancement all the forces which have been accumulating for centuries past seem to be concentrated in one grand effort to raise mankind to that degree of intellectual and moral excellence which a wise and beneficent Creator designed that he should enjoy. No class of persons is exempt from this great impulse. The most unlettered, the most remote and obscure, as well as the most refined and erudite seem to have felt the touch of an unseen power, and to have heard a mysterious voice calling them to ascend higher in the scale of being. It is not a strange coincidence, then, that in this period of restlessness and activity the women of all lands should simultaneously see the necessity of taking a more exalted position, and of seeking a more effective way of ascending to the same plane, and assuming the more responsible duties of life with her favored brother.

In organization is found all the elements of success in any enterprise, and by this method alone are developed the force and ability that have reared the grand structure of human society. God intended that man should be a social

being, for he has given to no one individual the genius to construct by his efforts alone the complex edifice.

Step by step, as the dark cloud of ignorance and superstition is dispelled by the penetrating rays of the light of eternal truth, men begin to think, and thought brings revolution, and revolution changes the condition of men and leads them into a happier and brighter existence. So have the great revolutions of the age affected the condition of the colored people of the Southern States, and brought them into a more hopeful relation to the world. When they emerged from the long night of oppression, which shrouded their minds in darkness, crushed the energies of their soul, robbed them of every inheritance save their trust in God, they found themselves penniless, homeless, destitute, with thousands of aged and infirm and helpless left on their hands to support, and poverty and inexperience prevailing everywhere. To improve their social condition was the first impulse of their nature. For this purpose they began immediately to organize themselves into mutual aid societies, the object of which was to assist the more destitute, to provide for the sick, to bury the dead, to provide a fund for orphans and widows. These societies were the beginning of their strength, the groundwork of their future advancement and permanent elevation. They were constructed with admirable skill and harmony. Excellent charters were secured, and the constitution and by-laws were adhered to with remarkable fidelity. The membership increased rapidly, and the funds in the treasuries grew daily. The women, being organized separately, conducted their societies with wonderful wisdom and forethought. Their influence for good was felt in every community, and they found themselves drawn together by a friendly interest which greatly enhanced the blessings of life. Their sick and dead and orphans have been properly cared for. Thus our people have shown a self-dependence scarcely equaled by any other people, a refined sensibility in denying themselves the necessities of life to save thousands of children from want

and adults from public charity; in screening them from the stinging arrows of the tongue of slander and the carping criticisms of a relentless foe.

These organizations number at least five thousand and carry a membership of at least a half-million women. They have widened into State societies, and some of the stronger bodies into national organizations, meeting in annual assemblies to transact business and to discuss their future well-being. They have in some States built and sustained orphans' homes, and in others purchased their own cemeteries. They have built commodious halls for renting purposes; they have assisted in building churches and other benevolent institutions. They have granted large death benefits, and thus provided homes for many orphan children, and have deposited large sums in savings banks for future use. Should the question be asked what benefit has accrued from these organized efforts, we answer, much in every way. Their organizations have bound the women together in a common interest so strong that no earthly force can sever it. Organization has taught them the art of self-government, and has prepared the way for future and grander organizations. By their frequent convocations and discussions their intellectual powers have been expanded and their judgment has been enlightened. Organization has given hope for a better future by revealing to colored women their own executive ability. It has stimulated them to acquire wealth by teaching them to husband their means properly. It has intensified their religion by giving them a more exalted idea of God through a constant survey of his goodness and mercies toward them. It has refined their morality through adherence to their most excellent constitutions and by-laws. It has assisted in raising them from a condition of helplessness and destitution to a state of self-dependence and prosperity; and now they stand a grand sisterhood, nearly one million strong, bound together by the strongest ties of which the human mind can conceive, being loyal to their race, loyal to the government, and loyal to their God.

Having thus provided for their future well-being, their attention was turned to the spread of the gospel. With hearts glowing with the love of God, they longed to assist in building up his kingdom on earth. Many devout women joined themselves into missionary societies to obtain means with which to send the gospel to other parts of the world more destitute than their own. They were auxiliary to the churches of various denominations, and multiplied until their scanty donations amounted to sums sufficient to accomplish much good in the Master's cause. On the women's part in the African Methodist Episcopal church they have donated the sum of thirty thousand dollars, and a like amount in each of the five other leading denominations. The Presbyterian Home and Foreign Missionary Society sustains missions in West Africa, the West Indies, the Bermuda Islands, South America, and the islands of Hayti and St. Thomas. The home missions of the various denominations occupy the time of more than one thousand ministers. About the year 1890 the women of the African Methodist Episcopal church formed a mite missionary society, which has its auxiliary branches all over the Union. They now labor assiduously for the advancement of the foreign missions they had prayed for. They believe in him who blessed the widow's mite, and who pronounced a divine benediction on the modest disciple who had done what she could.

This organization raises two thousand dollars annually, sustaining two or three missionaries in Hayti, and assists in the Bermuda and West African missions. The aggregate of all the money raised annually by the colored churches amounts to over half a million of dollars, and by far the greater share is raised by the women.

Many a benighted heathen has heard the gospel through their instrumentalities. By their efforts they themselves have become better informed concerning the gospel, and better acquainted with the world and its inhabitants. In trying to raise others they have learned to look up from

their toilsome and abject present to a brighter and more glorious future. They have learned to exalt the goodness of God as manifest in the sanctification of their work to his honor and glory. This has raised in them a holy ambition to accomplish greater good for their fellow-men.

The colored women of the Southern States have not been indifferent to the necessity of guarding their homes against the pernicious influences of the drinking system. They have begun to fortify themselves against the most powerful of all enemies — strong drink. Woman's Christian temperance unions have been formed in all Southern States, into which many hundreds have gathered, who work with much patience and diligence. Hospital work, prison work, social purity, and flower mission work, and the distribution of literature among all classes of persons have been performed faithfully, and many erring and destitute souls have felt the tenderness and shared the bounty of the benevolent hearts and ready hands of the colored women of the Woman's Christian Temperance Unions.

These organizations have accomplished much in forming temperance sentiment among the people and in the churches, and have helped materially in changing votes at the polls for prohibition.

Again, when this fair land was distracted by contending factions, and military forces left desolation and ruin in their pathway, while enemies met in deadly conflict on the fields of battle, the expiring soldier longed for the soothing touch of woman's hand, and his heart yearned for the consoling words of woman's prayer. It was then on the blood-drenched field that the colored women showed the deepest sympathy for suffering humanity and the highest valor and loyalty by stanching the bleeding wounds, and cooling the parched lips with water, and raising the fainting head, and fanning the fevered brow, and with tender solicitude watching by the dying couch, and breathing the last prayer with him who had laid down his life for his country. The colored men often endangered their lives by passing the line

of the enemy to carry messages to the officers of the Union army, so that a part of the army was saved not once nor twice but often by their daring valor. And when her loyal and chivalric brothers, of whose loyalty and valor she was justly proud, returned from the conflict with halting limbs and shattered frames, and victory perched on their banners, they were content to lie down and die, and leave their widows and orphans to the care of a merciful God and their brave comrades. When the women of the nation proposed to form relief corps to assist the needy comrades of the Grand Army of the Republic and care for their orphans and widows, the colored women did not hesitate, but when opportunity offered they organized, and they have many active and industrious corps accomplishing much noble work, in assisting the needy, decorating graves, presenting flags to schools, and in many ways instilling patriotism.

If we compare the present condition of the colored people of the South with their condition twenty-eight years ago, we shall see how the organized efforts of their women have contributed to the elevation of the race and their marvelous advancement in so short a time. When they emerged from oppression they were homeless and destitute; now they are legal owners of real estate to the value of two hundred and sixty-three millions of dollars. Then they were penniless, but now they have more than two millions in bank. In several States they have banks of their own in successful operation, in which the women furnish the greater number of deposits. Then they had no schools, and but few of the people were able to read; now more than four millions of their women can read. Then they had no high schools, but now they have two hundred colleges, twenty-seven of which are owned and conducted by their own race.

These feeble efforts at organization to improve our condition seem insignificant to the world, but this beginning, insignificant as it may seem, portends a brighter and nobler future. If we in the midst of poverty and proscription can aspire to a noble destiny to which God is leading all his

rational creatures, what may we not accomplish in the day of prosperity?

Hark! I hear the tramp of a million feet, and the sound of a million voices answer, we are coming to the front ranks of civilization and refinement.

Five hundred thousand girls and young women are now crowding our schools and colleges; they are forming literary societies, Young Women's Christian Associations, Christian Endeavor Societies, bands of King's Daughters, and with all the appliances of modern civilization which have a tendency to enlighten the mind and cultivate the heart, they will emerge into society, with all their acquired ability, to perfect that system of organization among their race of which they themselves are the first fruits.

DISCUSSION OF THE SAME SUBJECT BY HALLIE Q. BROWN OF ALABAMA.

For two hundred and fifty years the negro woman of America was bought and sold as a chattel. The sacred ties of wife and mother were broken and disdained. Side by side with the men of her race she toiled in the dank rice-swamps, in the cotton-fields, and the lone cane-brakes. She tilled the soil of her so-called master, enlarged his estates, heaped his coffers with shining gold, and filled his home with the splendors of the world.

In character she was patient, sympathetic, and forgiving. She was counted but little higher than the brute creation that surrounded her, and was said to possess neither a brain nor a soul. Scourged by the hard hand of the slave-driver, and suffering every privation, there fell upon her a helplessness born of despair; but with an implicit trust and an unswerving faith in God, she caught the glinting light from the peak of freedom's day.

The thoughts of a slave insurrection and the horrors of

St. Domingo were in the mind of Longfellow when he penned these lines:

> There is a poor blind Samson in the land,
> Shorn of his strength and bound in bars of steel,
> Who may, in some grim revel, raise his hand
> And shake the pillars of the commonweal
> Till the great temple of our liberties
> A shapeless mass of wreck and ruin lies.

But our own Frances Harper, who championed the cause of the oppressed in the early anti-slavery days, sang with lips and tongue touched by a live coal:

> Yes, Ethiopia shall stretch
> Her bleeding hands abroad;
> Her cry of agony shall reach
> The burning throne of God.
> Redeemed from dust and free from chains
> Her sons shall lift their eyes,
> From cloud-capped hills and verdant plains
> Shall shouts of triumph rise.

When the first low mutterings from Fort Sumter were heard, hope sprang up within the negro woman's breast, and when by an eternal fiat the gyves and chains on wrists and ankles were broken she stepped forth, her body scarred and striped by the lash, her intellect dwarfed and sunken into piteous ignorance, without money, clothes, or home — but a free woman.

With freedom's first sweet draught came the thirst for knowledge. The drowsy intellect awoke under gracious influences to find itself possessed of powers hitherto unknown.

In 1865 Major-General O. O. Howard was appointed commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, and the bread of life was given to these hungry, starving souls. Never in the history of the world was there manifested on the part of any people such an earnest desire to obtain an education. Five years later the general made his report. It was full of interest. There were enrolled ninety-one thousand five

hundred pupils, more than half of whom were women and girls. Mothers, gray-haired and bent with age, sat with the children poring over the spelling-book and reader.

Twenty-five years of progress find the Afro-American woman advanced beyond the most sanguine expectations. Her development from darkest slavery and grossest ignorance into light and liberty is one of the marvels of the age. Her friends and enemies united in declaring that she would die out under the higher refining influences of Christian civilization; but through unremitting exertions she has climbed to elevated planes, accepting all which dignifies and refines, and flourishing under it.

The negro woman has made greater progress educationally than in any other direction. We favor this as an intelligent choice, a wise decision, for what trade, profession or vocation in life may be entered upon without the basis of scholastic education? Moreover, it prepares her for her important duty in home economy, since she must mold the men of the future.

A score or more of our women have entered upon journalism. Some have reached greater heights, and rank as authors of distinction; and we point with pride to Frances Harper's "Iola Leroy," while Anna Cooper gives "no uncertain sound" in "A Voice from the South."

A poor orphan girl, left alone at an early age and forced to battle with the world, visited the city of Boston. As she gazed upon the statue of Franklin she became conscious of a latent power, and the genius within her cried out when she exclaimed, "I can make a stone man!" William Lloyd Garrison, the champion of human rights, came to her assistance, and in her studio at Rome Edmonia Lewis has converted the unpolished stone into fine statues. "Madonna with the Infant Christ," "Hagar in the Wilderness," and a life-size statue of Phillis Wheatley, the African poetess, attest her powers.

Europe, Asia, and Africa have heard the story of the cross sung and told by the sweet voice of Amanda Smith,

the "singing pilgrim" of the race. In the darkness of the night-hour her lonely hut was made resplendent with the glory of another world, and the pent-up sorrow of a race was breathed out in songs that are immortal.

We may go to Austria for the music of a Mozart, to Belgium for that of a Beethoven, to Germany for that of a Handel and a Wagner, but when these countries call back to this land to produce her national music she must turn to the lowly slave, with the grand note of sadness resounding in her melodies, the reverberations of personal sufferings, as the only music truly and purely native American.

It was asserted that the negro was brutal, revengeful, murderous; and "the constant fear of an uprising" kept alert the vigilant patrol. In a distant city the Abolitionists were holding a meeting. Mr. Douglass, in his unrivaled eloquence, had graphically depicted the condition of the country and the gloomy outlook for the slave. In the lull that followed his earnest, burning words, Sojourner Truth calmly asked, "Frederick, is God dead?" These words of that black woman changed the whole tenor of that meeting, and they realized that God was not dead, but marching on, conquering and to conquer.

We hear Sojourner Truth, the black sibyl, prophesying the downfall of slavery when not a ray of light penetrated the gloom, when all hope seemed gone. In her own native ruggedness and homely but powerful eloquence she met in debate and defeated the solons of the Michigan Legislature. Her faith was sublime.

But let us make a tour of the Southland where the teeming millions are; pause and inspect the schools of learning and the industrial schools, where thousands of young women are receiving an education in art, science, literature, and handicraft. The mill and the factory are veritable hives of industry. The age and the race demand skilled labor, educated labor. The girls of the South are realizing that with a common education and a trade they are superior to the girl who completes the academic course and

neglects the training of her hand. The girls of the South are realizing that they must refute the dark prophecies concerning the race by lives of integrity and chastity. To this end they have organized among themselves various societies, such as Young Woman's Christian Associations, Woman's Christian Temperance Unions, the King's Daughters, the Christian Endeavor, homes for orphans, for the aged and infirm, and many benevolent societies for the amelioration of the condition of the poor and helpless about them. I have come to this Congress to represent the women of the black belt of Alabama, black not on account of its numerous dark-skinned inhabitants, but black because of its ignorance, superstition, and degradation. Ten years ago B. T. Washington founded a school at Tuskegee which has served as the one beacon-light in all that land of darkness. More than six hundred pupils have studied there.

Three hundred earnest girls bade me God-speed as I left them to come to this Congress. And if you would have a slight idea of the work they can do, they instructed me to say that you should look at the gown their representative wears, made by girls who six months ago could handle only the hoe and the plow. The whistle of the engine, the ring of the hammer, the buzz of the saw, the spinning of the wheel serve as music and inspiration to this school.

The gospel of honorable manual labor sinks into the mind with every stitch that is taken, with every nail that is driven. The dignity of labor is taught with every lesson in domestic economy, cooking, dressmaking, tailoring, nurse-training, and carpentry.

What more is needed?

Time and an equal chance in the race of life.

Ages of savagery and centuries of bondage weakened the intellect and dwarfed the faculties. The proper development of the mind, like the formation of character, must come by a slow and steady growth. What are thirty years in the history of a nation? It is but a day since Freedom blew her blast proclaiming liberty to the slave. The sound

of the cannon's breath has scarcely died upon the passing breeze; the smoke of the battle-field has hardly cleared away; the earth seems yet to tremble "neath the mighty tread of Sherman's march to the sea."

Talk not of the negro woman's incapacity, of her inferiority, until the centuries of her hideous servitude have been succeeded by centuries of education, culture, and refinement, by which she may rise to the fullness of the stature of her highest ideal.

God speed the day when the white American woman, strengthened by her wealth, her social position, and her years of superior training, may clasp hands with the less fortunate black woman of America, and both unite in declaring that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth."

Woman's War for Peace — An Address by Nico Beck-Meyer of Denmark.

Peace! What is peace? It is not rest, but growth. Peace is the condition which will be brought on when love is reigning and justice is fulfilled. The best of all ages have been dreaming about this perfect time to come. That is what is meant by the prophecy that people of every race and denomination shall gather together under the shadow of the tree of life, that the lion and the lamb shall lie down together, and the sword shall be put away forever. The most solemnly beautiful peace-hymn ever written was born of the Gothic nation, and written in the old northern language. Those warriors before whose weapons Rome and Paris were trembling had still, deep in the consciousness of the nation, preserved the inheritance from the childhood of the race.

When the Gothic tribes left Asia they brought with them as the common inheritance of humankind the beautiful philosophy of truth and justice as reigning powers, of peace

as the end of all. It was laid down in their mythology and their folk-lore; that they never lost their inheritance in their cold northern home this peace-hymn will show. The hymn is part of the great poem, "The Old Edda," and the last part of it tells how the world will look when humankind has reached its destination.

This poem was born centuries back in the early time of the Gothic nations; it was written down in the language then common to Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians, and was found in the thirteenth century in an old convent in Iceland. Who the author was nobody knows certainly — probably a man; but if it was a man it was one who had loved a woman whose soul-life was peace.

Such were the dreams and vaguely felt ideas of the human race, but it was growing slowly, as a child grows from childhood to manhood; and the age of peace will be the last to be reached, as the ages of love and justice must be passed through first. The countries of the Old World were drenched in blood; it was admitted to be a great calamity, still it was even by the best thought a necessary evil. The first time when history tells us how a woman lifted her voice against war was at the seven years' war in Europe, when the army of Frederick the Great had made the state of Mecklenburg almost a desert. The Princess Anna Charlotte of Mecklenburg wrote an earnest letter to King Frederick, showing him the inhumanity in war, and imploring him to spare her country. The letter moved the old warrior so that he withdrew his army from her country and sent her letter to his ally, King George the Third of England, at that time crown prince. The prince made up his mind that he wanted the woman who wrote the letter for his wife. Anna Charlotte became the Queen of England, and made the nation forget for awhile that the Hanoverian kings were not always a blessing to the country.

The nineteenth century came, with its fuller understanding of love and justice, and the nations were at last awakened to understand what it meant that peace should reign.

Now what position did the Danish nation, which gave to the world this classic peace-hymn, take in the war for peace when the other nations woke up?

About eight years ago ten persons were sitting around the table in the parlor of Mrs. Olesen, one of the Danish delegates to the congress. They called themselves members of the Danish Peace Union. The founder of the union was a member of the Danish Parliament, Frederick Bajer, afterward vice-president of the Universal Peace Union. But many a time has he been heard to say that if his wife had not stood unflinchingly by his side he did not know how he ever should have kept up the work, laughed at and derided as the peace cause was at that time in Denmark. There those ten members met week after week, through months and years, around the table, half-ashamed, sometimes hardly daring to look at each other; still they could not and would not give up.

Those ten members kept on meeting until they became twenty, until they became one hundred. When they were strong enough they called from Norway the great author, Björnstjerne Björnson, an earnest peace friend. He spoke so loud that the Danish women were aroused, and from that moment the peace cause has gone from victory to victory.

From the room with the ten half-ashamed members, we turned our eyes this last April to the king's palace, where a deputation walked in carrying an address asking the king to give the peace cause his consideration. The address was signed with but three thousand names, but we are a nation of only two millions.

Between the modest room and the king's palace lay the work of the Danish women. Addresses were sent to mothers to work in home and school for the cause; lectures were given all over the country. Mrs. Johanna Meyer, president of the Danish Women's Progressive Association, did especially good work.

Once more Björnstjerne Björnson had been called to

Denmark. The meeting was arranged to be in one of the great forests belonging to the government, a forest which always was used for public meetings. People came from every part of the country, but at the last moment officials of the government refused to lend the forest for this purpose. The immense assemblage turned away, promising themselves that the joy of the day should not be taken away from them on that account. Wading along the dusty roads, they gathered on a plowed field, with their feet deep in the soil, the rays of the sun over their heads; and they forgot time and place listening to the words of the mighty orator. After that it was that a movement for an address to the king was started. It was not really expected that the king would sign himself as a member of the Peace Union; the nation wanted only to show how its heart was with the peace cause.

Now it must be remembered that American women have your glorious constitution, your free institutions to work under. If we compare the work of Danish and of American women, we must consider that everything must be looked at amidst its surroundings. We can not tear a thing away from its place and arrive at a true view of its qualities, its power of life. We must look at things in the soil where they are born, with the light and shadow over them under which they have existed. If we do thus, we shall see that the Danish woman has done noble work for the peace cause, as for all other causes of progress. We all know that the women of England and France have worked for the peace cause.

Thoughts are flying invisibly in the air around us, uniting to do their silent work, a creating power which can not be resisted. They come from the Pacific coast and reach the soul of some one in New England, calling forth half-born thoughts, turning them into words and deeds.

What an intellectual age with its great inventions, its tools and machinery, never could do, a spiritual age, created through woman's unity with man, will carry out. We might

then ask, "What country will be the first to carry the peace cause to victory?" Some may guess England or France; I say the United States ought to be the country to do it.

You, with the liberty for which centuries have cried, with a language which is that of the world, with the strength and intellect of the oldest nations transplanted into your young veins, with the soil of an Eden, with tools and outward forces to make you the lords of the earth — what is it really you intend to do with it all? To whom a great deal is given, of him a great deal shall be asked. You owe more to the nations of the world than the display of your machinery and tools, your railroads and bridges, and all the wonders of your Fair. You owe them even more than to show them a Fair where woman's work stands side by side with man's. You owe to the whole human race that liberty for all, that peace among men, that human life in the fullest sense to every human being who shall be born inside your borders.

If this spirit should be shown throughout the immense vastness of this country, corrupt political struggle would cease, capital's poisoning breath would be swept away, a new era would be born to mankind. The only cosmopolitan nation is the nation that can do it; the only cosmopolitan nation, and yet a nation with so strong an individuality that it has power to assimilate all other nationalities. When, then, are all those things going to be fulfilled? When the American woman — she who shall bring to us the spiritual age, she who edits a paper like *The Parthenon* — when she gets her vote. May the hours before morning be short!

Woman's War for Peace — Address by Rev. Amanda Deyo of Pennsylvania, Representative of the Universal Peace Union.

I stand before you as the representative of the Universal Peace Union. This association has thirty branch societies

in America and six branch societies in Europe. Frederika Meyer, of whom my sister from Denmark spoke, I had the pleasure of meeting at our World's Peace Congress in 1889, at which there were one hundred representatives from the various peace societies of the world. Now peace is so good a thing that we do not expect it is going to come of itself, without any effort on our part. I am glad our heavenly Father has held us, as women, back from participation in government until we can come with our souls drinking in the mighty power of the gospel, of the living truths of righteousness. The word of God shall go forth, and it shall not return void; that is the great truth given us by the prophets of old. It is seconded by the great truth of Christ, "If ye love me keep my commandments; and these commandments give I unto you, that ye love one another."

Why should we not as women, from Denmark, from all the nations of the world, raise our voices and in one mighty chorus say: "God has given to man the power of reason, and judgment, and understanding, and we demand the settlement of the disputes of the world by arbitration; the settlement of all national and international differences shall be had through these mighty powers of the human soul."

Now let me tell you how this society of the Universal Peace Union sprang into existence. When the War of the Rebellion was going on, the great American Peace Society of Boston said, "It is a mob; we must take right hold and help put it down." Lucretia Mott, the grand old Quaker, said: "No; war is never right; war I can not take part in." William Lloyd Garrison said the same; and right in the height of the rebellion was born the Universal Peace Union. Our president, who has occupied the chair for twenty-five years, Alfred H. Love, was seated in the chair as president, with the benedictions of William Lloyd Garrison; and his hand was clasped by Lucretia Mott. And so, friends, our work has gone on, reaching out into every State.

I beg of you that you place your names upon this petition asking the nations of the world for the establishment of a

court of arbitration, which the Government of the United States has the privilege of calling together through President Cleveland. How did this privilege come to him? for it has been only of recent date that he has had such power put into his hands. The power to call together the war forces must come from a vote of Congress. It is now possible to call together the peace forces of the world for the establishment of a permanent court of arbitration in which shall be settled all the differences of the various nations. This is one of the greatest privileges of the President of the United States of America to-day. It has come about in this way:

In the English Parliament there arose a resolution of this sort, praying the United States Government to speedily organize a court of arbitration, with representatives from Great Britain, France, and the nations of Europe, who with the United States would enter into a league of peace, promising solemnly never to settle their differences in any other way than by arbitration. But you know how the great armies of Europe stood there like horrid nightmares in the way of this great advancement in human progress. They said, "We can not start this, but you, the great republic of free America, you have the privilege."

Peace is the strongest known protest against every known wrong in the world, and when you men and women fold your arms and say firmly, "We will have nothing to do with war," then peace will come. I tell you the Quakers have given us an example in their religion. They organized themselves without killing anybody; they maintained the government of the State of Pennsylvania for a period of seventy years without any one being killed. Now that is a precedent for all times. If you have any doubt that peace is a greater power for good than war, look to William Penn, with his idea of justice and righteousness by which he maintained peace through those seventy years.

When there comes a time for men to go to war they do not call for men with crooked backs, or with teeth out, or eyesight impaired, or any sort of blemish, but they take

the men of brawn and muscle, strong and perfect, and place them to be shot down by their fellow-men. It is not to-day the survival of the fittest, it is not the strong man pitted against another strong man, but it is the strong man, the flower of the land, pitted against the horrible enginery of war. It is men against instruments; men against the dynamite bomb; men against electricity. The very horrid enginery of war to-day makes men reflect and not go into war readily.

DISCUSSION OF THE SAME SUBJECT BY LIZZIE KIRKPATRICK OF CANADA.

Is not this world's congress an earnest of the bond of sympathy and fellowship which shall be established among all nations and among all men? I would like only to say that as woman is a sufferer through the ravages of war, it is but meet that woman should unite her best efforts in the bringing in of that glorious time when even nature shall feel the influence of peace; when "the lion and the lamb shall lie down together," and the liberty that comes from goodness and kindness shall confirm the prophecy. This seems to me the outline of a utopian dream, the vision of an idealist, but yet "the mouth of the Lord of Hosts hath spoken it."

WOMAN AS AN EXPLORER — ADDRESS BY MAY FRENCH-SHELDON OF PENNSYLVANIA.

An apostle has certain tenets of faith to expound or to perpetuate, and may advance a cause and belief with zealous fervor, having fixed upon the basis of his arguments.

Every time a woman takes the initiative and ventures to step out from the circumscribed ranks of her conventional sphere; every time she defies tradition and prejudice, achieving by earnest effort, ability, and self-dedication a new suc-

cess, she thereby sets aside some of the many limitations that possibly were appropriate to the women of the Middle Ages, but certainly can not apply to the educated, progressive, able women of the present day.

Woman needs must make great personal sacrifices, subdue her inherent sensitiveness, and meet the adverse criticisms of not only the opposite sex, but likewise the narrow-minded of her own sex. Too frequently she is denounced as unwomanly or fond of notoriety; her real motives are questioned. When she first seeks to solve some of the vital problems of life apart from the leadership of men, when she makes a new departure, she is confronted on all sides by the query, "To what purpose?" albeit she has done a work the benefit of which will be shared measurably by all other women, if indeed not by all mankind.

History grudgingly relates the lives of noble women who at some most critical period rendered a service securing everlasting fame to the world's most renowned heroes. However, if other proof were wanting, the present Woman's Congress is pregnant with the assurance that ability is sexless. Under the same conditions, with the same physical training, similar education, same environment, animated by the same impulse, given the same opportunity, the sex is a matter of indifference.

No one doubts woman's moral courage or powers of endurance and marvelous adaptability to circumstances; and while she may have no ambition to be a competitor with man, she now desires to have her work placed in juxtaposition with his, to work shoulder to shoulder beside man, and with him, or even alone, and to wear well-merited laurels without feeling that she is insulted by having honors bestowed upon her simply because she is a woman, or on the contrary by having them withheld because she is a woman.

Until exploration can be entirely peaceful, I think I may say with assurance that exploration by women, although possible, will be rare.

I would rather that women be regarded as pioneers than as explorers, and wish, if a woman accompanies her husband, as many brave women have done, and by her devotion helps him to win laurels, that she at least may share the honor.

A difficulty in a woman's taking the leadership in an exploring party is found in the fact that she would have none of her own sex to coöperate with her. At first sight there seems a contradiction between the natural delicacy of a woman and the work of an explorer. My own experience, however, as an explorer is a proof that a woman may be a leader in an exploring expedition. But I can not discuss the subject without entering into personalities that have no place in this congress. I, however, believe that woman is peculiarly adapted to the study of ethnology, because a woman recognizes that all peoples, whether black or white, civilized or uncivilized, are God's creatures, and no woman would think them proper targets for the explorer's guns or the colonizer's severity. I believe that women would introduce into exploration, as they have into other departments of labor, that sympathy which is essential to the best success. I believe it to be woman's business as an explorer to introduce the industrial arts among savage peoples.

The Organized Development of Polish Women — Address by Helena Modjeska of Poland.

First, I must ask your permission for a personal remark. When I was invited to appear in the congress as one of the representatives of women on the stage, I was not aware that two days later I should again step on the platform as a representative of Polish women.

This task fell to my share very unexpectedly, and found me unprepared. The regular delegate was prevented at the last moment from arriving here, and as I am one of the members of the advisory Polish committee, I agreed to

appear before you in her place, taking upon me the risk of coming before you unprepared, rather than suffering our Polish womanhood to remain unrepresented at this great gathering.

Being deprived of its political independence, Poland is hampered in every manifestation of its vitality. Those who have taken away from us our national existence try to make the whole world believe that there is not, that there never was, such a thing as a Polish nation. They endeavor to obliterate from the annals of humanity the history of Poland; to restrict, if not entirely prohibit, the use of our language; to hinder the development of every progress, be it economic, intellectual, or social.

In such conditions it is only natural that any organized movement of women toward improving their situation should be considered as a political crime, and punished accordingly. Whatever is done must be done in secret, and therefore I am prevented from giving you evidences of the work done by my countrywomen, and must confine myself to generalities, for fear that any personal allusion may bring on very serious consequences.

And yet we have in our country a splendid array of women, distinguished in every branch of human activity, with great minds and greater hearts, who work both individually and by combined efforts with the view of raising the level of Polish womanhood. Some of them would certainly be invited to figure on the Advisory Council lists of the divers empires to whose governments they are subjected, but they scorn to be enlisted otherwise than as Polish women. They would a hundred times prefer to have their names remain in oblivion, and left out of the golden book of deserving women, than to appear there as representatives of the nationality of their oppressors. The greater number of the Polish women who would be entitled to appear here are subjects of the Russian government. It is well known that even postal communication is far from being safe there, which may explain the scarcity of the

documents sent for the occasion. I have, however, with me some papers from which I will take the liberty of reading you a few translated extracts.

Woman's situation depends upon the general level of her country and epoch — the higher the intellectual development of the community, the higher the rank occupied by woman. The economic conditions exercise a similar influence, because the widening of commerce and industry opens new fields of activity, and therefore new material advantages to our sex. Race, customs, and traditions are of paramount importance in this regard. They define the character of woman's influence. In some countries it asserted itself mostly in the direction of worldliness or sentimentality, and it was exerted by cunning or by personal charms, a state of things not very favorable to morals; in others it was based on the universal respect for women, the award of her higher qualities, the earnestness of her mind, the strength of her will.

This was the case in Poland. In old times the intellectual vitality of the nation was concentrated in one class — the Polish gentry. They resided in the country, and were given up to agricultural pursuits. There woman occupied a prominent rank. Each noble's mansion was economically a little world of its own. Its inhabitants were living entirely on home products — those of the field, the stable, the poultry, dairy, and garden. They drank home-brewed beer and mead. They were clothed in home-spun and home-woven cloth and linen. Even the costly garments, the pride of the family, were manufactured at home. The management of all these home industries was entirely in the hands of the lady of the house. Like the strong woman of the Scriptures, she fed and dressed everybody in the house and village — she had the care of their food, their comfort, and their health. Physicians were almost unknown; she had to take their place; she knew qualities of plants, and she composed the healing salves and drugs which up to to-day form the basis of our

so-called home medicine. There remains yet an unmistakable trace of her medical pursuits; the house pantry, destined for the safe-keeping of the groceries, is called still to-day in Polish houses the little pharmacy, "Apteczka."

The usefulness of the Polish woman increased her importance, and endowed her with rights which were refused to women in other countries. By a natural process she came to take a predominant part in the business affairs of the family. This participation tended to educate her mind, the habit of commanding a numerous retinue of servants gave strength to her character, and the variety of her occupations widened her practical knowledge.

The latter, the practical knowledge, passed from mothers to daughters, and for a long time there was no other education. The convents, which abroad furnished the schools for the young girls, had a very small pedagogic influence in Poland. The little they possess at present they acquired only in the present century. There was a universal opinion, which is far from being extinct even to-day, that only a mother is a competent tutor for her daughter.

The very nature of country life, the difficulty of communication, or the distances and the bad roads, had a natural result in the tightening of the family life. The intimacy of wife and husband was uninterrupted, and thus woman became initiated into public affairs and took in them a lively interest. Her mind, trained by activity, was prepared for responsibility by the comprehension of the most earnest concerns.

Our women, even of the highest rank, had nothing in common with the habits of the effete European aristocracy. They were strong in body and strong in spirit, and our historical records, as well as family traditions, have preserved the names of many heroines who have battled on the borders of Poland against the Turks or Tartars, and often successfully repulsed their attacks.

Courageous and useful, the Polish woman had a high standard of morality. A strong religious conviction and

an inborn feeling of dignity preserved her from the laxity of morals which only too often prevailed in the higher classes of other European nations.

This feeling of natural dignity was so deeply rooted in our sex that during long centuries a wife's infidelity was an exceedingly rare occurrence.

In the present days the instruction and education of the Polish woman stand on a level equal to that of man — sometimes above it — and yet it is admitted that our men are distinguished by their encyclopedic knowledge. Our women are great readers, and, as may be proved by the statistics of our public libraries, their reading is not confined to novels, but to earnest books; and therefore scientific, literary, social, and political questions are familiar to them. Public lectures on serious subjects are a prominent feature of our city life, and certainly women make by far the larger part of their audiences.

Another element which tends to sharpen woman's intellect is the special character of Polish sociability. Probably social life is nowhere developed to such an extent as in Poland. Our men do not desert the house for the attractions of the club, the café, or the saloon. They remain at home, or gather together with women in the houses of their friends. Hospitality is essentially a virtue of the nation, but it is a hospitality free from any kind of display, as frequent in the humble abodes of the poor as in the palaces of aristocracy and plutocracy. The old Polish proverb is, "A guest in the house is God in the house." The main feature of these private reunions or parties is general conversation, directed by the lady of the house, but participated in equally by men and women — a conversation turning on serious topics, and where personal gossip is almost unknown.

This sociability, spread to all classes of our nation, has important advantages, as it reflects upon other relations among them, as upon marriages. In other European countries it is only too often the case that the forming of mar-

riages is purely a business transaction between two parties hardly known to each other. With us, on account of the frequent social intercourse, marriages are based on thorough acquaintance, and concluded through natural sympathy. While it can not be said that money considerations are always the moving cause, they yet figure in a small degree in the tying of matrimonial bonds. Thus it happens that in Poland the poor girl has suitors as well as the rich one; if the latter has the advantage as to their number, the former has a better chance in regard to the quality of her choice.

The unmarried girl in my country enjoys a position, if not so independent as in America, still much better than in the rest of the European continent.

In recent times especially there has been marked progress — her social standing and her freedom of action are gaining ground every day. As a natural consequence there is a great movement among our unmarried girls to obtain independent livelihood, and not to look upon marriage as the ultimate goal of their ambition.

In a great part of Russian Poland, the so-called kingdom, Napoleon's legislative code is still in force, and according to it the unmarried woman of age, or the widow, has the absolute right to dispose of her fortune, while the married woman remains under the power of her husband. Without his assistance she can not execute any legal act. He is absolute master of her revenue, and is not obliged to render any account of it. His only duty is to support her and her children in a way befitting his social position. He can not, however, effect any sale of her estates or incur any debts on them without her permission.

This subordinate legal situation did not act as injuriously as it might upon the Polish woman of to-day. It did not destroy her influence nor restrict her field of action. With the change of economic and other conditions, and the consequent disappearance of many home industries, her circle of activity in the household became narrower, but her ener-

gies were soon directed into new channels. She is the continual helpmate of her husband in all his business enterprises; she is consulted in every financial transaction, and, if she becomes a widow, usually takes his place in the management of the business. Some of our largest fortunes and our most important industrial establishments are directed and controlled by women.

In the old times, when Poland was, so to say, a bulwark between Tartars and Turks and the rest of Europe, standing on the defense of civilization against the Asiatic hordes, when every man was a soldier, the Polish women were left at home, the sole masters of the family and estate. This independence developed in them a spirit of national pride, wisdom, and courage. Forced to spend months and years in awaiting the return of her dear ones, left for a long time without news from the field of battle, and harassed by dreadful persecutions and fears, still holding a serene countenance before the people, she attained a great mastery over herself, and a great patience. Thus courage, industry, patriotism, and patience are the most prominent characteristics of Polish women.

Let us go back to the seventeenth century. What pictures of woman's life are impressed upon my mind from the records of our history! I see through the mist of ages a young, beautiful bride and her manly bridegroom. They have just returned from church, and stand upon the porch of the house. Her eyes are moist with tears of happiness; their hands clasped together, they look at each other in silence, with a great, solemn interrogation in their eyes, afraid of speaking lest they should break the spell of the exquisite joy of the two perfectly harmonious souls. From the house merry peals of laughter and music come to their ears, but they do not seem to hear it. He tenderly puts his arm around her waist and whispers words of love, when suddenly he lifts his head and listens. What is it? The air is still, and yet in the far distance a scarcely perceptible sound is heard, first footsteps of

horses, then the clang of armor, and a few moments later a troop of warriors gallops to the house. A dispatch is handed to the bridegroom, which he reads in silence, but by the expression of his face she guesses that it is a summons to leave her and go with the others to the field of battle.

Leave her, and now! Her face grows deadly pale, but there are no tears in her eyes. She extends her arms to him, falls on his breast, then, making the sign of the cross on his brow, she speaks firmly, "In the name of the Father, of the Son, and the Holy Ghost, go!" And they part. He goes to the battle fiercer than ever. She stays at home, left to her prayers and domestic duties, ever patient, industrious, with no other consolation but her religion, her national pride, and the hope to see her husband soon again. But he must come home with a brave record or else she would rather see him in his grave. Religion and her country first, and then love.

Another picture suggests itself to me. A young mother, left alone with a little son five years old; after the morning prayer and breakfast, she leads him to the yard. An old soldier, covered with scars, is waiting for them. He holds two swords in his hand, one of them a mere toy, but made of sharp, strong steel. The boy grasps his little sword — both stand in position, and the fencing lesson commences. The mother sits quietly watching her little one, terrified at moments, but with a smile on her lips. From time to time the veteran gives points to the little warrior. "Cover your head — your side. No! that's not good — try again — not this way — take care or I will cut." And he cuts. The boy grows pale with rage. Mother comes to him, bandages the slight wound. The old soldier apologizes, but she only says, "You have done right; he will do better next time." Again she sits among her maids, spinning, sewing, or embroidering the church vestments. She talks to the girls, she tells them legends, stories of battles, or reads to them the New Testament and lives of saints. When the work is over, all unite in evening prayers and songs.

Such a life must have developed a sense of responsibility, authority, and chastity. This training lasted for generations, and its effects are so deeply rooted, so distinctly marked, that they can not be erased, either by economic or social changes or by political upheavals.

The best proof that the tradition of the past still lives in the Polish woman's heart is the share she took in our constant struggle for independence.

When the impious spirit of our three Christian neighboring monarchies prompted them to form a so-called holy alliance in order to crush and tear to pieces our unfortunate country, which was then the only representative of self-government and personal liberty; when, not satisfied with the annexation and division of Poland, they robbed and pillaged our land from end to end, stabbing the very heart of our national life, destroying our institutions, persecuting our language and religion, shutting all the gates to civilization and progress; when our men, exhausted by wars and defeats, became despondent and disheartened — it was the Polish woman who stood like a guardian angel at the doors of their conscience. She it was who encouraged them, always ready to lay down her life for the welfare and independence of her country. It was she who taught her sons how to defy our enemies, she who preserved the tradition of honor, patriotism, valor, and integrity, not allowing herself a moment to rest, but working with strange tenacity, in spite of bullets, the chain, Liberia, and, worst of all, the lash with which she was often punished, to the everlasting disgrace of the Russian government.

Our enemies are making a great mistake if they think that they can kill patriotism. As long as there is one Polish woman left alive Poland will not die, and the more they persecute us the better it is for us now. We may have deserved punishment for the faults and mistakes of the past; we must pay the penalty, and God only knows at what expense we pay it.

A well-known French writer says that the best thing

about Poland is the Polish mother. He spoke the truth; and I take the opportunity afforded me by this congress to send Polish mothers a message across the ocean, a message of respect, love, and veneration. The world knows of the Roman matron and the Spartan mother. I dare claim a place next to them for the Polish mother. When the French artist, Horace Vernet, was asked by Czar Nicholas to paint an episode from the last struggle between Poland and Russia, he answered, "Your Majesty will excuse me; I never painted Christ on the cross." And he was right. Poland was crucified, but was there not a mother kneeling beneath the cross of Golgotha waiting patiently for resurrection? And is there not also to-day the Polish mother waiting patiently and praying for the resurrection of her country? Will she wait forever? No; if there is justice on earth she will not wait in vain.

Woman in Italy—An Address by Fanny Zampini Salazar of Naples, Italy.

I will try to generalize my study and mark briefly the differences existing in the different parts of modern Italy, the north being far in advance of the south.

This may be explained by the fact that the south was for long years the prey of ignorant rulers, while the north was governed by more intelligent, though no less tyrannical and oppressive, sovereigns, who did not, however, consider it improper to offer means of culture to their people. And while this happened in the two extreme parts of Italy, the center was no better off under the dominion of popes, whose religious mission unfortunately changed into a political one. Since 1870 this political aim has increased and spread all over Italy, the priesthood regarding it as a duty to keep a control not only over souls and what regards religious matters, but in other concerns of life, and above all in politics. Feeling that men escape such control, priests con-

centrate all their efforts to keep women under their influence. If such influence were exercised in good faith and for pure religious purposes, all that is best might come of it; but unfortunately, the strangest anti-patriotic feeling rules their behavior. The ardent dream dreamt by our patriots in prison and in exile during the long years of subjection, and realized in the union of Italy, with Rome as a capital, leaves the priests cold and indifferent, dissatisfied and angry.

Hence a perpetual struggle to reconquer temporal power makes of the purest of human feelings, religion, a question of politics, not with a view to the welfare and the prosperity of the nation, but for the meanest ends of worldly ambition.

Men influenced by women, though often quite unconsciously, are kept from taking any part in elections, which being left mostly to ignorant and ambitious people, are used for mean, personal views of obtaining power, fortune, and influence.

The results are what lately created shameful scandals, and made the hearts of true Italians bleed with sorrow. And while clericals, in hopes of repressing progress and reconquering Rome, work in every way, extending their influence even over persons whose position and interest ought to keep them far from their reach, the Italian government, as a sort of reaction, has no religious culture in public schools. The result of both these measures is a relaxation in moral feelings, to the great detriment of religion and politics, regarded in the highest sense of their noble meaning.

Women consider themselves pious if they follow religious practices, and men are considered good citizens if they look on, complaining if all does not go right in the country, but seldom rising to the consciousness of their political duties.

Uncultivated women can not understand the noble influence they might exercise for the welfare of their country, elevating around them family and society. The few

MARY JOSEPHINE ONAHAN.

MRS. JENKIN LLOYD JONES.

REV. LORENZA A. HAYNES.

MRS. J. T. GRACEY.

REV. ANNA H. SHAW.

who realize such a duty, and try to accomplish it, are tired to death by misunderstandings, opposition, and unfair criticism. Men are more easily led in general by the so-called feeble women who rule over them, while seeming entirely subjected to their will. Strong, earnest, loyal, noble-minded women, whose culture and interest in educational, social, and political matters makes their conversation much prized in society, though admired, are feared and kept carefully apart, from a strange sort of prejudice about their becoming too influential in the country.

Of course men wish to keep their predomination, and though disposed to accept privately woman's reasonable advice and moral help, they take great care not to make her conscious of her power. And so in society they make much more of light, well-dressed, insignificant women, whose influence they fear not, being in this case unconscious that such negative influence leads them down to the lower level of such charming, useless, empty-minded creatures.

Again, the great differences to be found in the various social classes make it also difficult to define a typical woman in Italy. We have aristocracy, from which class very little indeed is to be hoped. In this class only a few exceptions are worthy of notice for giving their life a really noble aim. In general, old prejudice, ignorance, pride, a sybaritical conception of life, considered with the most selfish views of satisfaction of a mere material order, reign supreme in that part of society, which so easily might do so much good.

The middle class contains cultivated persons actively busy in some sort or other of serious work in life. We have there a group of intelligent, learned women gifted with modern ideas and trying to their utmost to contribute to social progress. They do not turn to the higher classes for help; none or very little indeed would come to them from that side; but they look toward the people hopefully for the future moral regeneration of Italy. We have indeed

all to hope from this much neglected and greatly oppressed social class.

The Italian people have the best human instincts. With a little culture and much love anything might be made of them. But allow me to observe that we must not judge of the Italian by some specimens of poor emigrants, stupefied by the long struggle with want and sorrow before they make up their minds to leave the old home ties, the beloved fatherland.

In general, Italians belonging to the popular classes are full of heart and kindness, frugal, simple, much attached to their families and the place where they are born; they need only the enlightenment of culture to rise strong and powerful in the full consciousness of their more sacred rights to a nobler life. But here again an ignorant priesthood and prejudice, political fears and negligence, frustrate the few efforts made in favor of their elevation. They are flattered when their aid is required, helped occasionally by humiliating charity, and kept down in the dark regions of ignorance and poverty.

Badly fed, badly paid, oppressed by heavy taxes, often without work, no wonder their life is a hard struggle, only kept up in sacrifice and suffering, unconscious of any right to a brighter one. I often tried in the southern provinces and in Rome to arouse humanitarian feelings in the idle upper classes, speaking and writing about all that has been done in England for the moral and intellectual elevation of women and the people. I only obtained praises and nice words, without ever being able to begin, even on a small scale, something practical in the way of associations of cultivated persons to promote organizations of various kinds in favor of these neglected parts of our country people.

The press in Italy encourages such a movement, but the fearful indifference of the people, want of means, and the opposition of clericals and prejudiced persons are still to be overcome.

This work I consider must be undertaken by women, and I am glad to be able to say that we have begun to undertake it in the northern provinces, and I trust that it will bring its fruits in time.

In Bologna, the ancient university town, where learned women once taught in the character of acknowledged professors, in Milan and in Turin, associations exist and are being established with a view to promoting woman's progress and popular culture.

In Bologna ladies have been at work now for the last two years; and indeed it is there I noticed the most important group of intelligent women, actively busy to promote the interests of their moral and legal condition. What struck me in Bologna was the solidarity of these cultivated women so earnestly at work together. It is there that the noble influence of one of our greatest Italians, Mazzini, is deeply felt, for a nobly gifted English woman, whose soul was given to Italy on marrying Mazzini's best friend, Aurelio Saffi, has perseveringly been at work in the sunny years of her happy youth and the sad ones of her widowhood, always trying in all ways to elevate all those around her. She has established at Forli women's associations, whose ends are to promote culture, to give sisterly help in need, and to find work for all.

In Milan we have a remarkable group of intellectual women, but segregated, each working in her own way. Still these few, just beginning to work together, have felt the need of establishing an association to promote the interest of their sex. When I was there lately Pauline Schiff, a learned university teacher, of German origin, published the programme of an important association, to which many gave their names. In Milan are some very excellent schools for girls. I met there a most remarkable woman, Alexandrina Ravizza, whose life is entirely devoted to good works, and who has no end of trouble to go on with them, because she will have nothing to do with clericals, and is full of human feelings of pity and sorrow

for unfortunate girls whom she tries to help and save from disgrace.

In Turin also is a very interesting group of cultivated women, actively busy trying to unite their efforts to establish some useful associations of liberal character like those of Bologna and Milan.

In Rome we have two societies, but of quite a different order, most conservative in their ends and views. One was lately established by the efforts of a brilliant, earnest, learned young professor and deputy, Angelo Celli, who succeeded in interesting a group of cultivated ladies of the aristocracy in the fate of poor women in want of work and help. This society in fact is called "Help and Work," and was organized two years ago under the patronage of Her Majesty our Queen Margherita. It is now prospering, and much good comes of it. Poor women find work and help during sickness or want, their young children being taken care of during the hours of work, in a sort of nursery school established by the daughters of the ladies who helped Professor Celli to start that society. Still, useful as it is, no attention is given to intellectual culture or recreation, as is done in America and England in similar institutions. Very probably opposition would arise if such a thing were proposed, and the little good done would cease.

The other society of ladies — established in 1873, in Rome, with the aim of promoting woman's superior culture — is such a mystification that indeed it deserves honest criticism. I think nothing could reveal better the subjection of our women to prejudices and old ideas than this association which pretends to promote woman's culture by a weekly lecture, mostly regarding ancient history, and carefully excluding any of the modern questions regarding social, educational, legal or practical questions.

In place of awaking the mind to examine these most important subjects, it seems that the aim of this society is to put it to sleep by the constant repetition of what we

all can read or have more or less been learning at school. Now and then, very rarely, a beautiful and interesting lecture is given, but in general they are very dull indeed. Fashionable ladies go because the queen goes, but often I noticed how all of them seemed uninterested in the speaker's old-fashioned theme.

Another strange feature of this society is that lady lecturers are excluded from giving lectures there, though we have now in Italy a remarkable number of cultivated women who give lectures with success. I believe that if the above-mentioned society were conducted in a modern spirit, it would indeed become the means of promoting women's culture, which needs a thorough, intelligent reform as is felt by many interested in this important question. Three years ago Professor Angelo de Gubernatis, with a view to associating all persons interested and offering a study of the progress made by women in Italy, organized in Florence an exhibition of women's work, and arranged that a set of lectures regarding Italian women should be given by ladies. These lectures were published in book form, and are worthy of notice for their originality of thought and ideas.

Concerning women's education in modern Italy, I have much to say. We have public schools for elementary culture; superior schools for girls, where a superior teaching is greatly required; and normal schools for those wishing to become teachers, but no proper training colleges for them; the programmes of studies are indeed defective in almost every department.

Our present minister of instruction, Ferdinando Martini, is fortunately a high-minded man of modern ideas regarding women's culture, and he is studying a project for the entire reform of superior education for both sexes. This work is a very hard one, for in Italy all is expected from the government, as we are lacking in individual initiative, which can do so much practical work when intelligently exercised.

Women are now admitted to the universities, lyceums, and gymnasiums, but have none for themselves exclusively, so that, with the reluctance of parents for mixed education, girls can very seldom profit by these institutions.

Schools of art are open to girls, but here also the same objection prevents them from joining in the classes where all young men are not always as refined as they should be. In the way of education we have still much to do, as not all understand that culture is one thing and education another, and that both should be required.

We have also in Italy several professional schools for the working classes, and these answer the purpose, though I think they ought to provide for some more mental culture, and not limit their end to mere manual work. This I consider the principal defect in most of our Italian institutions — little or no regard for the moral culture, that culture which tends to elevate the souls of the pupils and give them a high conception of life and of all the sacred duties which make it full and worthy to be lived. The mere teaching of reading, writing, and other subjects of study is nothing if with it the mind is not led to think and consider life's problems, its duties, and its rights to make it a noble and beautiful one. Some new and very well organized institutions answer such an end, for they are the work of noble-hearted and highly gifted Italians.

There is the Suor Ursola College for girls in Naples, entirely reformed by the Princess Strongoli Pignatelli, a learned, high-minded woman, whose life is entirely devoted to good works. She is one of the most esteemed and beloved ladies of honor of Queen Margherita. Princess Strongoli Pignatelli has also established in Naples, together with Countess Lauseverino Vinercati Tarsis, another college for poor orphan girls.

A beautiful college for the daughters of the public teachers was also lately organized by one of our greatest Italians, Ruggero Bonghi. He had visited England, and wished to establish some girls' colleges, such as he had admired there.

With persevering efforts, through many material difficulties, but supported by a strong will and by the influence of his position, he succeeded at last. This college is near Rome, in a pleasant, old-fashioned country place, Anagni, and is progressing fairly. Her Majesty the queen of Italy patronizes it, and it bears her name, "College Margaret of Savoy."

In Naples we have other remarkable old colleges for girls, bound to old-fashioned, conventional systems of education; but to give you an idea of our customs, I only state that while the entire educational staff is composed of ladies, most of whom reside in the colleges, the superintendence of them is exercised entirely by gentlemen. Two of these are distinguished young writers, the Duke Richard Carafa D'Andria and Benedetto Croce. A superintendence by ladies has not even been thought of.

That women are able to take a part in public affairs of any sort is still an idea hard to establish in Italy. Even when obliged to work, so few ways are opened to their activity besides teaching. And the only reason is that a strong prejudice exists against women; they are not considered fit to work, and how could they be, while even when they are trained to it, they are so little trusted? If they follow superior studies and obtain some scientific degree, except as medical doctors, they are actually prevented from competing in any of the high professions followed by men. A young Turinese lady, Miss Lydia Poet, following with success the university courses, obtained some years ago her degree in law. Well, men got so frightened at such a competition that they managed to exclude her from the exercise of her profession, stating that it would demoralize the tribunal if women were allowed to work there. The press tried to explain the injustice and illegality of such a proceeding, but with no result at all. No other woman went in for university legal studies, and the noble girl who had a right to the independent profession she had chosen was obliged to give it up, though privately

she works in the legal office of her brother, who considers her help most useful. As medical doctors, women could have a large practice and a most important field of action, but here again prejudice is against them, though our queen gave her moral support to the profession, naming as her honorary medical attendant a Turinese lady, Miss Mary Valleda Farne. This learned and well-known woman would have had a brilliant career anywhere else, as she was also appointed medical assistant at the principal hospital in Rome, by one of our greatest doctors, Baccelli. But she could in no way overcome public prejudice against a woman doctor, and she must be satisfied with her very select though small practice.

Music is a profession allowed to women in Italy, and several struggle on as music teachers, and a few rise to the summit of art as opera singers or concertists. We have in Italy very good conservatories, where, besides music (singing), a proper literary education is given. The most remarkable and important Italian conservatories are in Naples, Rome, and Milan.

In public business, women may occupy only post, telegraph, and telephone offices, but competition is so great in these branches that now it is most difficult to find there some free place to be got.

So the highest places that a woman may hope to obtain are only educational, the highest being those of inspectresses or principals of the best government schools; and all those places are much sought after, notwithstanding that they seldom pay more than about one thousand dollars a year at the very most. Liberal professions, such as writing, painting, music, acting, singing, are full of difficulties, and require a first-rate talent, much perseverance to overcome the beginnings, and also a great good chance to succeed in living on them.

However, we have now a remarkable number of women struggling for their economic independence with their own work. The larger number of these are writers, some

of whom succeed in making a living, though a very modest living indeed. Publishers seldom pay more than from one to four hundred dollars for a book, which they sell in not less than a thousand-copy edition, getting about eight hundred dollars for it when it has little or no success, but when three or four thousand copies are sold, usually the publisher alone profits by the sale. The printing expenses are not very high, so we have in Italy rich publishers, but I know of no writers who have made a fortune with their pen.

Woman's intellectual work in Italy is not encouraged even by those who ought to regard it as a duty. So, of course, without encouragement or organization our group of distinguished, cultivated women could not manage to send all their literary productions to swell the library in the Woman's Building.

As for industry, if the beautiful, artistic lacework they do appears to its full advantage, all the honor is due to your noble countrywoman's efforts, Countess Cora di Brazza, for it is to her alone that we owe all that is to be admired in the Italian section of the Woman's Building. The rich, historical laces of our royal family she obtained herself from our queen, and many others from personal friends. But her perseverance in teaching and in organizing schools for lacemaking, to give easy and beautiful work to the Italian peasant girls, is indeed worthy of all praise. Many noble ladies have lately been interested in this industry in Italy, foremost the late lamented Countess Andriana Zon Marcello, who revived the old lace manufactories in Venice, and the Countess Maria Pasolini, one of the few ladies in the Italian aristocracy remarkable for her culture and interest in the girls of the working classes.

We still want some of these cultivated women to take a serious, active, large-minded interest in intellectual progress. But you must kindly take also into consideration that we belong to a very young nation, and though we can boast of a splendid past we suffer still from the consequences of

a long, hard period of subjection and spiritual darkness. Time alone can help Italian women to develop their intellectual and moral faculties so as to rise to the standard they have the right to attain.

As for women's papers, we have now a few nicely written, but of a light literary kind, and several stupid ones exclusively regarding French fashions. Having dared, some years ago, at my own expense alone, to establish a Review for promoting the intellectual, moral, and legal interests of women, I was obliged after twenty months to give it up, though I had ventured to interest our queen in it, and also a number of cultivated people. But the review did not please those clericals who energetically oppose woman's progress, and they managed things so well that the paper had to come to an end. Tired, I would have given up my work, but a deep feeling of duty to go on with it made me publish lately a book in which is an account of all the struggles endured during the best twelve years of my life, spent in earnestly trying to elevate woman's intellectual standard in Italy. In the same volume are published the lectures I gave on the subject, and my account to the Italian government of woman's culture and work in England.

This book cleared many misunderstandings, and was considered by many eminent writers of both sexes to contain the true conception of the ideal womanhood we have to attain in Italy. Indeed, I am happy and proud to say that I owe to that book the venture of being here, as the Italian minister of instruction asked me to write a like report regarding woman's institutions in America, when he heard I had been invited to the Woman's Congress. During my last tour in Italy I had the pleasure of observing a remarkable change in the general public opinion regarding the woman question. Many ideas, not understood ten years ago, are now perfectly admitted. So I look forward hopefully to our future, trusting in the revival of education to elevate culture, and in the much needed reforms in our laws to control the fearful injustice by which women are oppressed.

This leads me to say a few words about the legal condition of women in modern Italy. If we look at the civil and penal code of Italy, at all laws which relate to women, their rights, their culture and work, we easily perceive that a general opinion of their moral weakness inspired all these laws. It is commonly believed in Italy that a woman is intellectually, morally, and physically inferior to man; that she can not stand by herself in life, nor presume to be respected and considered if she is not supported by the protection of man.

What this protection often means is misery to reveal. Italians, both men and women, have very distinct characteristics, of which also we must take notice, to understand better their present condition and the reforms required for their social and intellectual progress. Above all, they are intensely passionate creatures, and the family links are very strong; this much more to the south, where woman's individuality rarely exists. Woman lives the life man makes for her. As a child and girl she obeys blindly her father; as a woman her will submits entirely to her husband, whom she regards as the absolute master of her body and soul. If she does not marry, old as she may become, she remains always the obedient child of parent or brother, and never dares to regard herself as a free human being. This is the worst of it all, the general want of consciousness of one's own individual rights. Very often I tried to arouse such feelings in some naturally intelligent woman of our southern provinces; she looked at me with wide-open eyes as if I spoke some unintelligible language. The idea of breaking the chains which bind her in total subjection to man seemed to her mere madness. In the northern provinces the chains exist too, but of a different sort, lighter because women have a relative liberty, and easier to bear because more apparent than effective, more in form than substance.

Of course we can not expect every one everywhere to take the same course in life, and having well studied Italian women, I think they should be principally trained to

become good mothers, which means, as I regard it, to develop in a noble sense their natural instincts and make them capable of generous, kind, motherly feelings for human kind in general, when they are not blessed with children of their own. Humanitarian feelings are latent in the souls of Italians, and intelligently developed would become the best agents for elevating the people. It is, I fully believe, by kind, affectionate, earnest interest and sympathy in each other that life could be made easier and brighter for all, all over the world. As Giorgina Saffi beautifully expresses it in an address to young Italians, "Passions and the power of life which give us such intensity of feeling should be turned in active efforts for the welfare of our country people. Then young people would find more strength to work with, more love to promote the greatness, the power of a glorious future for Italy. The generation which has preceded us has accomplished great and noble facts on the ground of material action. Far from having reached entirely the ideal of our patriots, still the geographical union of Italy is almost realized. Though full of difficulties, a not less grand and glorious undertaking is left to us, to consecrate all our strength and energy for the moral regeneration of our country." *

United all round the world in noble efforts, we must feel sure of winning gloriously at last, in the name of the highest and purest ideals of human brotherhood, the holy battle of individual liberty and independence. The dream of the age lies in the enfranchisement of the human race, without consideration of class or sex.

DISCUSSION OF THE SAME SUBJECT BY SOFIA BOMPIANI OF ITALY.

The Italian ideal of womanly excellence may be gathered from the characters of those women who are praised

* Giorgina Saffi, Pensieri di una Madre ripografia Democratica — Forli, 1876.

and admired. These are held up as models to the majority, whose minds, it must be confessed, are vitiated by the reading of corrupt French novels and by the theater. Yet the examples of heroic self-devotion, of conjugal fidelity, and of the long-enduring, patient, and humble domestic virtues are so numerous that these may be considered, after all, the true type of Italian womanhood. When Clementina, the wife of Giovanni Lanza, the Spartan-like statesman who lived and died in poverty, although he might have accepted more from the government which he served, refused in her widowhood and need any help from the king, because "he" would not have approved, there was a cry of approbation from every part of Italy.

When Elena Cairoli, who for months nursed her dying husband as the guest of the king in one of the enchanting royal palaces at Naples, and then accompanied the honored dead from Naples to Groppello, being received like a queen at every station, shut herself up with her grief in the country house of the Cairoli family, senators and deputies in the senate and in parliament, and the king himself, sent her messages of reverence and praise.

She who had been the "beloved consort" of Benedetto Cairoli, and remains still beautiful and in the maturity of life, the last to bear that honored name, must continue the traditions of the family. "I bless her," wrote Benedetto in his last days in a letter to a friend, "and hope that she will find the courage to live on for duty and in memory of her love for me. The mission of my Elena does not end when I die, for she must live to imitate my revered mother." The name of Adelaide Cairoli, who gave her five sons to Italy, four of whom were killed in battle, is precious to Italian patriots.

Another widow who remained sole guardian of a celebrated name was Isabella Sclopis, wife of Count Frederick Sclopis, the president of the Committee for Arbitration of the Alabama Claims. Her death lately in Turin recalled the part she had in the labors of that negotiation. She

assisted her husband in the correspondence, so that he was enabled to dispense with a secretary, and received from the English government a splendid service of silver for what she did. "She had no children, but adopted the poor," was the eulogy given to her when she passed away.

Queen Margherita of Italy is praised not so much for her beauty and grace, her skill in court etiquette, and her intelligence, as for her courage, patriotism, and charity. The excursions she makes on the Alps, near Courmayeur, at the foot of San Bernardo, are considered as an example to her subjects, and the unfeigned interest she takes in schools and asylums makes her generally beloved.

Maria Fazzari, mother of three well-known soldiers of Garibaldi, who lately died in Calabria, at eighty years of age, was a woman of great strength of character and rare domestic virtue. Left while yet a young woman, by the perpetual imprisonment of her patriot husband, to gain bread for herself and children, she supported the long poverty and pain with patience and courage, and lived to be honored and blessed in a good old age.

Santa Cadet was a woman celebrated for her eccentricities as well as for her patriotism in the times that tried men's and women's souls. She conspired against the pontifical government, but was not molested by the police, partly because she had a brother a professor in the university, and because they did not fear that the "Sora Santa" could overturn the temporal power. In 1849 she assisted the wounded in the battles with the French on the Janiculum, and afterward to the end of her life admired Garibaldi and Mazzini. She took part in every republican and anti-clerical demonstration, as well as the public patriotic celebrations, marching with the rest and wearing her black and white check shawl and large close bonnet. The telegrams which she sent to other countries were often read on these occasions. She was a woman of culture and great activity, and charitable to the poor according to her means. At the funeral her body was wrapped in the flag of the

anti-clerical society, the cross was removed from the hearse and replaced by a bunch of red flowers, and no priest, either Papal or Protestant, read prayers above her grave.

This passion for public life is exceptional with Italian women in times of peace, although they are ready for any heroic deeds in war.

Rosalie Crispi, who still sometimes walks in Garibaldian processions, was one of the "Mille," or Thousand of Marsala, and is the only woman entitled to wear that honorable medal. The activity of Italian women is generally shown in acts of benevolence. The Duchess of Galliera founded hospitals at Genoa; the Duchess of Ceri — the daughter and heiress of Prince Torlonia — gave lately forty thousand dollars for an aqueduct to provide water for the town of Avezzana, near the Lake Fucino, drained by her father; and the Signora Gola presented her own magnificent villa near Turin for a gymnasium for the children of the schools and asylums of that city. The Nathan family in Rome has founded an institute for finding places for girls out of work, and the burden of its direction is borne chiefly by Signora Virginia Nathan.

Another woman, educated and cultured, after spending all of her own little patrimony in founding a refuge for the poor and forsaken, betook herself to asking charity at night for them in the cafés and public squares. Signora Maria Capozzi, dressed neatly in black, distributes the prospectus of her institute at night among the frequenters of the cafés, and with a smile receives the "soldo" or more which they give her. She is universally respected, but as there is a law against mendicancy, even when it is done in the holy name of charity, she was advised by the police to procure a license for selling matches or something similar.

Amalia Prandi has been the directress since its foundation of the Professional School for Girls, which has now six hundred pupils. This is a municipal institution, but its great success and usefulness are due to the executive talent

of this woman. She also had an important share in founding the School for Nurses, now in operation on the Janiculum, by persuading many of the scholars at the Professional School to go there. This institution, supported by the city, was founded at the suggestion of the eminent surgeon Durante, who was sent by the government to study sanitary establishments in the United States.

In June, 1890, a national exposition of feminine labor was held in Florence. The sculptors, the painters, the writers of prose and poetry and plays and school-books; the workers in gold and silver thread, on velvet, on satin and on linen; the tapestry workers, the flower makers, the glove makers, all sent specimens of their skill to Florence. The actresses recited, the singers sang, the musicians played on harp, and piano, and violin; the teachers taught to show how they did it. There were lectures on the Italian woman in the thirteenth century, at the Renaissance, and in the seventeenth century; on the character of woman in the various regions of Italy; on woman in the family, in society, and in charitable deeds. All this fervor was not so much to hold an exposition of women's work as to celebrate the sixth centenary of the death of Beatrice Portinari, the inspirer of Dante. This idea was considered by many a mistaken one, and serious opposition was made to calling the exposition by that name. Some even doubted that this Beatrice had ever really existed; others, among whom was the poet Carducci, averred that the Beatrice of the Divina Commedia was only theology, and others thought such honor were better given to the mother or the wife of the famous poet.

The fourth centenary of the birth of Vittoria Colonna will be celebrated in a short time at Marino, a town on the Roman Campagna, in the ancient castle of the Colonna family. The monastery where this celebrated woman ended her days, and the church where she was buried, have been demolished in the recent changes in Rome, but the palace of the Colonna, much altered from her time, occupies its

JUANITA BRECKENRIDGE.
MERI TOPPELIUS.

CARRIE LANE CHAPMAN.
AMELIA STONE QUINTON.

old place in the Piazza dei Santi Apostoli, and the tower of the family may yet be seen in the Via Tre Cannelle.

The question of woman's right to vote was raised in parliament three years ago by several members who have long openly espoused this cause. Minister Crispi opposed it, saying that the question was not yet ripe, although it has been discussed since 1861. The eligibility of woman to take part in public charities was also discussed in the Senate, but the old idea that woman's place is exclusively at home prevailed. All women, however, do not stay there. The force of her genius as Improvisatrice made Giannina Milli known all over Italy.

Guiseppina Cattani, thirty-one years old, is now professor of bacteriology in the University of Bologna. Fanny Zampini Salazar and Celia Folchi give public lectures. Caterina Pigorini Beri is well known for her numerous writings on political and educational subjects. Her sister, Countess Angela Ferraris, the wife of the ex-minister of grace and justice, was only a few years ago a teacher in the public schools.

Women in Agriculture in Siam — An Address by Lady Linchee Suriya, Official Representative of Siam.

Before entering upon the subject on which I am requested to write — the share of work done by Siamese women in agriculture — I deem it necessary to say a few words as to the general condition of my country in relation to agriculture.

The area of the kingdom of Siam extends, approximately, from the fourth to the twenty-second degree of north latitude, and from the ninety-sixth to the one hundred and ninth degree of east longitude, and contains about two hundred and fifty thousand square miles, with a small population estimated from ten to twelve millions. Of these only about two-thirds are purely Siamese, the rest

being formed of different races, such as Lacs, Karens, Anamites, Cambodians, Malays, and Peguans, who are descendants of captives from different wars, or of people of the various dependencies of Siam. The Chinese population also forms a large percentage. Under the influence of the tropical climate and the favorable geological formation of land, coupled with the abundance of water supply by natural streams and rainfall, every part of the country, with hardly an exception, presents a very fertile soil, producing the most exuberant vegetation, unsurpassed by any other country on the face of the earth. Such a degree of productiveness of the soil naturally affords all the year round an abundance of a great variety of vegetable and animal food, and enables its inhabitants to live in perfect ease and contentment. By a liberal law every one has a right to appropriate for cultivation any area of waste land by paying, once for all, for securing a title deed, a small fee of one tical (equal to about forty cents of United States currency) per rai, equal to seventy-seven thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven square feet. The extent of the area of land thus appropriated, or even owned by right of purchase, or by any other means, is limited somewhat indirectly by a law which recognizes all claims to appropriation of land not under actual cultivation for more than three years. As agriculture is the chief pursuit of the Siamese nation, the inhabitants are naturally fond of living near rivers, which not only irrigate and fertilize their fields by periodical inundations, but afford the best and simplest means of transportation. Consequently, the density of the population of Siam is almost entirely confined within the limits of the basins of its principal rivers, along which towns and villages are scattered, varying in size and distances apart according to the greater or less productiveness of the land and the conveniences of traffic. The greater part of the population of Siam occupies itself in cultivating field crops, chiefly rice, and the cheapness of the land, coupled with the ease and little labor required in

its cultivation, makes it necessary for a man, in order to keep himself busy all the season, to own a large acreage of land, increasing thereby the distances between separate homes. Moreover, among these peasant proprietors, hired labor is almost unheard of, for every one has his own ground to till and his toil laid out at the same time. Under such circumstances the share of women's work among the laboring class attains its maximum.

A girl's education is very often neglected entirely, unlike that of her brothers, who, being sent to live with the priests in the temples, derive some benefit from their sojourn away from their homes. At an early age a girl begins already to be of some use to her parents. When they are out working she remains at home to take care of her little brothers and sisters, or goes out with them to watch the cattle graze, or to scare birds when the crops begin to bear fruit. As she grows up her parents take her out in a boat, in which they paddle about with the products of their labor for sale. She soon learns to manage the boat, and to sell goods without her parents' aid. During her leisure hours her mother teaches her how to spin, weave, and to use a needle, as women generally make all the clothing for the family. After her marriage she either remains with her husband at her parents' home or follows her husband to live with his parents. Only in cases where the families on both sides are already large must the married couple find a new home for themselves. In such cases the burden of work that falls to the share of the wife is nearly as heavy as the husband's, for they must necessarily engage together in almost every kind of work of the field. As a general rule, however, the couple takes one or two young relatives to help them in their toil. Hard as may seem the lot of women among the poorest class, yet the hardships they have to contend with are only during the planting season, which lasts about six months of the year, and the remuneration for their labor is sufficient to enable them to remain idle during the remainder of the year, if they so

desire. Moreover, their toil is lessened in a great degree by a sort of coöperation which they adopt. This simply consists in each peasant by turns inviting his neighbors to assist him gratuitously in the heaviest parts of his work on the land, such as plowing, planting, harvesting, or threshing. The hostess, on this occasion, with the aid of her friends, prepares a good feast to entertain her invited guests; men and women come with their own implements and their best team of oxen. They set to work systematically from morning till noon, when lunch is served; then after a short rest they continue to work till nearly sunset. The scene on such a day is beautiful indeed. Groups of men and women, gaily dressed in bright colors, are to be seen scattered over the fields, earnestly working with their utmost energy and striving to compete with one another in skill, while pleasant songs, cheers, and laughter are to be heard on all sides. After the day's work is over they assemble at dinner; drinks are freely served, and all kinds of merry-making takes place until late at night. In this manner the plowing, planting, harvesting, and threshing are done each in one day, thereby lessening in a very great measure the hardships of toil. In the field women, as a rule, take part only in the work of sowing, planting, harvesting, and threshing; men do the rest of the heavy work.

There is another class of agricultural women distinguishable from that already mentioned. They belong to the garden districts that are located in the vicinity of the towns and cities. Here their condition is much better. Having constant relations with the town people, their education is not neglected, and they generally give proof of greater intelligence, culture, and refinement than the women of the fields. Their complexion is fairer, as they do less physical work, and are not so often exposed to the heat of the sun. Now and again they help the men to water their fruit-trees and do some weeding, mostly in the shade of the trees. Their chief occupation is to gather fruit and vegetables,

to take them to market, and as they plant a variety of these in order to make the land yield in all the seasons of the year, they are kept busy almost every day. In addition to this, they make cakes, conserves, and pickles, and dispose of them together with the produce of the garden. There are many who keep small shops in front of their orchards on the river side, and sell, besides their fruits, groceries, sweetmeats, cigarettes, and many other things either made at home or bought from wholesale dealers. The women of this class are diligent and most economical. They rise at as early as three o'clock in the morning, and before the townspeople are up their goods are all ready for sale in their boats at the floating markets.

Although as a class they are considered extremely economical, yet they are as liberal as the townspeople in their contributions to charities. They have good houses to live in comfortably, and sufficient means to be considered as belonging to the middle classes. Of course, among these, as among the class of farmers above described, there are many who are really rich, and who own considerable property.

Besides these two classes, there are many other agricultural women of the various tribes that are tributary to Siam, having their peculiarities of character and their customs, but as they do not belong to the Siamese race proper, I will not deal with them here.

It would be out of place for me here to compare the condition of Siamese farmers with that of those of any other country, but the fact that nearly every one either works upon his own land or that of his family, will itself explain in what state of happiness and contentment they are. The price of rice-growing land is not beyond the reach of the poor, and therefore it does not pay the rich to buy land for the sole purpose of renting. If the rich man works his land himself on a large scale, somehow or other he will find that he can not compete with his small neighbors, and generally in the end he is obliged to let his land at a nomi-

nal rent, which amounts ordinarily to about one-sixth part of his tenant's net produce, and out of this he has to pay the tax on land. Labor-saving machinery is yet in its experimental stage.

The Position of Women in Iceland — Address by Sigrid E. Magnüsson of Iceland.

I will try to give you a brief, and necessarily a broken, sketch of the present social conditions of Iceland, a country almost devoid of all the means by which sunnier countries have been built up. The land yields no grain of any kind, no fruit except a few blueberries, no timber but that thrown upon the coast, no coals. It has no roads, in the general sense of the word. Bridges are few and far between, although dangerous rivers in hundreds tumble headlong in a mighty rush to the sea from the stupendous masses of inland glaciers. Wheeled vehicles are unknown. All inland communication is effected in summer by means of the enduring, sure-footed little ponies; in winter mostly on foot.

In consequence of this difficulty of communication, the education of children and women in the country is very difficult, and added to this, the people are very poor.

The area of Iceland is forty thousand square miles, and the population is only seventy thousand. Day schools are practically impossible in the country, so the instruction of children takes place at home, and, as a rule, falls to the mother's lot, in addition to her many other duties. It may be said, with perfect truth, that the Icelandic mother has been the universal schoolmistress of the land, at least as far as girls are concerned. Instruction in reading and religion is compulsory.

In the autumn the clergyman visits every house in the parish, for the purpose of examining the children in reading and the catechism, and if he is satisfied with their

progress he invites the parents or the guardians to send children of twelve to fourteen years of age to him during Lent, for further instruction, that is to prepare them for confirmation. Confirmation is compulsory at the age from fourteen to sixteen, and by law the priest is forbidden to confirm a child until it knows the catechism by heart, as well as the "Lerdomskver," a small book containing the essence of the Bible, and has made such progress in the art of reading as to be able to perform the family service with decency. Here, as a rule, ends a girl's education, except that in some cases a little writing may be added.

For boys a very different provision has been made. A splendid Latin school or college, an old endowed institution, is at Reykjavik, where boys and men can enter and have six or seven years of thorough training by eminent masters. They are sent to a tutor for one or two years to prepare for the examinations, which they have to pass before entering the college. Then there is also a medical and theological college for men who have passed through the Latin college. Those who wish to study law, philology or science, have to go to Copenhagen University for their studies, after leaving the Latin college, as there is no provision made for those studies in Iceland. All these institutions are endowed, so that most of the scholars, all who are in need of help and show themselves worthy of assistance, receive a stipend.

Although the question of providing education for women has of late years engrossed much attention, owing to the poverty of the people and the miserable means of communication, as already stated, very slight progress has been achieved. A few private attempts have been made to establish schools for girls over fourteen years of age, or after confirmation, but these schools are very narrow in scope. The girls go there for one or two winters. Handwork and household duties are taught, and, of course, this is better than no education at all for the few who can avail themselves of it, but it is entirely insufficient. Women who

live in Reykjavik have comparatively very little difficulty, as they can get instruction free at the "Kvermaskoli," and those who can afford to pay for private lessons can easily obtain them from the college tutors and students.

There is also an excellent children's school at Reykjavik, for boys and girls from the ages of eight to fourteen, conducted by a very able and excellent master.

I have frequently heard since I came abroad, in both England and Scandinavia, that women in Iceland were so well educated that they even spoke Latin; that they were, indeed, favored with suffrage. There is not a woman in Iceland who can speak Latin. The origin of this idea is that Lord Dufferin, who visited Iceland, said in his book, "Letters from High Latitudes," that the women in Iceland had spoken Latin to him. But this distinguished man did not expect people to take every word literally, and when he was used as authority for this statement, he said, with his usual humor, that he had not understood them, so he supposed it was Latin.

Women have not general suffrage, but they have the municipal vote. This is, however, rarely used, for they have not the necessary education or training for making use of it, and old prejudice and fear of being laughed at certainly would prevent them from exercising this right at present. Some years ago a bill was brought to our "Althing," or Parliament, urging the necessity of higher education for women. When it came to the Danish government it was so well received that a law was passed permitting women in Iceland to study at the theological and medical college with men. But it was stipulated that they should not receive any appointments, either in the church or as medical practitioners (doctors are appointed by the government, and receive a fixed salary), since the law does not provide any preliminary education for women to enable them to avail themselves of it.

What is now absolutely needed is a high school or college for women in Iceland, with the same standard as the

Latin college for men, where women who wish to take up university studies can have the same preparatory training as men. For some years I have been trying to establish a school for girls in Reykjavik, in the country, and by the assistance of kind friends in England succeeded so far as to build a house, and even to start a school two years ago with fifteen girls, but as only a few could pay the full fee (about twenty-seven cents a day for everything), and the others not even half of that sum, my small funds were exhausted at the end of the first year.

The Position of Women in Syria — Address by Hanna K. Korany of Syria.

The tide of modern progress is sweeping away in its mighty flow many of the prejudiced, fanatical ideas concerning woman's sphere in the east. Records of the far-away past teach us that woman in ancient Syria, Egypt, and Arabia held a prominent position in art, poetry, music, and literature. Our Arabic language is rich with feminine poetry and prose; and woman's literary products, though less in quantity than man's, are, I am proud to say, equal in quality. The present educated woman is striving to bring back the happy, prosperous times, and renew her pursuits in all the fields of high attainments with men. Her position is held higher, and is greatly improved in many respects these last years. Fifty years ago women who could read and write their native tongue were very scarce, and the fathers and mothers of that period, both ignorant, shrank with horror from educating their daughters. They supposed, poor creatures, that a girl who learned to read and write would use her knowledge in writing love letters to men, and that she would be utterly ruined as a good, obedient wife and a good, thrifty housekeeper. It does seem strange that her office and calling as a mother was of no consideration, or less considered than her being a housekeeper.

Oriental women are naturally timid, and shrink from public notice. The long established customs of the country which place them in seclusion keep them from asserting their rights. They live in the shade, contented to be unknown except to their families and intimate friends. As a rule they take life easy, and make no effort to change the order of things. Education is awakening them from their long slumber, is opening their eyes to the sorrowful condition of the country, and is stirring them up to shake off these old monotonous habits and to introduce better ones. Their work is beginning at home, where every improvement should begin, and they are now more able to fill the office of wife and mother, and better fitted to become the companions of educated men. Their advantages are far behind the advantages of the European and American women, but still you find many who are intelligent, intellectual, and refined. The oriental woman is naturally, notwithstanding what Mark Twain said, beautiful, modest, and sensible. All she needs to raise her to the plane of her western sisters is a good liberal education, which she is now partly enjoying.

The orientals have been cured of many conservative, prejudiced ideas concerning woman's sphere, and have come to acknowledge that in order to uplift and elevate humanity, woman, the mother, should be well educated. We have several schools for girls, both foreign and native, and these schools are crowded with students. The education in these schools is what might be classed as elementary; the girls are instructed practically, instead of in science and letters. They study their own language, one or two foreign languages, elementary geography, mathematics, and science. But every woman, no matter how ignorant, how learned, how rich, or how poor, consecrates herself to the home and its requirements, and exerts her energies to make it pleasant and beautiful. Women doctors, lawyers, clerks, newspaper reporters, presidents of institutions, and the like are yet unknown to the country. Rich, leisurely women, as

a rule, occupy their time in presiding over their household duties, meeting the demands of society, and making their toilet. It is usually the lot of the poor who are thrown upon their resources, or the mission of the few energetic, aspiring women, to face the public and carry out their different projects. In such cases as the former, when poverty stares them in the face they help their husbands in all farm work, and go about the city selling flowers and fruits, and some of them resort to the various branches of needlework, and earn livelihoods by the beautiful embroideries they make.

When I was traveling in Mount Lebanon last summer, I was struck with the contentment and simplicity of poor hard-working women, whose lives are a perpetual strife, a daily combat with poverty, yet who in their innocent hearts do not realize its bitterness and hardships; they take it as a matter of course, and never stop to argue with fate.

Such hard-working women, placed often in the remotest parts of the country, where modern improvement does not penetrate, where discontent, which is to me the strongest stimulant to progress, does not try to break the sad monotony of their lives, are less to be pitied than those who are starving for knowledge and can not easily get it.

As for those who are not driven by poverty to exertion, the government does not encourage their advancement, and the public regards them with prejudice and suspicion, opposes their objects and mercilessly criticizes all their efforts to be of any consequence in the world. Our present sultan, his majesty Abd-ul-Hamid, has recently established several schools for girls in different parts of the country, and although education in these schools is limited, yet we hope — we can do nothing but hope — that these schools will grow in number and efficiency, and lead to a free public education.

Woman's position in society varies with her religion. Oriental society is the reverse of western society; it is slow and monotonous. Religion governs our society, and while the Christian community is improving by European influence,

the Mohammedans will long continue to exile women from their circles, and for this reason progress among them is much slower than among the Christians. Social gatherings, on the whole, are very few; they consist mostly of dinner parties, card companies, home concerts, and weddings. Public receptions, lectures, literary organizations, and pleasure clubs are unknown; but balls and soirées, à la mode, are beginning among our communities. They are not considered the right thing, and justly so, for the country needs intellectual entertainment and not dancing. The seclusion of the houris of the harem casts a shadow of dullness and reserve on the social intercourse of the Mohammedans. It is a great mistake to suppose that the Mohammedan women are unhappy because of their seclusion; they are not, and would not wish it otherwise, and they have many occasions to which they look forward with ardent pleasure. Religious feasts, wedding ceremonies, and boys' birthdays are great events in their lives. The house that has been quiet for months bursts forth as if by magic with oriental music and singing, and the marble halls and the receiving apartments of the harem are crowded with beautiful faces and willowy forms, adorned with precious gems and dressed in purple and gold. Coffee, sherbet, and choice unintoxicating oriental drinks are then served. The whole scene is enchanting, brilliant, happy, and joyous; and the Moslem women take great pleasure in these occasions. Notwithstanding all the religious restrictions, the innocent, simple occupants of the harem are peeping from out the veil to catch a glimpse of modern enlightenment, and many of the inmates are well educated and devote much time to literary pursuits.

There is no doubt that in the future Moslem men, missing the charm and refinement of feminine society, and cured of many old ideas, will thrust back the thick veil of seclusion and lead woman to take possession of her place as the equal companion of man.

Writers have, all of them, misrepresented the oriental woman in their sketches – her sphere, her capabilities, and

her person. Foreigners who travel in our country for two or three weeks, or a month, come in contact only with the lowest class, and consequently their opinion about our women is not reliable. The general condition of women is not so favorable as in Europe or America, but it can not be classed as pitiable. Many of them rule as queens, and are loved, revered, and respected by their husbands and children.

Americans, who are enjoying the advantages of independence, freedom, and equality, can not readily comprehend the many obstacles that stand in the way of the oriental woman's progress. What she has achieved so far, though very little, promises far greater achievements in the future. Although she has not yet learned that unity is power, and therefore no great movement can be carried out by organized bodies, yet by concentrated effort she has lately established a native school for girls, supported by her funds and directed by her intellect. Of course, this is no great thing in America, but in Syria this means a great deal; it means that the women have come to see the necessity of education, and the need of native schools, and that above all these they recognize the individual responsibility to work for the uplifting of the masses.

CHAPTER XII.—EDUCATION AND LITERATURE,

AS PRESENTED IN THE SUBORDINATE CONGRESSES.

EDITORIAL COMMENT—ABSTRACT OF AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL KINDERGARTEN UNION, BY SARAH A. STEWART—EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGIATE ALUMNÆ, BY MARION TALBOT—EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS, BY LUCILIA W. LEARNED—EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S RELIEF SOCIETY, BY EMMELINE B. WELLS—ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS PRESENTED IN THE REPORT CONGRESSES, BY LAURA KIELER, BELLE GRANT ARMSTRONG, AND JOHN STRANGE WINTER (HENRIETTA E. V. STANNARD).

WITH the preceding chapter the report of the General Congress is closed. The remainder of this volume will be devoted to reports and addresses delivered in the subordinate congresses. Without these, the General Congress is to a degree unintelligible; for it is in these smaller congresses that one finds the springs from which the General Congress was fed. As all of the papers delivered in the latter could be classified broadly under a few heads, so all those given in the former can be brought under the same general divisions.

The degree to which the education of the American people is committed to women is indicated by the addresses given in the Kindergarten Congress. The opportunities for the higher education, the degree to which such opportunities are used, the conscientious application by college women of their developed powers to practical problems, and the sense of responsibility resulting from college training are admirably demonstrated by the address of Miss

Marion Talbot, concerning the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ. That the intellectual aspiration which characterizes young women of the higher circles in the United States to-day is by no means limited to any class or any country, is shown in the admirable papers relating to the education of women in Sweden, Germany, and in New South Wales, which were read in the Congress. The club, popularly known as a post-graduate school, is classified with other educational forces; and as the press is merely the platform from which public teachers can address the largest numbers of pupils and students, the report of a press club finds also here its proper place. When one realizes the degree to which the newspaper makes public opinion, and also considers the degree to which women make newspapers, one must feel it a public necessity on the one hand that women shall have every opportunity for education, that their own opinions may be intelligent; and on the other hand that they shall be equally with men amenable to law, that their opinions may be responsible.

The Conference Congresses were, as explained in the introduction (Volume I), quite informal, but they were among the most profitable meetings of the week. To indicate the catholicity of spirit with which such congresses were conducted, and the wealth of material which conference committees had to draw on, the programme as actually rendered in the Conference Congress on Education is appended to the report of the addresses given in the more formal meetings.—[THE EDITOR.]

THE INTERNATIONAL KINDERGARTEN UNION — ADDRESS BY SARAH A. STEWART OF PENNSYLVANIA, SECRETARY OF THE INTERNATIONAL KINDERGARTEN UNION.

The International Kindergarten Union is now one year old. It seems fitting that a statement be made of its aims and purposes, its growth, and its prospects for the future.

It was organized at Saratoga, in 1892, in the interests of concerted action among the friends of the kindergarten cause. As a beginning, four distinct aims were stated:

1. To gather and disseminate knowledge of the kindergarten movement throughout the world.
2. To bring into active coöperation all kindergarten interests.
3. To promote the establishment of kindergartens.
4. To elevate the kindergartner's standard of professional training.

As stated in the preliminary circular:

The principles underlying the kindergarten system are the groundwork of modern primary education. An intelligent interpretation of the philosophy and method is being presented by many independent workers in various parts of the world; something like a complete system of primary education is being slowly evolved from the repeated experiments of these investigators. Much of value to the world is being lost from the lack of coördinate effort and some common channel of communication.

The International Kindergarten Union was formed to meet this need. It seeks to unite in one stream the various kindergarten activities already existing. Its function is to supplement, not to compete with, to coördinate, not to supplant, the agencies which are already at work. It combines the advantages of central council and suggestion with local independence and control. Its mission is to collect, collate, and disseminate the valuable knowledge already attained, and to inspire to greater and more intelligent efforts in the future. It falls naturally into the spirit and method of the times, which is no longer that of isolated effort, but of concentrated, harmonious action.

In most of the States the kindergartens are outside of the public school system, and in the hands of private societies. It is obvious that an International Kindergarten Union can deal only with large units. It is hoped that all of the kindergarten societies in each State, whether public or private, will unite to form one State organization for representation in the International Kindergarten Union. The great advance which has been made in the growth of kindergartens in the recent past makes it hopeful that the time is near when there will be no State without such an organization.

The International Kindergarten Union is pledged to promote such organizations, and to the establishment of kindergartens. It invites coöperation from public and private schools, churches, and benevolent societies of every kind and grade, which have for their object the educational interests of little children.

The establishment of a high standard of training for the office of kindergartner has long been felt to be a necessity by those most intimately connected with the work. It is of first importance that some standard be reached that shall direct the future action of training schools in the preparation of teachers. The time is past when "anybody can teach little children;" we are no longer in the experimental stage. No position calls for more native ability and more thorough training. The kindergartner must take her place with other trained professional teachers, if she can hope to hold her place in the great army of educational progress; she must be able to see that principles are more than method, spirit more than form, and organic relations to other departments of education of vital importance to success in her own.

It will be the work of the International Kindergarten Union to prepare an outline of study, to advise its adoption, and to give aid and counsel whenever they are sought. The executive committee includes the leading kindergartners of this country and of Europe. Their experience and knowledge give ample security that wise counsel will be given in all questions of importance to the cause.

The immediate aim of the International Kindergarten Union for the coming year will be to prepare a fitting representation of kindergarten progress at the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893. This time will furnish an occasion for an interchange of views and an organization of forces for future growth unequaled in the history of the world. An international congress is planned for this time, in which will be discussed questions of vital importance to the cause by the most eminent kindergartners of the world. Foreign correspondence is now being held to bring together products of the system in countries much older than our own. It is hoped that not only finished products may be displayed, in well-graded sequence, but that practical illustrations of method may be given with the little children present.

A provisional constitution was adopted, the terms of which were very simple and very elastic.

Each local center retains complete autonomy, and continues the activities which were begun before joining the general union.

So much for what was hoped to be done. Allow me to make a brief review of what has been done. It was early discovered that certain important changes must be made in membership and in dues. At a meeting of the executive board, held in Chicago in December, it was decided to recognize only cities as members in the International Kindergarten Union, with the exception of the original charter

members, and that dues for membership should be fixed as follows:

Each city branch shall pay into the general treasury twenty-five cents for each of its members.

Sixteen of the leading cities in the United States have joined the union, and two others are considering the matter. This means that all the kindergarten societies in each city have united to form a membership in the International Kindergarten Union. The cities are the following: Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, Providence, Wilmington, Albany, Buffalo, Chicago, Indianapolis, Cincinnati, Toledo, Cleveland, St. Louis, Des Moines, San Francisco, Smyrna (Turkey). These are called city branches of the International Kindergarten Union. Indications are given that foreign countries will also join the union. Most of them have responded promptly to the invitation to give reports of kindergarten progress in their countries, and have expressed hearty sympathy with the movement.

We are asked to answer the question, What is the advantage of an International Kindergarten Union? Or to put it in the words which I overheard from one of the members of our branch, "What am I going to get for my dollar?" Let me attempt to sketch briefly what I think one will get for her dollar; but first, let me say, the same arguments which can be urged for organization for any purpose can be urged with equal force for organized effort among kindergartners. The great word of the day is organization, and the reason for this is because the world has discovered that more can be done through combined action than through isolated effort; moreover, it is beginning to discover that more can be done through coördination than through subordination.

But in answer to the question of my timid, short-sighted little friend: First, then, it is a saving in the three primal values, energy, time, and money, which represents the first two, by frequent and complete circulation of the work of each branch of the union; each gains from the experience

of all. Each center is a new field of experiment and discovery; that which is of value can be published for a thousand almost as easily as for one. Each valuable experience in one branch becomes an inspiration and incentive to renewed efforts in another; an enthusiasm is created which carries the whole body much farther than isolated action ever can. There is strength in numbers. The moral sentiment of a multitude is infinitely more compelling than the opinions of one.

Again, it meets a need in woman's education which is paramount to-day; which is a training in organization, and power to act together by meeting for united action in the smaller centers for immediate ends; each will learn to coöperate with her peers and be led gradually by the most potent of all methods — experience — to the broader conception of the larger well-being, and finally, let us hope, to the highest conception of all the universal good. By the very force of woman's life her vision is limited to the near necessities which press so heavily upon her, but the day is at hand when from her isolated position in the family and the school she will be called to take also the view which links her with others in working for the general good. What better way for a kindergartner to learn this all-important lesson than to begin where she is, with the vital interests which she has most at heart, and organize to secure their success? This organized effort also may bring her in touch with the choicest literature of her profession. It is one of the chief aims of the International Kindergarten Union to select out of the whole field of literature that which will bear most directly upon her profession, and mark out courses of reading for general culture. It is at this point that the selective intelligence of the whole counts for the most for the individual. No one has time to read even a tithe of the mass of literature which is put forth upon the subject. We want to make a journal of journals, which will collect and disseminate the products of the best thinking of the world in the direction of the child's education,

and make it possible for every mother, kindergartner, and teacher to have this journal for one dollar.

Each also will have the published proceedings of all general meetings, the papers and discussions of live educational topics by the leaders in this department of thought, and so keep in touch with the most recent thought and latest discoveries. Each will have the motive and opportunity to contribute to the general fund her latest and best thought, and so it becomes a training in writing and literary skill, and each may feel that she is contributing her mite toward making a profession of education possible.

By united action the city branches of the International Kindergarten Union may become real estate owners; they can build an educational temple which shall be forever sacred to the cause of little children, where each society can meet for social and professional purposes upon common ground for united action. They can collect in this temple a library of professional literature for the general use of all. They may have courses of study that will meet the needs of all, and command the finest lecture talent in the field. All this has been done by smaller agencies, and for lesser ends than ours, and can be done again.

The History, Aims, and Methods of the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ — Address by Marion Talbot of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ.

There is nothing to be seen in this world like the beauty of the creation on the enchanted shore of Lake Michigan. This new power which Americans have developed to express the ideal and spiritual side of man fills one with awe and wonder, mingled with thanksgiving that such forms of beauty and grace can be conceived and perfected in this new world.

Rapid and wonderful as the development of the artistic

sense in this country has been, its forerunner has been the general education of the people — that education which is neither artistic nor technical, but which is the foundation upon which the solidity and permanence of our greatest works, both of art and of utility, must rest. The progress of education has been the most marked and the most rapid, happily, where it was the most needed — among the girls and women of the country. It seems but a span since the World's Exposition was held in Philadelphia. Even then, in one of the principal cities of this country — and what was true of that city was doubtless true of many — so low was the standard of education that no girl was taught in any public school any of the elements of the higher learning save a little Latin. No steps had been taken in 1876 — none, in fact, had been suggested — to prepare girls, as they may be prepared to-day, to pass the tests of the higher scholarship. Neither were they fitted, except in a most superficial way, to help forward the wonderful scientific and industrial development of the period. Fortunately, this defect in the training of girls was not universal in this country. After arduous effort, a few women had fitted themselves to take the courses of study at Michigan University, Cornell University, Wisconsin University, Vassar College, and a little later at Boston University, Wellesley College, and Smith College. Still, the number of these women was very small. They had in most cases taken their degrees in order to qualify themselves better as professional teachers. But time developed a new class of college women — women with more or less of competence and of leisure, who, having been trained while in college in definite aims, and in habits of constant and persevering industry, found themselves on graduation cut off by this training from the power to live on easy terms with women less systematically educated. The opportunity for acquaintance and coöperation with graduates from other colleges was necessarily limited. To an active and conscientious woman these questions soon become pressing — what

special value had a college training been to her individually, and how could she best help to forward the aims and ambitions of other students, as well as to bear that part in the life of her own community which was her evident obligation?

It seemed as if it should be the mission of the college-bred woman of the latter part of the nineteenth century, not only to secure for herself the highest intellectual training, but to make such use of that training as would commend itself to her own conscience, and would satisfy the claim of a higher civilization that she should have a share in uplifting the human race.

It was in the mind of Mrs. Emily Talbot of Boston that this ideal was first evolved into a definite working plan, under circumstances which should be narrated and become a part of the history of the association.

As the mother of two college-bred girls she had often pondered upon these conditions and difficulties opening before women. One day a young woman was announced who apologized for presenting herself without introduction, but, having heard of Mrs. Talbot's interest in college girls, she had ventured to call to see if she could get suggestions how to obtain a position to tutor a few hours weekly. Her family were unwilling she should teach in a school; in fact, were she strong enough, there was no absolute necessity to do so, but to obtain a small independent income was her desire, and within her power, if she could be put on the right path. The situation was carefully examined by question and answer, and thus was laid open a definite case of the attainments and ambitions of the modern type of womanhood, hedged in by the old traditions and prejudices. In that moment, as by an inspiration, the vision dawned of constantly increasing numbers of young women, with similar training and congenial tastes, who by organization and coöperation might advance educational methods, encourage girls in more definite aims, support the struggling student, formulate plans for original investigation, as

well as learn to work together in a common interest, with method and harmony and a spirit of self-sacrifice.

The vision soon became a spoken thought. Rapidly the idea was passed on from one to another of the few college women in Boston, and on November 8, 1881, a little company gathered in the hospitable halls of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology for the purpose of considering the advisability of forming an association. There were present seventeen women, representing eight different colleges. It may be well to mention their names, especially since the early interest shown by many of them has grown with time and proved the source of much of the influence and power which the association now exercises.

There came from Oberlin College, Anna E. F. Morgan, '66; Ellen A. Hayes, '78; Margaret E. Stratton, '78. Vassar College, Ellen H. Richards, '70; Florence M. Cushing, '74; Alice Hayes, '81. University of Michigan, Lucy C. Andrews, '76; Alice E. Freeman, '76; Mary O. Marston, '77. Cornell University, Mary H. Ladd, '75. University of Wisconsin, Maria M. Dean, '80; Alma J. Frisby, '78. Boston University, Sarah L. Miner, '77; Marion Talbot, '80. Smith College, S. Alice Brown, '81. Wellesley College, Harriet C. Blake, '80; Edith E. Metcalf, '80.

In accordance with a notice sent to all alumnæ of the eight colleges thus associated, residing in New England and New York City, sixty-six women met at Chauncy Hall School in Boston, on January 14, 1882, and adopted a constitution and elected officers.

At the meeting of the association held on March 11, 1882, the first after its organization, the president, Mrs. Jennie Field Bashford, addressed the association and outlined its work. The records contain the following abstract of her address: "She said the members have organized in order better to utilize their privileges in personal education and to perform their duty in respect to popular education. The immediate objects of the meeting may properly be the discussion of topics of common interest, especially those relat-

ing to educational matters, and methods of comparative education. It was suggested that a bureau of supply be established, through which members wishing employment and those seeking educated women to fill responsible positions might be brought together. Departments may be formed, devoted to the study of subjects which are frequently neglected in the ordinary college curriculum, such as sanitary science and political economy. The interchange of thought and friendly relations between graduates of different colleges will be most beneficial and helpful."

During the first two years the number of associated institutions was increased by the addition of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and of Wesleyan, Kansas, Syracuse, and Northwestern universities. The University of California was admitted in March, 1886, and Bryn Mawr College in October, 1890, making the total number up to the present time fifteen only. The membership has increased to one thousand five hundred and thirty. It is well to record these facts, for the statement has gone abroad that the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ is made up of all graduates from the colleges and universities of the United States which are open to women. Many institutions besides those united in this association are doing honorable service in behalf of the education of women, and it would be as presumptuous for the association to attempt to represent all the collegiate work of women as to maintain that its membership list typifies exceptional intellect or attainment. We know only too well that many of the women in our colleges have had but small share in the broadest culture and widest social privileges of to-day. But the intellectual training which they have enjoyed gives them an appreciative interest in all the work of the world, and has placed upon them an added obligation to use their powers in the faithful fulfillment of the every-day duties of life, even if they can not aspire to the few places in the roll of honor set aside for genius.

The element of variety, which is a peculiar characteristic in the membership of this association of graduates, is the source of much enjoyment and satisfaction. The spirit of loyalty to one's alma mater is not lessened by contact with representatives from other institutions, but is supplemented by a broad interest in collegiate work, and a generous appreciation of efforts made by other colleges.

Members who have had an occasional opportunity to attend the meetings of the association, and to take some part in its work, were so impressed with the stimulus coming from organized action that they took measures toward the formation of local branch associations. The first organization of this kind was the Washington branch, which was formally recognized on October 25, 1884. Since that time the number has rapidly increased, and sixteen branches are now carrying on effective work.

The delightful relations which exist between the branches and the parent association, and the spirit of good will which they show toward each other and the common cause, make them a strong factor in the influence of the association. The only law which limits their freedom is that which makes the requirements for regular membership alike for all. In other respects they are free to decide for themselves upon lines of work and methods of administration. Under their auspices a large number of clubs for graduate study have been formed, dealing with such subjects as sanitary science, domestic economy, political science, pedagogics, social science, Latin, German, Greek, classics, English literature, English, modern poetry, fiction, general, local, and American history. In some of these clubs the quality of the work done has been so high as to receive recognition and be accepted as regular graduate work by some of our leading universities.

The encouragement of graduate study has not been limited to the branches. The association itself has from the outset given special attention to the subject, and many papers have been read and circulars issued describing in detail opportunities for advanced study in this country and

abroad. A peculiarly important result of activities in this line has been the establishment of fellowships. No work more far-reaching in its influence can be undertaken than the maintenance of fellowships. Members must all feel great pride and pleasure in the fact that they are annually giving to two women opportunities for advanced study and research which but a few years ago the wildest fancy could not have imagined. In 1889, the Western Association of Collegiate Alumnæ, which had been organized in Chicago a few years before, was merged into the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ. It brought with it the noble record of having sustained two fellowships in the University of Michigan, which had been held respectively by Miss Ida M. Street and Miss Arlisle M. Young. The following year a European fellowship of five hundred dollars was maintained and awarded to Miss Louisa H. Richardson. So important did the work seem that the association then decided to support still another fellowship of the value of three hundred and fifty dollars for study in an American university. The holders of the European fellowships since Miss Richardson have been Miss Ruth Gentry and Miss Alice Walton, and of the American fellowship Miss Alice Carter and Miss Susan B. Franklin. A partial fellowship has also been awarded to Miss Julia W. Snow. The record seems small. Its importance, not to the women only who directly share its privileges, but to womankind everywhere, is unbounded. It is impossible to make too strong an appeal to every member to see that the work is loyally sustained and enlarged during the years that are to come.

It is significant that, from the outset, the association has laid special stress on the necessity of a sound physical basis for mental growth. The first paper presented before it was on "Physical Education," and its first work was the publication of a circular tabulating the work done in physical education by the nine institutions then represented in the association. It pointed out deficiencies in their systems, and made suggestions, first, to parents; second, to govern-

ing bodies which grant degrees to women; and third, to women studying in those institutions. It is gratifying to note that some of the defects existing at that time have since been remedied, as may be seen from the tables prepared for the exhibit of the association in the Department of Liberal Arts of the World's Fair. The most important work, however, in this direction has been the investigation of the effect of college training on the health of women. The method employed was to send circulars to the women graduates of the colleges and universities belonging to the association. These circulars demanded specific answers to a long list of questions with regard to the health of each graduate before, during, and after college life. The questions were prepared with great care, and were heartily indorsed by physicians and other experts. Thirteen hundred and fifty circulars were distributed, and over seven hundred were returned — a large proportion, according to the testimony of statisticians. The information thus obtained with care was tabulated by the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, and strict impartiality in the conclusions drawn was in this way secured. The untiring zeal of the committee, under the able direction of the chairman, Miss Annie G. Howes, was the means by which a valuable and difficult piece of work was accomplished, whose interest and significance seem to increase as time passes. All friends of the better education of women rejoice that the tendency of the testimony was that systematic mental training helps, not hinders, bodily health.

The statistics showed that the conditions of life during childhood and the years just preceding college life have an important influence. The association has therefore devoted considerable time to the consideration of the general subject of health. Various aspects have been discussed in papers on "Physical Training in Preparatory Schools, with Special Reference to Habits of Sleep and the Relation of Diet to School Life," "Physical Training as a Factor in Liberal Education," "The Effect of the Amusements and

Occupations of Girls on their School Life," "The Study of New Methods of Physical Education at Wellesley College," "The Development of Children."

Following close upon the investigation of the health of women college graduates, came the publication and distribution of a leaflet calling the attention of parents, guardians, and teachers to some of the chief hindrances to the development of healthy bodies in school-girls, and suggesting remedies. In connection with this an effort was made to obtain in a statistical form some definite information in regard to the life of school-girls before entering college. Although planned with great care, this effort was not fully carried out. The same may be said of a proposed investigation into the causes which lead girls to abandon the college course before its completion, with the special purpose of ascertaining the effects of varying physical conditions on the mental life, and of seeking to point out those factors which tend to lessen the benefits of thorough intellectual training. Many of the preliminary steps have been taken by the committee in charge of the work, but it is obvious that a great deal of labor is involved, and much time must elapse before any definite results of the inquiry can be made known.

These discussions and investigations made the fact clear that hand in hand with the study of school-life should go a similar study of infancy and childhood. Accordingly, in the fall of 1890, steps were taken providing for the presentation of a plan by which those members who were interested could unite in a systematic study of the development of children, with special reference to securing the best basis for their later intellectual life. The special committee has studied the problem with diligence and care, and has had the active coöperation of eminent specialists. The schedules for observations on child-life which have been prepared are now ready for use, and it is extremely desirable that as large a number of careful and intelligent observers as possible should join in the study.

In January, 1883, a communication was received from the Massachusetts Society for the University Education of Women, asking the association to establish a teachers' registry for college-bred women. After careful deliberation it was decided to be impracticable to carry out the plan at that time. The members of the association, however, did not lose sight of the suggestion. The idea, as developed, has been somewhat modified, as the result of experience, observation, and discussion. Papers on "Industrial Education," "Occupations and Professions for College-bred Women," "Work for Women in Local History," "Librarianship as a Profession for College-bred Women," "Occupations of Women College Graduates," "Sanitary Work for Women," "Women in Philanthropic Work," "The Relation of College Women to Progress in Domestic Science," "Educated Women as Factors in Industrial Competition," "The Relation of College Women to Social Need," have shown that many and varied opportunities for useful employment are open to women. As recently as the time when the suggestion to establish a teacher's registry was made, teaching seemed the one occupation open to all women graduates, regardless of their fitness or ability. The changed condition of affairs made it essential that the association should join in the endeavor to elevate the profession of teaching by making known other occupations to women who feel themselves unqualified for teaching, but look upon it as their inevitable vocation. In 1890 the plan of conducting a bureau of occupations was adopted, and, under the able management of Miss Eva M. Tappan, much good work has been done, which may be still further extended in the near future, if the members should do all in their power to increase its efficiency and make known its aims.

Papers on "Women's Gifts to Educational Institutions," "Endowments and Needs of Women's Colleges," "Work of Alumni for Their Colleges," "The Idea of the College," and "Educational Progress in America," have corroborated

the observation and experience of nearly every member of the association, and have shown the importance of endeavoring to attract public attention to the financial needs of American colleges and universities. A glance at the list of institutions legally termed colleges, which is given in the report of the bureau of education, is a sufficient proof that *better* colleges, not *more* colleges, are demanded. The committee on endowment of colleges has the difficult but important task of representing the association in its desire to strengthen already existing institutions for women, and to discourage the establishment of institutions with inadequate endowment. Their work is one which can and should be sustained by each and every alumna.

A bureau of collegiate information has been established, under the direction of Mrs. Kate Morris Cone of Hartford, Vt. Its aim is to gather information on the various topics allied to the higher education of women, for the use of persons making investigations into the different phases of the subject. There is a great demand for articles which treat this subject from the point of view of fact rather than of theory. The coöperation of the members is needed in supplying the bureau with information of a definite character, in order that its usefulness to inquiring correspondents may be constantly increased. Closely allied with this work is an attempt to make a complete bibliography of the literature pertaining to the higher education of women. This piece of work is nearly complete, largely owing to the assiduous labor of Miss E. P. Huntington, and it is very desirable that its early publication should be secured.

It is interesting to note a movement which, though not strictly one of the forms of activity carried on by the association, is a direct outgrowth of the spirit and purpose which has been fostered by the organization of collegiate alumnæ. At one of the meetings held in Washington, a paper was read by Miss Alla W. Foster, on "The Relation of Women to the Governing Boards and Faculties of Colleges." No definite action on the subject was taken, but since that time

several positions of trust, both on governing boards and faculties, have been opened to women. Realizing the seriousness of the responsibilities which have been intrusted to them, the members of this association living in and near Boston, who are serving as college trustees, have held several conferences. Five women, representing the governing boards of four different colleges, have joined in the discussion of such subjects as the organization of boards of trustees, methods of financial administration, the selection and appointment of teachers, the relation of alumnæ trustees to alumnæ associations, and the status of special students. So much benefit has been derived from the frank and full discussion of these subjects that this group of women has been asked to serve as a committee on collegiate administration, for the purpose of making still more effective the influence which this association is striving to wield in behalf of progress in collegiate education for women.

It must be evident that the aim of the association, viz., to unite alumnæ of different institutions for practical educational work, has been attained by simple and direct methods. Its influence has been quietly but constantly growing. Among the many convincing proofs that the existence of the association is justified, are the facts that its members are exempt from certain examinations at Oxford University, England; that an appeal has come from a high official of the government in India to place the resources of the association at his service in an attempt to reform their educational system; and that the data and information we have collected and can command are constantly sought by educational experts.

In seeking for the factor which has accomplished this result, we find it has been a strict adherence to the fundamental principle of the association. The members of the association, while working as individuals in other organizations for many and varied objects, are here bound by one tie; and great as are the temptations to divert the strength of this association from its legitimate field, the members

have refrained from doing so, and by a concentration of effort, which otherwise might easily be squandered, have won respect and confidence, which should be jealously guarded and steadily increased by the faithful loyalty and personal interest of every woman within its ranks. It is of course impossible to record the many friendly ties which have been formed, or the helpfulness of the social relations between members, but all these circumstances, no less than more definite intellectual activities, prove the value and importance of the association.

Henry Drummond has said, "The kingdom of God is a society of the best men working for the best end, with the best methods," and he pleads for its realization in the daily activities of mankind. It is not too much to say that the aim, the method, and the spirit of the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ should be in harmony with this thought.

Results of Club Life Among Women Upon the Home — Address by Lucilia W. Learned of Missouri.

In judging of any work so new to woman as work in intellectual clubs still is, it is only fair to regard tendencies and possibilities as well as actual accomplishment.

By a process of stern experiment through ages of barbarism and centuries of growing civilization, it has come to be one of the settled convictions of the race that the reciprocal love of one man and one woman, with equal morality and equal intelligence for both, makes the best foundation for that fairest blossom of human life — the home. This is why Goethe said that monogamy is the highest achievement of civilization; it makes possible the home, which is the source of all private morality and the safeguard of public virtue.

The home is by common consent woman's sphere; in it she has a rounded whole of her own. Whatever other spheres she may rightly enter and fill with her activities,

here is her first and most important province. The home, whatever it is, becomes the doom of every child born into it — makes or mars the happiness of all inmates; within its walls civilization is always advancing or declining. I think it was Balzac who said that when man had civilized all else, woman would be the last to be civilized by him. If this be true, it can only be because in that part of his nature most nearly concerning his relation to woman, man himself remains longest a savage. But, while freely admitting that in some departments woman seems to be a laggard in the civilizing process, we do not grant the premise implied in Balzac's remark, for it is not so much man that civilizes woman as it is woman that civilizes and educates man. Who, in the home, receives earliest her love and care? The new-born child. Who trains him — "young savage in his age of flint" — if not the mother? So that, when as husband he begins a home of his own, his wife receives him civilized or barbarous, according as some woman has made him the one or the other. From that time forth no growth into higher civilization is possible that does not come to each in and through that of the other. Love and equity, those infinite, omnipotent forces, are the great civilizers that should work in every home.

What does the home need that club-life can give it through women?

No one doubts that the average home needs much to lift it from the plane of matter and physical drudgery; much to infuse into it a higher element of intellectual and moral life. It needs other and larger interests than those relating to provision for the body's comfort and well-being; it needs finer pleasures than the ordinary amusements of society bestow; it requires on the part of the wife, the mother, the sister, some share in the larger knowledge, the larger activities, responsibilities, duties, even anxieties, that develop a noble womanhood. In truth, the woman in the home needs "all the aliment given to heroic souls to increase heroism," if she is to train heroes. If woman is to

be an ennobling and intelligent influence in the civilization of the present day, she must breathe the atmosphere of the large common life that man has for ages enjoyed.

Once, whenever a wedding took place, it was "serfdom and sovereignty that joined hands in marriage plight," and then the family lungs had but one lobe, the family breathed only through the lord and master, and received as much vicariously of the outside knowledge as his generosity and graciousness allowed. Now comes an epoch which has been styled, with that mild flavor of ridicule which very good men love at times to use, "the ladylike era, when women have it all their own way." True it is that noble privileges are opening to girls, such as make us wish (as the French woman said to Chateaubriand) "that we could be our own descendants;" and we are steadily departing from any ambition to merit both parts of the Abbé Choisel's saying in praise of the Duchesse de Fontanges when he called her "beautiful as an angel and silly as a goose." Woman is leaving her seclusion, which, even when lovingly guarded, she has not found enchanting, and is taking her place side by side with man in the enjoyment of the free air of the uplands of intellectual life.

Nor shall the home with all its intimate and dear relations suffer thereby. It shall be immensely the gainer. Think of the gain when, in place of petty aims, small ambitions for dress and ornament, trifling gossip that consumes heads and hearts, a woman substitutes high purposes, large themes that awaken thought, that lead to action for the common good, subjects that take her out of the fogs and vapors of selfishness, and stir all that is good in mind and soul! There is no danger that all this, though it bring new duties, will develop anything but a higher sense of her responsibility in the legitimate business of the home. Where hitherto she may have been a leader in gaiety, in the dance, in progressive euchre, in all amusements and frivolity, she fits herself, by good work done in the club, for leadership in the highest pleasure of life — intelligent

conversation. In the club she may learn much of the general affairs of the world's life, something of business, of science, of history, of government, so that she shall not seem ignorant to her own sons, nor sit a silent and uninterested, because ignorant, listener when men speak of these important matters.

In our busy and complex modern life men are more and more engrossed in business. The need is, therefore, greater for women to see that the conversation in the home does not either run to "shop"—as the phrase goes—or dwindle into feeble gossip and uninspiring chat. "We have had Socrates for conversation in our house for three months," said a lady, a member of a club for the study of Greek and Roman ethics. "Indeed," said a gentleman, "I think that much better than talk about the prices of vegetables or the last new thing in gowns."

A second need of the home is that women should learn a spirit of coöperation. If ever the day comes when anything like coöperative housekeeping is possible—and how much something of the kind is wanting to relieve the strain of housework!—it will be when women have learned by the apprenticeship of the club to lay aside insistence on non-essentials—when they have learned a self-surrender that comes of self-development and harmonious work for common good. "Not home less, but humanity more." When the somewhat superficial education begun by the club is continued so that every club-woman becomes as it were, a resident student in the university of life, educated by actual participation in functions of wider scope than the home affords, free to follow her own instincts of culture and ease, then woman, no doubt in some respects up to the present time a "fair barbarian," will learn to suppress the passion for personal ornament and display that exhausts the family purse and too often "animalizes the taste." Then her home will be one into which it will be an honor to be introduced, and to make her acquaintance will be a help to a liberal education.

Western Women Authors and Journalists — Address by Emmeline B. Wells of Utah.

In colonizing a new country, especially one barren and desolate, one would naturally suppose that there would be very little poetry in the atmosphere or in the hearts of the women who had endured all the trials and privations incident to a journey through an unknown country. Indeed one would think there would be as a natural consequence a barrenness of ideas; but the grand and lofty mountains with snowy caps, the almost impassable cañons, the howling coyotes, the profound and wondrous silence of the great desert, the dead inland sea, all these gave the rude materials to both prose writer and poet.

When the emigrants reached the great Salt Lake, when the dear old flag was unfurled and floated to the breeze for the first time on Mexican soil from the lofty pinnacle of Ensign Peak, the heart of the poet-patriot, Eliza R. Snow, burst into a song that immortalized the glorious and significant event.

From that time the spirit of poesy, crude perchance compared with the finished songs and hymns of those whose lives were cast in more pleasant places, yet rich enough in rude imagery and true to life in that which touches the depths of the human soul, flourished. And so it was that woman made more endurable the lives of scarcity and privation because the germ of poesy, the divine sympathy with nature in its wildest, its serenest and most plaintive moods, found response in the heart of woman, whose prophetic inspiration wove the stirring and pathetic themes into song and story. The very wildness and barrenness of the Rocky Mountain region forced from the lips and pen of the poet the utterances that urged the people on and helped them to fulfill the simple duties of every-day life. The singers were unconsciously interpreting the thoughts of the weary pilgrims who were opening up a great high-

way across the American desert to the Golden Gate of the Pacific Ocean.

As soon as possible in 1850, three years after the arrival of the pioneers, a newspaper was published, *The Deseret Times*, and women contributed to its columns both prose and verse; but the idea that a woman's paper should be established seemed to have a spontaneous origin, and on the first day of June, 1872, the first copy of the *Woman's Exponent*, a semi-monthly paper, was issued, with Lulu Green Richards, and afterward Emmeline B. Wells, as editor. This opened a new avenue for women poets and writers that has developed much talent through the twenty-one years of its publication. This was the first woman's paper west of the Mississippi, except the *New North-West*, in Portland, Ore., and about the same time that the *Woman's Exponent* appeared in Utah, *The Golden Dawn* was established in San Francisco. These three were the pioneer women's papers of the West.

The *Exponent* has given a fine opportunity for women to express their views upon all subjects, and has made a record of charitable, industrial, and professional work among women in the West, and of current matters and events of importance that have been invaluable in our woman's work for the Columbian Exposition.

The poems of Sarah E. Carmichael, one of our Utah girls, have been so widely celebrated that William Cullen Bryant selected from her works for his edition of "Poets of America." Among the women who have been fortunate enough to bring out books of prose and verse must be mentioned Augusta Joyce Crocheson, who issued "Wild Flowers of the Desert," and one book for children. Hannah T. King, an English woman, published "Songs of the Heart," "Scripture Women," and an "Epic Poem." Other women, lists of whose books would fill pages, have published books of their own writings and translations from the German. Of those who have contributed largely to the newspapers and magazines in Utah, of which we have a large number, are Emily Hill Woodmansee, Ellen B. Ferguson, Berley La-

monte, Josephine Spinner, Annie Wells Cannon, Ellen Galeman, Martha A. Y. Greenhalgh, Mary A. Freeze, Ruth M. Fox, Lillie T. Freeze, and a host of others.

Education of the Swedish Woman — Report by Laura Kieler of Sweden.

A deep love of knowledge is a distinguishing feature in the character of the Swedes. To promote education, larger sums are sacrificed in Sweden than in other European countries, in proportion to the insignificant national property of the country.

The Swedish woman has not manifested less love of knowledge than is attributed to her nation. She has always been trying to obtain a degree of knowledge as high as the customs and the laws of the country allow. Though the time of the female sex has chiefly been filled up with practical occupations, several women of learning are mentioned in our chronicles, and some school education has for centuries been considered necessary for woman. In the middle of this century claims arose for a higher standard in the education of women. The national school education has always been the same for both sexes. The object of the national schools is to give the rising generation the first elements of an education. These schools correspond to the primary and grammar schools here in America. The establishment of such schools goes as far back as the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. By the ordinance of June 18, 1842, it was settled that in each parish there should be at least one school with a duly approved teacher, and that the attendance should be compulsory. Between the years of seven and fourteen the children are said to be in the school age.

The national schools impart instruction in the Swedish language, religion, writing, arithmetic, geography, Swedish and general history, geometry, natural history, needlework,

drawing, singing, and gymnastics. In the upper classes cookery has begun to be introduced since 1889.

Besides these there are so-called continuation schools, the object of which is to give, in one or two years, further instruction to those pupils who, with good testimonials, have passed the national school, and wish to increase their knowledge for practical purposes.

Sixty-one per cent of teachers in the national schools are women. In the country the salary for male and female teachers is the same. In Stockholm a female teacher has about two-thirds as much as a male.

Those parents who do not wish to send their daughters to the national schools, and who want them to get a knowledge of foreign languages, either send them to the higher girls' schools, which are entirely private undertakings, or to private classes, or else they have them taught at home by governesses. In our country there exist at the present moment about one hundred and twenty-four large higher girls' schools. Connected with most of our girls' schools is a preparatory school with two or three classes receiving beginners, generally at six years of age. The higher school proper has, in the large towns, mostly eight classes, of one year's duration each. At some schools there exists, connected with the higher school proper, a so-called continuation school, having for its object, first, to prepare for admission to the university; or second, to prepare for the training college; or third, to impart knowledge necessary for a general education, or else required in practical occupations. The higher schools impart instruction in the same subjects as the national school, and besides in French, German, and English.

Of late great attention has been devoted to the hygienic conditions of schools. At the larger ones school physicians are appointed, partly in order to superintend the hygienic conditions in general, partly to examine the state of health of the pupils, and judge whether they may be admitted to gymnastics. The pupils are drilled every day in Ling's

gymnastics. The instruction in the girls' schools is chiefly managed by lady teachers. For the training of female teachers there are six training colleges, all founded by the state, and with instruction quite free of cost.

For grown-up girls we have schools called "The People's High Schools for Women." The pupils of these schools belong chiefly to the farmer class. There are no entrance examinations, but as a rule the pupils are presumed to possess the standard of knowledge imparted in the national schools. The movement for this kind of school began in Denmark. The Swedish schools have developed themselves, however, independently. The first school for women of this kind was founded in 1869. Now there are thirteen. The subjects of study are the Swedish language, history and geography, free lectures on ethical and religious subjects, hygiene, knowledge of natural science, dairy management (the outlines), arithmetic, domestic bookkeeping, singing, gymnastics, and needlework.

The time of instruction covers the three summer months of May, June, and July, during which period the homes of the farmers are considered most able to spare their young daughters. The school, always being situated in the country, does not remove them out of their ordinary conditions of life, which remain at school quite as simple as at home. The people's high school is a home to its pupils — a large, good, loving home, where the most intimate intercourse of thought and feeling exists between teachers and pupils. The country people of the neighborhood enjoy coming there to refresh themselves from their every-day toil by listening to the singing and the lectures. In this way the school becomes the center of its neighborhood. The country girl, when returning home, carries with her increased knowledge as well as increased practical abilities, and in addition a mind opened and made receptive to wider views.

The superior education of women the state has seen to by conferring upon women the same rights as upon men

for studying at the universities. The two universities of Sweden, that of Upsala and that of Lund, were founded respectively in 1477 and 1668; from both the female sex was excluded until the third of June, 1870. Then a writ was issued conferring upon women the right of passing the examinations for the university, and of matriculating at the universities, and of following the profession of a physician. Since that time the number of female students has been increasing from year to year. The examination for the university is passed either in the classical or in the mathematical division.

The classical division comprises the following compulsory subjects of examination: Swedish composition, theology, Latin, French, German, mathematics and physics, history, geography, botany, and philosophy. Optional subjects are: Greek, Hebrew, and English; one of these languages is, however, obligatory. In the mathematical division classical languages are not studied, but the requirements of knowledge in the three modern languages, in mathematics and in physics, are greater than in the classical department; and besides, chemistry has to be studied. Most of the women have passed their examinations in the classical department.

Of the young ladies who have passed the examination for the university, only about thirty-eight per cent have matriculated. Some have gone back into private life, and some have found employment as post, railway, or bank officials, or else as teachers. The theological faculty in the university is not open to women. At the faculty of jurisprudence there are several examinations, out of which the one for "candidatus juris utriusque" is the principal of those most commonly taken. This examination has been passed by only one lady, Miss Etta Exchelsson.

The course of study in the medical faculty extends from seven to nine years from the time of matriculation. Only two ladies, the Misses Widerstrom and Anderson, have hitherto finished their medical studies and are practicing as

physicians, but a considerable number of women are studying medicine. The medical faculty in Stockholm is open also to ladies, and follows the same rules for the examinations. The philosophical faculty is divided into a philosophical section and a mathematical-scientific section.

The examinations within both these sections are:

First — Baccalaureate.

Second — Licentiate.

A licentiate, after having written a scientific dissertation and successfully defended the contents of it against opponents chosen by the university, is created "Doctor of Philosophy." About twenty-three women have passed the examinations first mentioned, whereas the licentiate has hitherto been passed by only one woman, Miss Ellen Fries.

The faculty of science of Stockholm, founded in 1878, has, like the faculty of philology of Gothenburg, founded in 1890, from the first opened its lecture halls to women.

Langa Kovalevsky, a well-known Russian mathematician, was for years attached as professor to the former.

The New England Woman's Press Association — Report by Belle Grant Armstrong of Massachusetts.

The N. E. W. P. A., as we long ago shortened its cumbersome name to read, was one of the first woman's press associations formed in this country after the International Woman's Press Association had its birth. The rather feeble life of the latter began in New Orleans when a number of newspaper women, finding themselves there at the exposition, had the inspiration to bind themselves into a fraternal body. If their actual life did not get much beyond the paper upon which it was recorded, the spirit lived on.

The secretary of this International Press Association of Women was Mrs. Marion A. McBride of Boston. She was one of the first newspaper women in the East, and is one of

the ablest of the guild. She has unusual executive ability, and this, during the past few years, has been turned to the propagation of the theories and possible practices of domestic science. To Mrs. McBride we owe the New England Woman's Press Association, or at any rate its foundation. In November, 1885, half a dozen newspaper women of Boston met at her call in Mrs. Sallie Joy White's room in the Boston *Herald* office. Besides Mrs. McBride and Mrs. White there were present Mrs. Merrill, then Miss Hatch; Mrs. Cora Stuart Wheeler, now well-known for her lectures as well as for her pen work; Miss Helen M. Winslow, and Miss Grace W. Soper. From this beginning the association, then and there formed, grew into a prosperous body, and one that is now among the prominent women's organizations of Boston.

To quote from the constitution:

> The objects of this association are to promote acquaintance and good fellowship among newspaper women, to elevate the work and the workers, and to forward by concerted action through the press such good objects in social, philanthropic, and reformatory lines as may from time to time present themselves.

It is but fair to say that, as we have grown older, the rather conceited notion of our youth as to elevating the work and the workers, while meant no less now than formerly, is nevertheless expressed less effusively. In the revised version of our constitution, now in the hands of a committee, the aim to elevate is to be read between the lines instead of upon them. The skeleton of any body is a mass of dry bones. How clothe them in any manner that shall properly be labeled a report, and yet hope to give them interest for you?

If I could usher you all, as it would give me much pleasure to do, into one of our monthly literary meetings and high teas, I could imagine, upon occasion, your having a sufficiently pleasant time to warrant you in feeling that at any rate the social element of the club is successful.

"The elevation of the work and the workers," was never

undertaken upon any definite lines of action. The meetings have always been planned to be productive of "sweetness and light" for all who attend them, and at this intangible means of improvement, personal and impersonal, the effort rests.

A good deal has been done indirectly, and in some cases directly, "to forward by concerted action through the press such good objects in social, philanthropic, and reformatory lines as from time to time present themselves." To name but a single instance: It is due to the members of the New England Press Association, led by Mrs. McBride, and to Mrs. M. R. Charpiot, the founder of the first home for the reformation of intemperate women, that matrons were introduced into the Massachusetts police stations. It is a compliment to our possible usefulness that rarely is any public undertaking set on foot without our being invited — often importuned — as a body to lend our aid to the movement.

During the past three years, instead of holding one meeting a month as formerly, we have held two meetings each month from October to June, inclusive. On the first Wednesday there is an afternoon session of an hour or two for business. On the third Wednesday we meet in the afternoon to hear a paper; this is followed by a discussion and an informal reception. High tea, that is practically a dinner, follows, and in the evening there is an informal programme of music, story-telling, etc. The literary meetings are in charge of a committee elected annually, each member of which is responsible for one monthly meeting. Without there being any hard and fast rule in the matter, it is customary to devote one paper to art, another to literature, one to the home, another to science, etc. Members have the privilege of inviting guests to the literary meetings and teas by paying the supper assessment out of their own pockets. We also frequently entertain guests of the association.

The New England Women's Press Association has no

headquarters of its own, and maintains none. We hold our meetings, and have done so for years, in the Parker House, one of the leading down-town hotels. The matter of having club quarters of our own that should be kept open all the time, as are those of the men's press club, has been taken under advisement from time to time, but does not promise soon to bear fruit. The feeling on the part of the objectors is that women, having many more side issues to their lives in the way of domestic ties than men have, have not the time to enjoy a club-house or club-rooms as men do; that they have not the time to look after them, etc.

The initiation fee of the New England Woman's Press Association is three dollars, and the annual assessment thereafter is two dollars. Supper each month costs one dollar a plate. The association is not self-supporting, and from time to time money is raised for the treasury by giving a theatrical matinee by professionals given out of compliment to the association; by a course of lectures under the auspices of the association, etc. The actual club expenses for bare existence would be met undoubtedly by the association fees, but extra money is needed from time to time, as for the contribution we sent to the sufferers by the Johnstown flood, the fund for the projected home for journalists, etc. The New England Woman's Press Association started with six members in the fall of 1885, increased to thirty during the first year, and now has one hundred and seventy members. We became an incorporated body under the laws of the State in the autumn of 1890.

Our membership includes all grades of workers, from the young reporter whose first assignment may be to write a stickful about a fair, to women who own and publish their papers. Perhaps one-third of our members are on the staff of daily or weekly journals. By this I mean that they give all or nearly all of their time to the work done by them for these journals. The balance of the membership is made up of free lances, who write for different publications, and may or may not be regular contributors to some one or more

papers or magazines. In the general run of newspaper work, outside of regular court and sporting department work, there is, I think, no phase of newspaper work that is not represented by some worker among our members. Of course the majority of newspaper women are still doing, for the most part, either general reporting or special department work, exclusive of financial, political, and other supposedly masculine specialties. But the tendency is more and more to allow women to do anything they can do, and managing editors are finding out that all women can do something, and that some women can do pretty nearly everything.

Newspaper women can do some things better than newspaper men can do them, and some things as well as the men can do them, and in some respects they are, by reason of special deficiencies, less valuable than men. Sometimes a newspaper woman "beats" a man on his own ground, as did one member of the New England Woman's Press Association when she succeeded, by very reason of her being a woman, in getting certain evidence in a famous murder case, which men had been sent to get and failed to find.

I do not defend the present inflated style of journalism that calls for such work. I refer to the fact as one of interest in placing the value to newspapers of woman's work, and to show that the profession as represented in the New England Woman's Press Association is catholic in its personnel.

The Writer's Club — Report by John Strange Winter (Henrietta E. V. Stannard) of England.

For some years a great want was felt among women journalists in London, of some convenient and suitable place where they could have a foothold of their own, so as to be able to work, rest, and see papers, meet their publishers or editors on business, and enjoy in general the advantages

which a man enjoys at his club. There were several women's clubs already established in London, but none in the vicinity of the Strand and Fleet Street, which are the two great centers of both press and publishing business in this country.

In September of 1891 a number of women, interested in various kinds of literature, met together at the offices of the Incorporated Society of Authors, to consider the feasibility of starting such a club, to be kept strictly in the interests of women writers, and with a subscription so moderate that all those who most sorely needed such a haven of rest might not be debarred from it by reason of too great an expense. It was then definitely arranged that the club should be started at the exceedingly modest subscription of one guinea per year, with an entrance fee of a similar sum when the number of members should have reached a given point.

It was also arranged that the members living in the country, and therefore not likely to frequent the club as much as the town members, should pay a subscription of only half a guinea, with an entrance fee of the same amount.

It is almost needless to say that such a club as this was not started without considerable opposition, while ridicule was freely poured out upon the idea. We were told that women did not need such an institution; terrible pictures were drawn of hearths desolated, married happiness ruined, children shamefully neglected, and other horrors which would inevitably arise through the formation of this unholy and wicked thing.

One distinguished woman author wrote, that she did not consider that women were "clubable" creatures; another wrote to me saying that if we could secure the very best men authors she would be pleased to join, forgetting, perhaps, that the very best men authors might not have been willing to admit her to their brotherhood, for men in this country have a way of cheapening the work of women in a

manner which is anything but flattering to the sex in general. Another lady wrote that she did not think women needed a club of that kind, because she had a private room at the office of her particular paper, forgetting that there are thousands — or if not thousands at least some hundreds — of women who are not so blessed in their daily toil for bread. In short, all the opposition possible to pour on such an undertaking was poured out with an unstinting hand upon the Writers' Club. In spite of this, however, the founder, Miss Frances Low, kept pluckily to her original idea, and a good many promises of membership were booked at the first two meetings; and then the work of drawing up the rules and of finding premises was proceeded with in earnest.

Among those who joined us and helped the club along more than any words of mine can tell, was Lady Jeune, who gave us much most valuable assistance, and by her energy, influence, and practical knowledge of the proper working of such institutions, did for us what the majority of us could not have done without her.

We finally settled on a floor in Fleet Street, being more influenced by the convenience of the locality than by the position and size of the rooms. We were, for one thing, determined not to start in debt, and, to use an old proverb, we cut our coat according to our cloth. Therefore, we took this suite of rooms on the third floor of 190 Fleet Street, than which no more convenient position could be found in the entire district. It consists of a large reading or reception room — what we might call a general room — wherein members can receive their friends or read in comfort. This room is prettily and very comfortably furnished, having three windows overlooking Fleet Street. Its chairs and lounges are cosy and inviting, its carpets and hangings soft and subdued in tone, and altogether it is as homelike and restful a spot as any weary soul could wish to find herself in. Besides the large room, there is a very comfortable "silence-room," where members can

work in peace; and here is arranged the beginning of a reference library for the use of members.

There is also a room for the attendant, a respectable person, who is always in attendance and will procure a meal for a member at any time. The cooking arrangements, it is true, as yet, leave much to be desired, as, at first, it had been settled that all cooking should be done upstairs; but owing to the ill-health of the care-taker of the premises this arrangement fell through, and the committee were under the necessity of finding an exclusive attendant for the club, which deprived us of the use — for the members — of one of our rooms. In addition to these, there is a good dressing-room and lavatory, so that members living at a distance from the city can wash and dress in comfort before going to a theater or other evening engagement, if it is one not requiring a change of dress. This, in itself, is a great convenience to many members, who live perhaps ten or twelve miles out of town, and for whom it would be impossible to go home for a meal between afternoon work or engagement and the work or engagement which takes them to theater, concert, or lecture in the evening. At their club they can get a meal, which, if not luxurious, is at least sustaining, and they can make such small additions to their toilets as they may think necessary, or enjoy the luxury of freshening themselves up by a wash and a brushing.

We do not always propose to remain in this very modest style. We have thoughts of larger quarters, of a regular *cuisine*, of several silence-rooms, and a comfortable dining-room. But these things can come only with time, as we are all resolved to make the club strictly self-supporting, and not in any sense a bolstered-up concern. Of the first year of the club's existence, I can say that it has been conducted in absolute harmony, and that the rules and constitution are found to cover, with the necessity of a very few slight modifications, all the needs for which the club was started.

And now I must say something of the usefulness of the club, and speak also of its social side. As to its great usefulness, I can speak with certainty. I know that several workers have made their way in the thorny path of literature entirely because of belonging to it. I know of others who have practically dated their first success from the lucky day on which they first entered the club premises. To all, it is distinct advantage to be able to say that they are members.

The social side is even more encouraging than the business one. On each Friday in the year, except during August and September, there has been a house-tea to which members can bring their friends. These house-teas have been most delightful and popular. They are managed thus: Each member has a season ticket, for which she pays half a crown, which admits her to the house-teas for one year. The guest tickets may be bought for three shillings a dozen, and are available for any Friday, though not transferable. They must bear the signature of a member.

The teas are managed in this way: A certain number of members undertake the duty of providing the sweets and cake necessary, having a fixed sum sufficient for the purpose handed to them by the honorary secretary, and most ladies bring one of their own servants with them, and also one or two young friends who help with the tea, and so make those who do not know many people feel at home and welcome. The attendant prepares the tea and coffee, and also the bread and butter, etc. In this way we find that a good and varied tea is given, and as those who undertake a tea all like the task, it falls heavily on no one, and is indeed a labor of love.

Such a thing as a stranger's going to the Writers' Club on a house-tea day and being left to mope alone till his or her host appears is positively unknown. I do not know how it is, but the general tone of the club is one of extreme friendliness. I, for one, have made some of my most delightful friends in the pleasant and homely rooms where

a few women started an institution for the comfort of the least well-off in the world of literature, amid the assurances of most of the women, and practically all of the men, that no club of that kind could possibly exist for a year. My great hope is that it may flourish and grow apace, but that we may never grow so big as to become either formal or unfriendly.

CHAPTER XIII.—RELIGION,

AS TREATED IN THE SUBORDINATE CONGRESSES.

EDITORIAL COMMENT — EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE CATHOLIC WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT CONGRESS, BY MARY JOSEPHINE ONAHAN — EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF UNITARIAN AND OTHER LIBERAL CHRISTIAN WOMEN, BY MRS. JENKIN LLOYD JONES — EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE WOMAN'S CENTENARY ASSOCIATION OF THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH, BY REV. LORENZA A. HAYNES — EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE WOMEN'S BAPTIST HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY, BY MARION E. ISAACS — EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESSES DELIVERED IN THE REPORT CONGRESSES, BY MRS. E. S. STRACHAN, MRS. O. A. BURGESS, ALICE MAY SCUDDER, ELIZABETH M. TILLEY, AND SIGRID STORCKENFELDT — EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS, BY MRS. WILLIAM BOYD — SERMON DELIVERED IN THE GENERAL CONGRESS, BY REV. ANNA H. SHAW.

PERHAPS no other single chapter in its history will better denote the true catholicity of the Congress than this, which presents the service of women to religion through the varied means provided by the Roman Catholic church and the denominations of Protestantism.

The Catholic Women's Department Congress is assigned the first place from a sense of reverent respect to the mother church, which the most ultra Protestants should be the readiest to express, and also from the desire to recognize the peculiar difficulties under which the liberal-minded Catholics who organized this congress labored. From the first the committee of organization wished to secure the coöperation of Catholic women. (It will be understood that the word Catholic is used here in its restricted sectarian

sense.) But owing to the reciprocal ignorance of one another's work, which has hitherto distinguished Catholics and Protestants, the committee did not know to whom among Catholics to appeal for this coöperation; whom to invite to speak in the General Congress; or to whom to suggest the organization of a Catholic department congress. The committee's ignorance delayed action. It was finally through the kindness and sympathy of Archbishop Ireland that the chairman of the committee of organization was placed in correspondence with Alice Timmons Toomy, whose response merits equally the gratitude of Catholics and Protestants.

The paper representing Unitarians and other liberals follows that representing the Catholics, in order that the contrast between those who insist upon dogma and those who repudiate it may be emphasized. This chapter will show that as much diversity of opinion upon the abstract side of religion exists among women as among men; and that women are equally frank in expressing their opinions. It will also show that women of all faiths regard the concrete expression of religion as the just measure of its sincerity, the accepted test of its substance.

Any one who cherishes the belief that women have a genius for finance, and that in them, as a class, the executive faculty preponderates, will find here numerous illustrations of this view. That the impecunious class, the dependents, the "paupers," can raise hundreds of thousands of dollars annually for religious work, shows that "making bricks without straw" was by no means an impossible task. That this class, deficient in business experience as in pecuniary resources, can manage financial enterprises which girdle the earth, is a just ground of hope that, with experience, they may come to "hold their own" in temporal affairs.

The sermon, with which the chapter concludes, was delivered in the General Congress, and was indeed (if one excepts the musical programme prepared by Mrs. Coonley,

aided by Miss Root, and rendered on the evening of Sunday, May 21st, see Chapter II, Volume I) the last utterance of the congress. It seems fitting that a chapter which reveals the degree to which women have entered already into the religious work of the world should conclude with Miss Shaw's inspiring analysis and application of the text, which the revised version lifts out of dead history, and translating it into current life, imbues with prophecy. "The women that publish the tidings," already "a great host," are becoming an irresistible force.—[THE EDITOR.]

CATHOLIC WOMEN'S PART IN PHILANTHROPY — ADDRESS BY MARY JOSEPHINE ONAHAN OF ILLINOIS.

Philanthropy has been flippantly defined as a virtue that increases with the square of the distance. The word has, indeed, a grandiose sound. Far better and simpler is that beautiful word charity. Philanthropy is the creature of the nineteenth century, that century too much in love with itself to be genuinely great. Charity is the spirit of God himself that has breathed through all the ages, transforming weakness into strength, sorrow into rejoicing, sin into penitence.

To earnest souls there is no skipping the meaning of life. Either it means everything; either it is God, and work, and immortality; or it means nothing—"an ant-hill lost in space." God and immortality—they are questions which must often be solved in sorest peril, direst anguish.

God and immortality, all-important facts as they are—facts upon which hinge all duty and all happiness—often, however, seem to us practical workers in an every-day world, tinged, even the best of us, by the waves of agnosticism, truths which are too far away to be of daily and hourly moment to us. The atheist may deny them, the believer may uphold them; but however men may differ on these all-important questions—truths which lie at the

very core and center of life itself — on the third truth they can not differ — the utility, the necessity of work.

The world no longer asks, "What do you think?" It asks, "What do you do?" Not, "What is your creed?" but, "What is your practice — your daily life? Are you making the world better, and stronger, and braver, and happier than it was, or are you making it duller, more besotted, and more ignorant?" The question is not shirked by the Catholic church, nor is it shirked by Catholic womanhood.

Charity knows no sex. The works of women have from the earliest days gone hand in hand with the works of men. To feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to visit the sick — these are duties that present themselves to women as to men, and women have fulfilled, are still fulfilling, them.

A history of Catholic women in philanthropy would mean principally, though not entirely, a history of the religious orders of the church — a subject too high and too broad for any but the most gifted pen. Even to name these orders would take much time and research. In the middle ages for every hillside that had its monastery another was crowned by a convent. In the fourth century the name of Monica is wreathed with the memory of Augustine; the gentle Umbrian St. Francis had for his spiritual daughter the blessed Clare. In our own day what need to tell of the work of women? They are everywhere, these plainly-garbed, gentle-voiced, energetic workers. In Africa they are working shoulder to shoulder with the missionary in the province so dearly loved by the lamented Cardinal Lavigerie. In Senegambia and Sierra Leone the Holy Ghost fathers are no more energetic in converting and baptizing the warriors of the savage tribes than are the Irish nuns in teaching and civilizing their women and children. Indeed, without the coöperation of the nuns many of the foreign missions would have to be abandoned, as it is an unwritten law among many of the savage tribes that no man, white or black, priest or layman, can enter their

homes or speak to their women. But the nuns can go everywhere unmolested.

The work of women in China and Japan and in the islands of Oceania is too well known to need comment here. The annals of the propagation of the faith are filled with their glorious story. They have gone even to the leper colonies, where might well be written, "All hope abandon ye who enter here." They are devoting their lives to the civilizing, the Christianizing of the poor Indians, whose treatment by the United States Government is, indeed, a shame and a disgrace.

Women have kept step with men in these far-away fields beneath tropic skies; they have not been outdone by them in more civilized lands here at our door. For every hundred souls that have gone bravely forth for the conversion of the savage, we have, as is fitting, thousands who are devoting themselves to the reclaiming of their fellow-creatures here in our midst.

Nor is the work of Catholic women confined to the religious orders, although the most self-sacrificing are naturally absorbed by them. The more common work and sphere of woman in the home, as wife and mother, are equally, if not more, important. The home is the unit of society, of the state. Given a nation of well-ordered, virtuous, happy homes, and this world would be a Utopia. The work of woman radiates from that home as from its most natural as well as from its most universal center.

Whether as nun, as wife, or as mother, whether married or unmarried, the great fundamental rights and duties of woman remain the same — to work out the best that is in her.

The ideal of womanhood has not changed. Man's equal and man's helpmate she was made; man's equal and man's helpmate she must ever be. The ideal that calls to her to-day called to her also in the past.

Christianity has been sometimes called a religion of pessimism, and, in one sense, it doubtless is so; but in another

and a higher sense no optimism can be greater. "Vanitas vanitatum," it says to the riches and pleasures and honors of this world, and at the touch of that magnet they crumble into dust; but though on the one hand it says "All is vanity," on the other it says "All is divine." The pagans, when they wished to confer honor on their heroes, made them into gods, and Olympus became their dwelling-place; but it remained for Christianity to make of the humblest tiller of the soil, the veriest drawer of water, a child of the Most High, an inheritor of immortality.

Post Office Missions — Address by Mrs. Jenkin Lloyd Jones of Illinois.

One of the first, most persistent perplexities that faced the Western Unitarian Conference, at its very inception, was, how to reach the isolated; how to carry our gospel of love to hearts hungering for it. All over this long, broad Mississippi Valley were scattered men and women toiling ceaselessly to found homes and rear families up to the stature of their high ideals. For this they had left home, broken old ties, cast aside dear memories and associations and started out buoyant with hope and faith in the future of themselves, and of this goodly land so full of promise.

To touch such lives, to bring them within the electric circle of its influence, its fellowship, was the conference problem; its first attempt at a solution of which was to district the whole field as far as practicable. It shall be the duty of each clergyman or layman to whom a district shall be intrusted, to ascertain in what places in his district there are Unitarians residing; how many in each, with their names; who among them are willing to act as lay missionaries by taking deposits of books and tracts for gratuitous distribution. This work was pushed and annually reported for the next ten years; then all was changed — the rebellion

must be quelled, emancipation from human bondage proclaimed, contrabands provided for and freedmen protected and taught. A few of these depositories, however, were at work still in 1870.

At the annual meeting in 1854 it was reported, as a result of this movement, that many books, tracts, sermons, together with a small volume prepared and published by the conference, entitled *Unitarian Views*, had been distributed. The following year the secretary (Rev. A. A. Livermore) reports: "There come to us daily assurances that there are multitudes thirsting for our liberal religion," that "the demand is for living men and living books." About this time a colporteur (Peter Betsch) was sent out by the conference, a man who had studied for the ministry but was not available in the pulpit, so filled, however, with missionary zeal and enthusiasm that he was willing to do any work given him; and most faithfully did our little German ply his vocation with his peddler's cart of books, leaving tracts wherever a willing reader was found. But still the great unchurched were not yet reached. It was recommended that the subscribers to the *Register* and *Inquirer* pass their papers on when read, and the *Monthly Journal* also. A secretary was put into the field who made his "headquarters in the saddle," but the "field" was too extensive, and much of his time was necessarily taken up with centers of activity. Besides there were only twenty-four hours in a day and night and no more days in a year.

In 1872–4 *The Sunday School* was published at Janesville, Wis., the first Sunday-school lesson sheet among Unitarians, and sent with lavish hand to subscribers and *others*, the *others* being the longest list; hoping thereby to start home or neighborhood Sunday-schools and Sunday circles. A few of each were started by this means, as was also quite an extensive correspondence. Then *The Liberal Worker* was issued and *The Sunday School* turned over to its pages, that by this combination a still larger constituency might be aided; and so they were, but the number needing succor

had still increased and covered a much more extensive territory.

In 1875 a secretary from "the isolated," wide awake to their needs and with a burning zeal to help them, was put into the field. About this time a new convert, with brain fired with the magnitude and beneficence of our religion, had been called from orthodoxy to the Third Church, Chicago. The Chicago *Times*, ever alert to a wise investment, published his sermons in its Monday issue, carrying the gospel of "truth, righteousness, and love" into homes it had never reached before. This new missionary agent (the *Times*) brought to Mr. Powell letters of inquiry from many places.

What was this religion? Where could they get more? etc. These letters forwarded to the secretary increased the already extensive correspondence materially, as some of them were from young men in universities, who grew zealous and aggressive, asking for documents by the fifties for distribution among their school-fellows. The missionary needs to be met through the mails had become so imperative in 1878 that a semi-monthly, called the *Pamphlet Mission*, designed to be the instrument in forming Sunday circles, with sermons and services, was started. This afterward became *Unity*. In the meantime the correspondence seemed to increase much more rapidly than the facilities for carrying it on. The sermons published in the secular papers, and the publication of the *Pamphlet Mission*, awakened fresh interest in new themes pertaining to religion. Miss F. L. Roberts was appointed assistant secretary, and the Chicago women rented and fitted up headquarters for the conference work and *Pamphlet Mission*, which had now assumed the more euphonious title, *Unity*. In these headquarters, though crowded and not very inviting, much good work was done; the secretary carrying on his work there when not in the field, Miss Roberts taking up the end of the work now known as "post office mission work," and looking after

the interests that came into the office, and the Chicago women meeting there for work, study, and consultation.

About this time Miss Sallie Ellis entered the missionary field in Cincinnati, and began that wonderful work she was enabled to accomplish through her intense devotion and untiring energy, that work which has aroused so much enthusiasm and so strong a desire to go and do likewise. To her consecration and efficiency is due the interest awakened in this work east and west — a work now brought as nearly to perfection, it would seem, as it well can be.

I think in this little history of the rise and growth of the post office mission, you will plainly see that it began in a crude way, away back in the fifties, groping on through book depositories, tract distributors, colporteurs, missionaries, *The Sunday School*, the *Pamphlet Mission;* each giving it an impetus until it grew so great that it required organized effort and a band of workers. You see that it is not the child of women's conferences, but it was a large factor in creating these women's organizations. Man wrestled for a quarter of a century with the problem of "how to reach the isolated"; woman, with her pen, is solving it.

And we must not forget that when the query was first put postage was expensive and railroads few. The United States Government and "soulless railroad corporations" have materially aided in the solution of this our most perplexing problem. But it is only being solved. There is more work to do, more people are to be reached, new phases of thought, and new wants are awaiting our patience and efforts.

The material used for this missionary work thirty-five or forty years ago was almost entirely doctrinal — a vindication of Unitarianism vs. Trinitarianism.

Later we endeavored to justify our position by publishing and circulating lists of eminent persons who were of our religious household. Now, however, we have left the question of our popularity, respectability even, to care for itself. We have grown into the higher ideal of a living,

working, useful faith — a homely faith that goes straight to the heart of every man and woman, enkindling fresh hope and courage to meet life's responsibilities, perplexities, and privations.

The ideal is truer than the real. We strive for, grow to the ideal; we struggle with, grow from the real into the higher — the ideal. To-day is only the highway to to-morrow. To-morrow is our real; it holds our hopes, our aspirations. To it we look for the realization of our longings.

And our post office mission is to-day what it is because of this forward-looking tendency, this onward march. Suspended animation savors of death. In healthy life there must be action. The latest development in reaching the isolated — I mean the religiously isolated, whether they dwell in city, hamlet, prairie, or wildwood — is by personal contact and the living voice. Mrs. Dix has told us of the work of the New York League and its happy, hopeful promise. There is a trend along the line in this direction of lay service work. Already a post office mission recipient has begun this work in Florida, another in Texas, and Mr. Judy's "Church of the Isolated" is evolving. But this means more work, not less; more consecration, more energy, more faith in far-reaching results.

And thus will come this new gospel — a gospel that emphasizes the religion of household duties, the sanctity of cleanliness, the ethics of cooking, the consecration and devoutness due to parentage, the holy mission of home-making, the high calling of training the future generation to holy living; a religion for the counting-house, for the farmer and the farm-hand, for the toiler everywhere; a religion that teaches the sanctity of work and the infidelity of idleness; a religion "of the people, by the people, and for the people."

The Relation of Young Women to Church Missions — Address by Rev. Lorenza Haynes of Massachusetts.

What relation have young women to the needs and advantages of church missions? They are an important factor by the fresh energy they can bring to the work, and by the earnestness of purpose with which they engage in what they are interested in. This is well illustrated by their coming so rapidly to the front in educational, philanthropic, and religious movements. Young women are related to Christian missions by the highest, loveliest quality of the heart — gratitude — which recognizes how much it owes to the teachings of Christianity. Great as were the benefits which Christ's doctrines brought to men, yet far greater were those resulting to woman as woman. The animus of his religion lifted her not only from spiritual darkness into marvelous light, but from ignorance, servitude, and degradation. It has raised her from man's feet to take her place by his side, so to be his equal, his true helpmate; so to advance with him up the steps of knowledge, and so labor with him in extending Christianity and all the great philanthropies that are the outcome of it. Women can not overrate the debt they owe to the teachings of Jesus. As Christianity is its own best evidence, so what it has done for woman is the best proof of its claims upon her. Young women, alert to truth, justice, and gratitude, must be alive to their relations to church missions. They are related to this work by the law of heredity. They are soon to fill the places and do the work of their elders, and should be ready for apprenticeship before the elders close their labors. With the onward, upward march of the world's progress, and with increasing opportunities and obligations, the young women of to-day must do more and better work than their predecessors if they would hold even equal rank. They are required to bear the banner "Ex-

celsior." This must be done not alone to keep the great moral and spiritual forces in operation, but to fulfill the essentials of their own development. Life's purpose can be attained only by living in the likeness of the Father. Growth into the moral likeness of God means growth into the moral activities of God. The more we work for the thing we love, the more we love it, and the result is the soul's enlarged life. The reverse is true. "An angel's wing would droop if long at rest." Christianity can not mean much to a heart that takes no active measures to spread its blessings. A love of God is increased by a love of our neighbor, and a right love of our neighbor is increased by doing something to benefit his spiritual life. The earlier it is begun the earlier it becomes a habit of heart, and the character it forms is life's harvest, and all that can be carried to the great beyond.

One of the chambers in the Catacombs of St. Calixtus at Rome is called the "Cubiculum of St. Cecilia," in honor of that Christian woman who was buried here after her martyrdom, 224 A. D. On the wall of this room is a fresco of St. Cecilia, a beautiful Roman lady in rich attire and adornments. Near it is a niche for the lamp which burned before the shrine. On the back of the shrine is a large head of Christ, with rays of glory around it in the form of a Greek cross. It is believed to be the earliest picture of him in existence. There was a silent, an impressive eloquence to me in those two faces on the wall, down among the dark tunneled streets of that city of the dead, where the grass never grows and the sun never shines. The sad, gentle countenance of him who died for humanity, and the lovely face of her who gave her life for his truth, were a touching reminder of woman in Christ's work.

Christ on the Avenue—Address by Marion E. Isaacs of New York.

A serious question for Christians to consider is, has not the weight and energy of Christian labor been thrown almost entirely in favor of reaching and saving those who, like the people of Christ's time on earth, were most willing to hear, and consequently most easily reached? Has not the more difficult and stony ground of the wealthy class been overlooked, and is there not danger of over-concentration of the work in the direction of the poorer people in the slums and alleys?

It is true the great middle class, the respectable poor, and the low down, form much the larger part of the community. But this wealthy class for which we Christian people have never made especial effort, is it not time that we bethought ourselves, and prayerfully considered some means by which they can be reached? It can be said of us, "This ought you to have done and not have left the other undone." When our hearts are aglow with desire to save souls, do we remember that one soul is as precious as another in the sight of our loving Lord? He would save the ruler just as quickly as the thief on the cross, did he but show the same penitence. Can not these nineteenth century Christians devise some means of reaching the smaller and wealthy avenue class, the heathen in the brownstone and marble palaces?

Our societies are formed with reference to the wants of every gradation of society, from the dark and loathsome cellar to the attic, then on through the lanes and highways —until we reach the avenue; there the work halts at the homes of the wealthy, each seeming to vie with the other in costly magnificence, looking to the casual observer as if every need was met, every desire gratified within those stately walls.

Let us then consider the case of the wealthy, and classify them into three divisions. First, the avenue homes where

Christ reigns and is welcome in the hearts of the owners and dwellers; whose broad halls and drawing-rooms are often thrown open to God's people for religious work of various kinds. These gatherings are among the most influential and practical helps to draw the thoughtless and godless of the avenue class to a realization of their responsibility toward their Maker and humanity. These wealthy and cultured Christians are a power used by God to make religion attractive and reach those whom Christians in a humbler sphere have not the opportunity to meet. It is an all-wise and never-erring God that has placed Christians in different positions in life, and given to each corresponding responsibility. Out of each and every station of life he calls his leaders. We have in our great metropolis, noble, godly men and women from the wealthiest homes, whose examples in deeds of charity, and in their consecrated lives, give us the highest type of a Christian life. This class clearly does not trust in riches. They will not go away sorrowful, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. This class does not need our efforts, but we do need theirs; the world needs them; their neighbors especially need them.

Two other classes or divisions we would consider, and it is for them we believe especial effort should be made. To the first of them, to whom religious observances are a passport for entrance into the refined circles of their avenue neighbors, we would give a little thought. To many of these religion is a beautiful sentimentality. They go to church on the Sabbath, especially in the morning. They pay some observance to the Lenten season; the fashionable avenue people do that, for it is then the weary bodies and the excited brains give themselves a little rest from the round of gaieties that fashionable society imposes upon its votaries. Now comes the time for the quiet card-party, and the home dance, and the drawing-room is opened for entertainments for the poor. These nominal Christians will sometimes aid you a little in your charities if you call

upon them, and when you commence an explanation of the charity so dear to your heart, that you have prayed over, sacrificed for, and finally consented to beg for, you are cut short by the gift of a pittance, perhaps — to aid in a charity costing thousands of dollars, and days, months, and years of prayerful planning and sacrifice! Oh, how the heart sinks as you feel the bitter disappointment and failure of your hopes! You have all experienced it.

We pass on to the third and last class of the avenue people, where our dear Lord is not recognized, nor his name ever mentioned with reverence. These are heedless and godless people. There is no open immorality; that would not do, for they are on the avenue. The sacred day, which in divine wisdom was made for rest, is the chosen one for their festivities. The dinner-giving among this class is largely done on the Sabbath. It is the favorite reception-day of the ultra fashionable. In the eagerness for rapidly accumulated fortunes these people have overlooked the acquiring of those higher, spiritual qualities that make truly noble and respected citizens. The strife for pleasure and distinction, and the bartering of precious souls for the few brief hours of mortal life, would be ludicrous were it not for the serious fact that the grand opportunity for securing eternal life and uplifting humanity here is unthought of and utterly ignored. The influence too upon those around is one of the saddest features.

We have said there are societies formed to reach every phase and condition except the godless homes of the rich. We have our Salvation Army for the masses; who will devise measures equally efficient for reaching the dwellers on the avenue? We have admitted that the latter are more difficult to reach; but is that any reason why we should not form some plan and attempt the difficult task? We have the parable of the unjust steward, who was commended for his worldly wisdom; and can not God's stewards use as much shrewdness and wisdom in spiritual and immortal interests as the ungodly in worldly matters? It is in the

power of every Christian to be a missionary, and God has given to every one a mission. There is no one fact that requires to be pressed upon men and women more emphatically than this. One of the earliest lessons God taught was care for others, and that we are our brothers' keepers. As all have a mission, what is yours? What is your station in life? Are you in some position where you can reach and influence the godless upon the avenue? And if so, do you use your power for good there? Do you take every opportunity to uphold the religion of Jesus Christ in whatever position he has placed you? Among the lofty or among the lowly, the gospel is equally needed. Do you adapt yourself to the different phases of life and the different characters you meet? Are you, like Paul, "become all things to all men for Christ's sake"? As no two faces are alike in all this wide world, so no two characters are alike. And each one you plead with personally will need the adapted word that the Spirit only can give.

What a fine illustration of quickness to seize the opportunity to preach Christ is found in Paul's prison life, where he was chained to a guard. Little chance, we should think, to spread the story of salvation through Jesus Christ, yet there was his chance, and grandly did he improve it. The guard was changed every four hours, so in each twenty-four hours in the loathsome prison Paul taught Christ to many Roman soldiers during his long imprisonment. Those men told the wonderful story to other men, and so it was carried to the whole Roman guard.

It is seldom that the heart of any woman, whatever her position in life, is entirely barred against softening influences. There are channels of sympathy by which the inmost recesses may be reached. On meeting an ultra fashionable woman, who apparently thought of little else than her elegant mansion, her equipage and entertainments, the conversation turned upon a social scandal concerning one of the oldest and wealthiest families of the avenue. The daily papers were filled with the details and painful proofs

verifying the story. The lady remarked, "They are not so much to blame, for their entertainments are so sumptuous, the wines so fine and plentiful, and they indulge so freely, they cease to be responsible." What a sad picture! That lady well knew what she was describing, for her life was much among such scenes as she had described. By the length and freedom of the conversation opportunity was given to talk of better things. Philanthropic work was discussed, in which some of the fashionable people were engaged. This interested her. Next, accounts of religious works were dilated upon, and the heartfelt satisfaction and pleasure derived from them was recounted. After listening attentively, she said, "Tell me more about your work. I often wish I could do something of the kind. I have time enough." And truly she had, for she had little to do but to amuse herself.

We have said that work could be found wherever we were placed. The magnificent example of a godly woman who commenced work for Christ among the avenue classes thirty years ago is cited, by those who knew and loved her, every day. Her memory is fresh and her work goes on, although a decade has passed since her living presence was an inspiration to all who came in contact with her. An organized society of Christian women of all denominations is a living monument to her memory. This society is so broad in its scope that it is known all over the Christian world, for its members may be found in all countries. This beautiful lady possessed the graces as well as the virtues of a true Christian woman. Her position called the worldly about her. She felt that she must maintain her Christian principles under all these adverse surroundings. She communed with her Saviour, and he pointed out the way. She took Christ with her into her avenue life, and was the means of leading many a thoughtless, fashionable woman of her own circle up to a higher and better life. There are many monuments to her memory in the form of Christian work and organized societies. This woman was as clearly selected and

equipped for God's work as any missionary appointed by our boards. She was a missionary to her own people, and they rise up and call her blessed.

All missionaries, ministers, colporteurs, and effective Christian workers of every kind will concur with the remark of a well-taught graduate of a missionary training-school, that the longer she worked the stronger her conviction was that the best work for the Master must be done by personal effort.

Have you exhausted every means in your power personally to influence the unconverted to accept the truth as it is in Jesus? Will you not press home the truth that Christ will come to judge all, and possibly sooner than we think? Should he come to-morrow, would you be ready for him and be one of the first to welcome him? Have you warned those friends of yours in those great mansions on the avenue that Christ is coming?

Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Canada — Report by Mrs. E. S. Strachan of Canada.

The Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada was organized November 8, 1881; hence it is now nearly twelve years old. It extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific, being composed of six large branches, which embrace five hundred auxiliary or local societies, and two hundred and twenty mission circles and bands; the total membership being almost nineteen thousand.

The amount raised last year was thirty-five thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine dollars and ninety cents, and the total, since organization, in the neighborhood of two hundred thousand dollars, an advance each year of about three thousand dollars.

This has been raised chiefly by annual fees of one dollar each, life members' fees of twenty-five dollars, and by the contributions of young people.

One special feature of our financial policy is that the money is raised one year and distributed the following; hence in case of special demand or emergency, we can draw from our own treasury without incurring debt, thus only lessening the amount to be appropriated at the next annual meeting.

There are no salaried officers in our work, all being volunteers, at the same time being elected by ballot. We have now in active service twenty missionaries, Canadian young women, with three at home on furlough, and more are needed. Our work is both home and foreign, and we are striving to teach the gospel to people of four languages, the French, Indian, Japanese, and Chinese. In the province of Quebec there is much ignorance and superstition, and there are many barriers to the reading of God's holy word.

In the city of Montreal our Woman's Missionary Society shares with the parent. This is also the case in carrying on the French Institute, which was built a few years ago for the education of French boys and girls, and where every season some Roman Catholics receive the truth to the elevation of their souls. To-day schools are also supported in the city, besides two Bible meetings of women.

For many years our church has worked among the Indians, and many have been brought from darkness into light, but to secure the most far-reaching results, boarding-schools, where children can be removed from the influences of camp life, are considered the most effectual method of forming good, Christian citizens; hence buildings have been erected, and two schools for Indian girls are sustained by our society in British Columbia. In these six teachers are engaged, and industrial teaching is in contemplation. From the beginning of our history Japan has had a large share in our plans and endeavors. Our first representative was sent in the fall of 1882. A boarding-school, largely self-supporting, was established at Tokio. During its second year it had to be enlarged, then another was erected adjacent to the first, and still more room had to be supplied.

Over one thousand pupils have passed through this school, and not only have they been taught, but about two hundred have become professed disciples of the Lord Jesus, and in the hearts of many others has the truth been received, but baptism has been delayed, owing to the opposition of parents. Two other boarding-schools are maintained in other cities, besides day-schools, Sunday-schools, and Bible women's meetings.

The King's Daughters organization has met with great favor among the Japanese girls, and in many ways they are actively engaged in giving time, labor, and money to benefit those less favored than themselves by supporting and visiting a bed in a Christian hospital, by carrying on a day-school for poor children, making over garments for them, etc., and also by giving a contribution to send the gospel to China. The success granted us has been most encouraging, and many of the girls are now able to help our missionaries by interpreting for them, at the same time learning the way to work for others and the joy of it. A few months since we extended our efforts by sending to China two missionaries, one a physician, as far as Shanghai, there to wait for a favorable opportunity to proceed to the province of Sz-chuen (some eighteen hundred miles inland), where our church has recently opened a mission.

To return to our own country: In Victoria, B. C., some few years ago an evil was found to exist, not unknown in this land of wondrous liberty — that of human beings, our sisters, though of another language, being sold for a price to bring gain to their purchasers through a life of infamy — sold without consent; sometimes children of tender years. This terrible evil, although curtailed, is not yet suppressed.

A Rescue Home was opened a few years since, into which about twenty have been gathered, who have found not only food, shelter, and kindness, but education of the mind and instruction in the knowledge of the one true and loving God. Ten have been married, most, if not all, to Christian Chinamen, and have established homes of their own that

form new centers of light amidst the darkness of their heathen countrymen. A few have returned to their friends in China, and nine are now in residence. Who can tell the results of such a work?

The Organization and Work of the Christian Woman's Board of Missions — Report by Mrs. O. A. Burgess of Indiana.

The Woman's Missionary Society of the Christian church, known as the Christian Woman's Board of Missions, which I have the honor to represent here to-day, had its beginning eighteen years ago last October. The beginning was small, with only seventy charter members from six different States, but the purpose was divine, and slowly but steadily the society has grown in numbers and influence until now over thirty thousand women and children are enrolled from thirty-one States and two Territories. The association was incorporated under the laws of the State of Indiana in 1883, with its location in the city of Indianapolis. The objects of the organization as defined by the constitution are, "to maintain preachers and teachers for religious instruction; to encourage and cultivate a missionary spirit and missionary efforts in the churches; to disseminate missionary intelligence, and to secure systematic contributions for such purposes; also to establish and maintain schools and institutions for the education of both males and females." The intent at the time of the the organization, as the words "board of missions" indicate, was to do both home and foreign work under the same management. As the women of the Christian church had not at that time been trained to large activity in church-work and Christian benevolence, the first need was at home, among ourselves, and in educational lines. We began forming the women into societies and the children into mission bands, cultivating a missionary spirit and practicing systematic giving for missionary pur-

poses. Thus an interest in the fields beyond was developed, the offerings were increased, and the outlook broadened. All the societies and bands are auxiliary to the national board, and we aim to have them in every church. The growth of the association and the enlargement of its undertakings depend upon the auxiliaries. Their contributions to the treasury are as the rivulets to the mighty river, the source of supply. The work depends upon developing and utilizing the women of the church, many of whom are only awaiting the call to service. Like their sisters elsewhere, they are sitting with folded hands, not realizing that there is anything for them to do. Though they are idly waiting, yet will they gladly hear the voice saying, "Why stand ye here idle? Go work in my vineyard." This is the home side of our missionary work.

The last annual report shows over one thousand eight hundred auxiliaries and bands; and receipts for the year, fifty-two thousand three hundred and twenty-seven dollars and ninety-three cents. By way of comparison, I will mention that our receipts for the first year after organization were one thousand two hundred dollars and thirty-five cents, and the grand total for the eighteen years three hundred and forty-five thousand dollars. The society has a small endowment fund of twenty thousand dollars, which is kept loaned on good security, the interest of it going to heathen fields. This fund is made up of life memberships and bequests. Such gifts now go into the general fund and are available for immediate use, unless otherwise stipulated by the donor. This change has been made because we think it is better policy to invest in souls than in first-class real estate mortgages. The interest on such investments is sure; there is no discounting it.

So far as I know, the Christian Woman's Board of Missions is unique, in that the business of the society is managed entirely by women; the executive committee is composed of women, and we have our own methods of organizing the States, and developing our forces, and rais-

ing money for the extension of the work, by gathering it in mites among the women and children. We select our mission fields and employ our missionaries, both men and women, and are in every way responsible for the conduct of the business of the society. For years we were not aware that other societies did not proceed in the same way. As the women of the church become interested in others, and feel their responsibility in the evangelization of the world, the society increases in numbers and in ability to extend its influence; to enter fields in heathen lands where our sisters sit in darkness waiting to hear the story of Jesus' love, that light and joy may come into their lives.

An association corporate, the society owns its mission properties, some of them directly and others through a trustee, where the laws do not admit a title direct.

Our foreign work is on the island of Jamaica and in India. In Jamaica we have seven ministers, eighteen stations, and one thousand six hundred members. There are ten day-schools and seventeen Sunday-schools, with a total attendance of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight. There are five workers at present in Bilaspur, India, two of whom are physicians, two teachers, and one zenana worker, or house-to-house visitor. The buildings there are a bungalow, school-house, orphanage, and hospital. These were erected under the direct supervision of our missionaries, all of whom at that place are women. The money for the buildings (over eleven thousand dollars) was raised by the mission bands, and also that for several chapels in other fields. Nearly four thousand patients were treated by the two physicians last year, their visits and attendances numbering about nine thousand. The zenana worker had many places on her visiting list, some of them in neighboring villages. The women would crowd around her, eager to hear what she had to say; then tell others of the strange things they had seen and heard, and when she visited them again new and curious faces would greet her. There seems to be a strange fascination in the heathen

work for both teacher and people — in the missionary, the desire innate to help others; in the people, a reaching out and longing for something better than they possess. They are ignorant, and degraded, and superstitious, it is true, but there is that within every human heart which responds to the appeal for a better life. Men are not content to live and die like the dumb animals about them. We are told that God made man in his own image, and, marred though that image may be, it has not been wholly obliterated.

The States of Montana and Colorado are our special field of operation in the United States, and it would be difficult to overestimate their importance as a mission field. We have a Chinese mission at Portland, Ore., where we have employed Jeu Hawk, a native Chinese, educated in this country at Drake University, to teach the school and preach to his people. He gives promise of doing great good among his kindred according to the flesh — the heathen at our door.

At Ann Arbor, Mich., the society built a chapel, and nearly two years ago started a church and employed a minister to take charge of it. We consider it both an important and a promising point on account of its location at an educational center. A great and influential school, such as Michigan University, will be the rallying place for the youth and culture of the land. Our aim is to make a church home for some of these young people while there. We have a flourishing school at Hazel Green, Ky., the Mountain Mission by name. The academy building and dormitory are the property of the board. Besides the places mentioned, the society gives assistance at Rochester, N. Y.; Duluth, Minn.; Newport News, Va.; Sacramento, Eureka, and Santa Barbara, Cal., and Ogden, Utah.

Last year the disbursements of the society for foreign missions were thirteen thousand eight hundred and twenty dollars and thirty-eight cents; for our western missions thirteen thousand six hundred and fifty-five dollars and sixty cents; for others of the State missions, twelve thou-

sand one hundred and eighty-eight dollars and eighty-four cents; making a total of thirty-nine thousand six hundred and sixty-four dollars and eighty-two cents, or in round numbers, forty thousand dollars. You observe that the expenditures at home have been nearly two-thirds of the total receipts.

Our papers, *The Missionary Tidings*, for the auxiliaries, and *The Little Builders at Work*, for bands and junior societies, are published every month, nine thousand of the one and five thousand of the other. They contain reports of the work, letters from workers, and programmes for the monthly meetings. Both papers are edited by the corresponding secretary of the association.

In comparison with the work of older and wealthier organizations, that of the Christian Woman's Board of Missions may appear very insignificant, but we must not despise the day of small things. The time was, and that not so many years ago, when an organization of women for any purpose whatever would have been considered an innovation. We trust that the same spirit that is moving women everywhere to do something for the advancement of humanity, and especially for the elevation of Christian womanhood, is guiding us. We bid a God-speed to sister societies, rejoicing in their success, and join heart and hand with all who are interested in the winning of the world to Christ.

Woman's Work in the Society of Christian Endeavor — Report by Alice May Scudder of New Jersey.

No organization intrusted to the church has done more for the development of women than the Christian Endeavor Society. Opportunely born, after woman had enjoyed the rights of higher education, it has been eagerly captured by those who love not the Pauline prohibition, and has proved one of woman's strongest allies.

In reporting the work of the Christian Endeavor Society I shall deal little with figures, which are constantly changing, and shall speak of the aims and accomplishments of this mighty organization. The real power of the Christian Endeavor is found in that portion of the pledge which reads, "I promise to be present and take some part, aside from singing, in every meeting, unless prevented by some reason which I can conscientiously give to my Saviour." It is this vow which has given more than forty thousand women the privilege of speaking publicly for their Master.

Christian Endeavor has removed the conventionalities of the past, and woman may rise to the religious privileges of her brother. No longer must she sit in silence and hear, "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther;" no longer need she find her highest church attainment in arranging tableaux and passing ice cream, but rather is she expected to exert positive spiritual influences.

Another office of Christian Endeavor has been to change religious theory into practice. Jesus expressed it, "Be ye doers of the word, not hearers only." Christian Endeavor would report her women as doers of the word, for in her societies they are taught practical Christianity. There is not a phase of religious activity but can be performed under some of the committees of this noble organization, which is developing symmetrical Christians.

In the Christian Endeavor Society work is done for the Home Missionary, Foreign Missionary, City Missionary, Temperance, Life-saving, and a host of other organizations, and so evenly balanced are all these that one Christian virtue is not exalted at the expense of another. This focalizing of all charities under one society is developing noble and symmetrical women; and, as if for a still further broadening, Christian Endeavor has introduced into the church the new feature of inter-denominational fellowship. We used to sing about it, and preach about it, and sigh for it, but not until the Christian Endeavor Society was born did we realize it.

Over many of our sanctuaries floats a better flag than Wesley's or Calvin's, for on it is inscribed "Christian Unity." God grant that neither petty jealousy nor narrow-mindedness shall ever pull it down!

In an exhaustive article in the *New England Magazine* of June, 1892, are written these words: "From the beginning, Mrs. F. E. Clark, the devoted wife of the president of the United Society, has engaged heart and soul in the work. It was she who organized the little missionary society which became the first society of Christian Endeavor, and it is only fair to give a large share of the credit to the woman whose influence, though quiet and unobtrusive, has been so effective." And in this article I gaze on the picture of the original Mizpah circle, and see only girlish forms and faces. Had these young women been too timid to take the pledge, perhaps the Christian Endeavor Society would have been wanting in our church history.

Thus we see the mighty influence of woman in this grand movement; nor have we mentioned her influence for good over the masculine members of this society. Previous to the birth of Christian Endeavor there was a lamentable absence of young men from our churches, but since the mouths of our maidens have been unstopped, man has been attracted again to the sanctuary, where, after conversion, he has learned to give utterance to his religious thoughts. How much of his development belongs to the persuasiveness of his Christian Endeavor sister we may not be able to state, but we do know that his unwillingness to be counted of less value than the feminine members of his society has incited him to speak for his Master, and we also know that many men have become alive to missionary work by having it presented by women. And how many of those who so lovingly minister to the outcasts, both at home and abroad, are from our Christian Endeavor ranks! It was by keeping that pledge to take some part in every meeting that the timid women came out of the shell, and once they came out,

how earnestly have they gone forth until their whole lives are now given to others in loving service!

And now, in closing this report, I must not fail to speak of that branch of the work so near my own heart, namely, woman's part in the religious training of the children in our Junior Endeavor societies. We have not the exact number of these noble, self-sacrificing women, who are mighty fashioners of characters, but we can find them in every city and town, working away on the children committed to their care like skilled sculptors chiseling out Christian men and women.

The Order of King's Daughters and Sons of Canada — Report by Elizabeth M. Tilley of Canada, Dominion Secretary.

The order of King's Daughters had been formed only one year in New York when it was heard of in Canada, and its broad, loving spirit, showing forth so clearly "Our duty toward God and our duty toward our neighbor," bespoke for it a warm reception.

The first circles were formed in Ontario, New Brunswick, and in British Columbia, in the year 1888. Since then the order in Canada has attained a membership of over three thousand, and has spread from Prince Edward Island on the east to British Columbia on the west. The silver cross now shines from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

A Dominion secretary, to take general charge of the order in Canada, was elected at the combined Dominion and Province of Ontario convention held in Toronto, October, 1891. Provincial secretaries have been appointed for six of the provinces, viz.: Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island.

It will be interesting to know the influence of this order where it has taken root, for after all it is the effect upon lives and communities that is the test by which we should seek to judge it.

The badge of the order and the watchword, "In His Name," have exercised untold influence upon the hearts and lives of our members. The first signifies to us the redeeming love of our Lord Jesus Christ; the second the scriptural injunction to "Do all in the name of the Lord Jesus." The effect of the order, when taken into the churches, has been most stimulating, not only to the work of the church, but to the lives of the individuals engaged in the work.

The cause of foreign and home missions has received earnest attention and aid. Two of the King's Daughters are now preparing in a Toronto hospital to go to India as nurses and medical missionaries. Members of circles are working for missions and supplying both money and clothing to sustain them in the Northwest, at home, and in foreign lands. Many members are actively working in the cause of temperance, and wear the white ribbon as members of the W. C. T. U.

The badge of our order exerts great influence. Many are the instances personally known where a glance at the shining cross on the breast has restrained from sin.

The leader of a circle of hard-working girls, toiling from morning until night, told me that one after the other reported the influence of the little cross in helping her control her temper and refrain from angry words. It has led many to acts of unselfishness and little deeds of thoughtful kindness, that the wearer might be more Christ-like.

The influence has been felt among mothers in governing their children. One mother said: "I was in the habit of chastising my children hastily, but since I put on this cross and have endeavored to do all in His name, it has made me more patient." Mothers have told of a like effect the cross and the watchword are having over their children, and the little ones are growing up under its influence and learning how to get the victory over self, and to lead useful and happy lives in ministering to the wants of others.

Some circles unite in doing a large work. For instance,

in St. John, N. B., they provide a building where working girls are welcomed and made at home. They have evening classes for them, with educational and other advantages. Here you will find the King's Daughters who have had greater opportunities willing to come and impart knowledge to their less favored sisters. Classes are taught in arithmetic, writing, music, drawing, stenography, and cutting and fitting dresses. Another enterprise of this King's Daughters' guild is a day nursery, where, for a few cents, mothers may leave their children while they go to toil for their daily living. Noble women have these works in charge, and are faithfully serving in His name.

In another town, Port Arthur, Ont., where there are numerous railway accidents among workmen, the King's Daughters saw these poor fellows being taken to the hospital in common rough carts, that much increased their suffering. By voluntary gifts alone they raised six hundred and seventy-five dollars; for six hundred dollars they bought an ambulance fitted up with every needful appliance, the balance being reserved for repairs when needed.

I attended the monthly meeting of a large circle of young girls. It was their custom at the close to spend a few moments in prayer, in which many offered petitions for different things. My heart was deeply touched when among them I heard one pray for a notorious criminal lying in jail and about to suffer the death penalty. Truly it seemed a blessed thing that their young hearts should take in "all sorts and conditions of men" as the work laid upon them for their King and Saviour.

In Toronto a circle has established a boarding home for young women, known as the Silver Cross House. It is more like a happy Christian home, and morning and evening the inmates gather for family prayer. The board is placed at as low a figure as possible, for all are girls working for their daily bread or preparing to do so. Other circles in the same town have worked to establish a night shelter for women, which has done faithful work.

Enough has been said to show the effect and influence of the order. We, in Canada, have reason to bless God for it. Its influence for good is great when conducted on the lines upon which it was founded, viz., to develop spiritual life, to stimulate Christian activity, and "to hold one's self responsible to the King, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

The Young Woman's Christian Association in Sweden — Report by Sigrid Storckenfeldt of Sweden.

The work among young women in Sweden has continued a long time, but was not incorporated until the year 1886, when it assumed the name of the Young Woman's Christian Association, the headquarters being in Stockholm, with its branches spread all through the country. Especially may I mention the one in Gothenburg, where the work is flourishing under the direction of Miss Beatrix Dickson.

Our work is very similar to that of our sisters in America. We spend every evening in the week, excepting Saturdays, instructing these young women in the common branches of education, also in music, German, English, etc. Sundays we have Bible classes alternating with missionary services, instructors being of our most accomplished ladies, who give their time to this work for the love of their Master.

Another important branch of our work is the young girls' department, into which we take girls at about the age of eight years, teaching them sewing once a week, while some good Christian ladies read with them. As they grow older they are fully prepared to enter our Young Woman's Christian Association.

In connection with our work we have also the well-known Flower Mission. Members of our association visit the hospitals and distribute cards and flowers. Our society is fully organized, consisting of numerous committees, each one with its appointed duties. In the manufacturing parts of our largest cities we have special homes for the working

girls, where meals and rooms can be obtained at reduced prices. While we help these women in their weary, toilsome life, and give them words of encouragement and sympathy, our highest aim is to win their souls for the Lord Jesus Christ.

I consider it a great honor to have been invited to the World's Congress of Representative Women, and I can not at this moment fully express my appreciation of this honor, nor the pleasure it has given me to say these few words, knowing that, although we are separated by language and distance, our hearts are united in this grand, noble work for the love of our dear Lord and Master.

The Young Women's Christian Association: Its Aims and Methods — Report by Mrs. William Boyd of Missouri.

Long years before our young women's work took shape, the Young Men's Christian Associations in their work for young men were solving our problems, laying down our sound principles, and fighting many of our battles. To them we owe our earliest inspirations; to them we owe the conservation of those principles which have made for rapid and permanent growth; from them we have received encouragement, counsel, and moral support in hours of discouragement; and to them we give the gratitude of all our workers, expressed in our endeavors to build up a sister organization in every way worthy its complement. The inter-collegiate movement of the Young Men's Christian Association in co-educational institutions made some independent form of work for Christian young women in these institutions a necessity. It is not strange that these associations should have been modeled on the same plan as theirs, so as to become the counterpart of the young men's work in colleges. These local college associations realized that greater strength and inspiration must come through channels of inter-communication by means of correspondence, publica-

tions, visitations, and conventions; and in the years 1884, 1885, and 1886 grouped themselves in their various State organizations. This action the more emphasized the need for a centralizing and unifying power. Seeking in vain for some older association whose form of organization, basis of work, and definite aims were such as to promote the growth and unity of our association ideal, a national convention was called to meet at Lake Geneva, Wis., in August, 1886. This convention consisted of representative delegates from seven State organizations, young women of disciplined intellectual power, accustomed to cope with difficult problems. They saw, as never before, that the times were calling for a higher type of strong, thoughtful, earnest, individual, Christian young womanhood; that many forces were leading in contrary directions. Agreeing that the best results could be accomplished by the young women themselves, they determined to band together all over the land with one end in view — the development of the highest type of Christian womanhood.

The question of a permanent organization gave emphasis to the following facts:

First, there was in existence no permanent national organization working on an evangelical basis, and having for its stated object the development and extension of associations by and for young women, looking toward their highest symmetrical development.

Second, the Young Men's Christian Associations were doing among young men what should be done all over the land for young women, with slight variations.

Regarding permanency and efficiency of organization as of vastly greater importance than originality of mere forms, the National, afterward the International, Young Women's Christian Association was formed on the same plan as that of the Young Men's Christian Association.

The basis of all general association work must be the local organizations; of these, we have grouped under our State and international associations two divisions, the city

and the college associations. The aim of both these divisions is the symmetrical development of all young women who can be brought within their field of labor. Each recognizes that symmetrical development requires effort along many lines in order to awaken, inspire, and unfold a well-rounded womanhood. Hence the object of these local associations may be stated to be the associating of all young women together for their highest physical, social, business, intellectual, and spiritual interests and development.

The city association undertakes this aim in five departments with their subdivisions. The general affairs of each local association are directed by a board of managers elected by and from the active membership of the association. The active work is planned and executed by committees of young women appointed from the active membership by the board of managers. The physical culture committee in charge of the physical department provides gymnasia, with scientific, practical, and normal training, a counseling physician, out-of-door clubs, and all that can promote the widest opportunities for the development of the physical life of young women.

The social department is maintained by the work of three committees; the one on rooms provides reception room, reading room, parlor and amusement rooms and hall, furnishing them in attractive style for the entertainment and social life of young women, as well as rooms for the other departments. The reception committee, daily on duty, welcomes young women, makes them acquainted with the objects and plans of the work and the advantages to be derived from membership; also arranges for and presides over members' general and special receptions. The entertainment committee provides a wide range of literary, musical, and other entertainments.

The business department groups all the business management of the organization — executive, finance, and membership committees — with their specific fields of work. There is an employment bureau, through which business and pro-

fessional young women may be advanced in their chosen lines, and a boarding-house directory, through which students, business and professional young women may be directed to suitable homes while away from their own homes.

One of the most promising features of the local associations is its educational department. Only one young woman out of each one hundred, or one hundred thousand out of the twelve millions in our country, enjoy the advantages of a broad or general education, and of these the majority come from the smaller cities, towns, and country places. The association aims to inspire young women of the cities to seek higher intellectual possibilities, and to provide for all grades of mental development, from the common English branches and commercial studies to language, literature, science, music, and art, with wide provision for the practical and manual branches. Much stress has been placed upon the building up of interesting libraries specially adapted to young women; upon practical talks on educational lines; upon lectures and University Extension courses. The association makes ample provision for literary, musical, and other organizations, and encourages and supports all that tends to a higher type of individual and intellectual life. In this International Congress of Women we are classified, and rightly, too, under the religious department. By no means is ours a work of hand and mind alone, but of heart and soul. We are more than a religious organization, in that we are a Christian association doing a definitely evangelistic work among the young women of the colleges and cities of the land. Young women are banded together in Bible classes, classified according to previous knowledge of the Word. There are also evangelistic, new converts', general and devotional classes open to all, while the workers' Bible training classes are for the training of Christian young women in active personal work. Services of song and prayer, gospel meetings, and personal interviews are the direct channels through which a large Christian work is being accomplished.

What of the so-called secular departments? Permeated as they are by the presence of true, earnest, Christian young women, these, while secular in themselves, are avenues of acquaintance and approach through which the spiritual department gets a stronghold for direct personal effort. Such is an outline of the aims of our city associations and some of their methods of operation.

One can see that with the same aim for college young women, remembering that the educational and often the physical features are amply supplied by the college or university, we still have a wide field for social and individual effort. Leaving the question of the responsibility of college women to Christian work for other presentation, we must remember that college life with all its possibilities of development is by no means free from its temptations. The homesickness of the first days away from home produces unusual susceptibility to influences good or bad; the strangeness of the people and surroundings tends toward a suppression of the old spontaneous heart life, easily followed by indifference and hardness of heart; the pressure of college work emphasizes the intellectual life alone, making it of highest importance, and tends gradually to substitute general culture for spiritual life and activity. The multiplicity of college interests invariably produces the impression that the student has not time for aggressive Christian work or systematic Bible study; the pendulum too often swings from the intellectual to the social extreme, and the young woman leaves college with no adequate idea of real life and earnest work; but with a dwarfed spiritual nature and no immediate training for Christian service, and with lessened taste therefor. The college association therefore supplements the physical life by recreative clubs and outings, builds up a Christian fraternity or sisterhood, and a social life which conserves rather than tears down the highest ideals of womanhood; it brings the new student, even before her entrance into the institution, and during her formative years, into acquaintance with the best Chris-

tian womanhood of the college; it groups the Christian students for thorough Bible study and definite personal work; it holds services for the inspiration and expression of a practical Christian life, and through general and missionary libraries and meetings brings them in touch with the active interests and work of young women throughout the world; its connection with the State and international associations and student volunteer movements brings students, by means of summer schools, conventions, and other resources for training, in touch with the widest professions open to women.

The third link in our chain is the State association, consisting of the union of these local city and college organizations in the various States, with an executive committee of management elected by them in their annual convention. Their object is the promotion of the interests of the existing associations and assistance in the organization and development of new associations, with general education in the objects, method, and growth of the work in their respective States.

By far the most important agency in the growth and power of this movement has been, and is, the International Association. The work of this general organization may be outlined as follows: First, the collection and classification of the latest and best information and methods of work from the entire association field. Second, the compilation of records, statistics, and historical facts concerning the growth of the association movement. Third, the dissemination of information to associations and those interested, or to be interested, by correspondence, which means thousands of letters each year; by means of publications, including *The Evangel*, published monthly in direct interest of this cause; circulars, addresses, pamphlets, reports, instructions for the use of various officers and committees, and articles for the general and religious press. Fourth, assistance to local and State associations in the form of secretarial visitation, anniversary and other meetings, counsel with

boards and committees, and conferences to increase the local interest. Fifth, the securing, training, and recommendation of secretaries for local and State fields, with the employment and direction of an adequate force of traveling, editorial, and office international secretaries, who are the executives in these vast lines of work. Sixth, a close study of the principles and methods by which the entire work may be best conserved, developed, and extended, and all young women become interested in it. Seventh, a study of the needs of unorganized territory. Eighth, the extension of missionary interest and work, through the student volunteer movement. Ninth, preparing for and holding biennial conventions. Tenth, organizing and maintaining annual summer schools and conferences for Bible study and training of secretaries and volunteer workers, together with a large share in the development of the world's association, which, being a union of five national organizations, is now organized and is counted as the fifth link in our chain. This work of the international association is intrusted, by vote of the biennial convention, to an executive committee of thirty-three women, a large number of whom reside at the international headquarters, Chicago, and hold regular monthly meetings, employing a large and competent force of executive secretaries, through whom they are able to accomplish such a far-reaching work with rapidity and permanency.

Such being an outline of our history, form of organization, and general methods, let us pass to the more important consideration of those limitations and fundamental principles which we have chosen for our work, which distinguish us from all other organizations of women and give us a distinct and independent field.

First. Our efforts are limited to young women as a class.

Second. Our aim is the education and development of all young women rather than the immediate alleviation or assistance of any special class. We are trying to reach the true woman in young women; and hence, instead of being

classed as charitable, philanthropic, or reformatory, we are striving to reach young women whose lives may be multiplied, and while interested in all we can not sacrifice the high development of many to the temporal alleviation of a few— that work being already done by other organizations. We hold that by multiplying leaders and developing Christian workers we can easily solve the other problems also. A wealthy young woman, a college graduate, recently asked an association president if the Young Women's Christian Association reaches the class for whom it was really intended. She received the reply: "I am afraid not here, for we have failed to reach you and to induce you to concentrate your talents and wealth to the work of the Saviour among the many less favored young women. You could do more to upbuild young womanhood here than a score who do not have your education, wealth, and influence." On the other hand, a bright, intelligent stenographer, becoming interested in the physical department, took a thorough course in the gymnasium, was called to another association as instructor, and now has entered the Chicago University to prepare herself for thorough scientific physical work among young women. We strive thus to call out the woman for Christ and his service, in whatever position or circumstances she may be found.

Third. With us the true association idea predominates. In work which really benefits young women this becomes the essential living feature. Young women are slow to take advice, but quick to imitate, influenced more by associations than by any other element that enters into our lives. Realizing the force of this principle, we have adopted it as essential to our highest success, and while we endeavor to secure the coöperation of the women having years of experience and judgment in affairs of organization, our young women bear the responsibilities and do the active work of the association.

Fourth. The real needs of the young women are the same all over our land. No one field may be called in truth a

peculiar field. The same general principles of organization and method apply to all. We have realized, therefore, that greater economy of effort and more far-reaching results and more rapid growth has resulted from a uniformity of organization and work throughout our entire organization. This makes possible a helpful class of literature; it renders conventions, correspondence, and visitation practicable; it enables us to train volunteer workers for more efficient service, and has created the office of general secretary, and given her a wide plane of usefulness.

Fifth. Indeed the secretaryship, opening up a profession for educated, consecrated young women, may well be said to be a fifth feature which distinguishes our work from others. While we believe thoroughly in training a large force of volunteer workers, the personal element in the local association, the symmetrical development and uniformity of the entire work and its growth upon a permanent basis, in accordance with one lasting principle, depend almost entirely upon the efficiency of the secretarial forces in the local, State, and international fields; while on the other hand a more desirable or useful professional career has never been opened to Christian young women than may be found in this work.

Sixth. Most important of all is our basis of membership, known as the "Evangelical Basis," or "List of Membership." It is evident that just what we mean by this and its value to our work is not clearly understood by all, hence a word of definition seems necessary: First — Let it be understood by all that membership in the Young Women's Christian Association is open to all young women of any or no religious beliefs. Second — It must be remembered that the avowed aim of the association is the development of all sides of character in young women, which includes not simply a religious but a spiritual nature. The founders and maintainers of the association understand this to mean a character which accords with the life and teachings of Jesus Christ; hence we are called a Christian

association. To maintain this principle the membership has been divided into two classes, active and associate, the active consisting of those members who are anxious to protect this principle and work on these lines, and are found holding membership in the evangelical churches. With these rests the voting power and responsibility for the character and development of the association work; the associate membership includes all others who desire to receive the benefits of the organization, to help in its work in a general way, and who are striving toward a truer, better womanhood. This excludes no one who has a real desire for the association, and still preserves a decided Christian character to the work beyond the possibility of present or future change. We are not a church, we advocate no set creed, but we are the united workers of those churches which hold to evangelical truth, believing this necessary to the accomplishment of our fundamental purpose and object; and we are dominated by their united representative vote.

We still have before us a study of the possibilities for future power and usefulness. A review of the past shows that the association has marched steadily forward with a phenomenal yet continuous and permanent growth. Each new year has more clearly defined our field, and suggested new and effective methods by which it might be occupied. Each new year has raised up for and among us a large force of consecrated women, who are giving their time, their money, and themselves to the highest interests of young women; an increasing secretarial force giving their entire time to the work of supervision; a larger number of friends and supporters; many organizations started spontaneously in large and important cities, showing that the importance and value of the association is rapidly becoming appreciated; and, best of all, a grand army of young women from every avenue of life, marching to victory, calling upon all young women to join their ranks, bearing aloft the standard of a perfect, symmetrical womanhood.

What means this for the future? It means the strongest,

and purest, and truest, and best young women of the world, endeavoring to unite all young women in simple but perfect obedience to the power of Almighty God, which union must produce a power too great to be measured by man's mind; a power to be felt in every department of life, the home, the church, the school, the State, ever growing and increasing until the ages of eternity roll by, and then "we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is."

Sermon Preached by Rev. Anna H. Shaw of Michigan, in the Hall of Washington, on Sunday Morning, May 21st.

The services on the morning of Sunday, May 21st, were of unique character. The entire programme, with the hymns sung on the occasion, will be found in Chapter II of Volume I.—[The Editor.]

Mrs. May Wright Sewall introduced the presiding minister thus: It is with solemn joy in our hearts that we open the services of this morning. It is a matter for congratulation, suggestive of prophetic hopes, that there are seated upon the platform this morning eighteen ordained clergywomen, representing thirteen different denominations of the Christian church. I take great pleasure in presenting to you the Rev. Caroline J. Bartlett, pastor of the First Unitarian Church of Kalamazoo, Mich., who will conduct the services.

Rev. Anna H. Shaw said: I will read for our scripture lesson from the words of Jesus.

"Ye are the light of the world." "A city that is set on a hill can not be hid."

"Neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick; and it giveth light unto all that are in the house."

"Let your light so shine before men that they may see

your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven."

Now I have a little paragraph from the religion of the far east, from Zoroaster: "The man who has done good rather than evil, morally and physically, outwardly and inwardly, may fearlessly meet death, well assured that radiant spirits will lead him across into the paradise of eternal happiness. Souls risen from the grave will know each other and say, that is my father, or my brother, my wife, or my sister. The weak will say to the good, wherefore when I was on the world didst thou not teach me to know righteousness, O thou pure one? It is because you did not instruct me that I am excluded from the assembly of the blest."

And from Buddhist scripture we have: "There are treasures laid up in the heart, treasures of charity, piety, temperance, and soberness. These treasures a man takes with him beyond death when he leaves this world."

And we have from the Mohammedan scriptures this: "One hour of justice is worth seventy years of prayer."

And from the Chinese, from Confucius: "The good man loves all men. He loves to speak good of others. All within the four seas are his brothers. Love of man is chief of all the virtues. The mean man sows that some of his friends may be helped, but the love of the perfect man is universal."

And we have from St. Augustine these words: "I have read in Plato and Cicero. They are wise and very beautiful, but I never read in either of them, 'Come unto me all ye that are heavy laden.'"

"The multitude that published the tidings were a great host." In the new version it is changed, both in letter and in spirit, for instead of being a past word and past revelation, it is an ever present word, an ever present revelation, and the people who publish the tidings are a new class of people — they are our people. "The Lord giveth the word. The women that publish the tidings are a great host."

The inspirations and aspirations which have been aroused by this remarkable conference will awaken in our hearts such thoughts of joy and blessedness that neither time nor distance shall ever be able to separate it from you until time shall be lost in eternity; and your journey up the steep and rugged heights where truth dwells will ever be made easier, and at the last be made surer because of our meetings here the last week. The women who have read various papers, who have discussed the various subjects which have been before you, have, in the undertone of all that has been uttered, voiced but one cry, the cry to be free; free to be; free to do; free to become that which is best and truest for God's people everywhere. Each has voiced the heartache and sadness which has come from woman who, in the past, has endeavored in any line of activity or research to lift herself or her sisters on a higher plane of life. Each has felt the cramping, crippling, and dwarfing power of prejudice and custom. Each has felt the terrible strain which the endeavor to fight against these barriers has put upon all the energies of her nature, and each has given voice to the vision revealed by him who revealed all truth of the time when the struggle for freedom shall be over, and when men and women shall live in that true and nobler atmosphere, in which truth and not tradition shall be our guide; the time when each man and each woman will take as a sublime watchword that which was to her, one of our old leaders, the very tone of her entire life: "Truth for authority, and not authority for truth." In the heartache which has followed this vision, as the darkness of the ever present has closed about the right, these women have turned to God, and lifting their eyes mutely to him have asked: "O! thou infinite One, give me freedom that I may help the world to find Thee." And then turning to men for guidance, they have asked the scholar: "Where shall freedom be found for the race?" And the scholar has answered: "The pathway to knowledge is the highway to freedom." But these women have

known that knowledge is not, and has not been, the power to free the race, and that many who have been the most learned have been not only the most oppressed but the greatest oppressors. Then they have turned to the statesman, and asked of him where freedom shall be found, and the statesmen have answered: "The highway to freedom leads through constitutions and laws. Governments will ultimately evolve such perfect systems of law that all men shall be free." But we have known that laws and constitutions have been used as instruments by which men have been enslaved and oppressed. They have turned to the church, and asked of the churchmen where freedom was found, and the churchman pointed to his creeds and to his rites and ceremonies, saying: "Believe and you shall be free." But we have known, not so much by our own experience as by the history of the past, that creeds have been cruel, ceremonies and rites have enslaved, and that they who are most bound by the creeds are least free. Then the soul has turned back again to the vision, and has asked Him who was able to reveal the future: "Shall freedom come?" And He has answered: "My child, neither in constitutions and laws, nor in knowledge, nor in creeds, shall you find the way to freedom, but the truth itself, and the truth alone, can make men and women free."

Grasping this thought, then, women have gone forth regardless of custom, regardless of prejudice, regardless of the reproach of the church, and in the words of him of old, have cried out: "Is it better to obey the law of man or to be directed by the spirit of God?" And helped by this thought these women who have gathered here together have been out in the world through the years that are passed, teaching and preaching in all realms of life, and in all spheres of activity, the truth which shall ultimately make us all free.

This gathering together of women has taught the world that women are learning that one lesson which is the hardest for the human race to know, that lesson of toler-

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EMILY S. RICHARDS.

LAURA S. WILKINSON.

MRS. LORRAINE J. PITKIN.

MARY C. SNEDDEN.

ation each for the other. And in our coming together here there has been aroused a kindlier interest in each other's work, a kindlier friendship for each other; and no woman of us shall go to our homes who does not feel that her heart throbs in unison with all women everywhere whose eyes are lifted toward the light; and we have learned as we never could have learned in any other way, that lovers of the law are one. We have learned of the past; we have had enough of the creeds. What matters our label so truth be our aim? But coming forth from this blessed experience, we shall each feel that whether the world accepts our truth now, or whether it shall do so in the years to come, yet there is in our heart such oneness of sympathy and oneness of hope, that no woman can ever say truthfully again, "I am all alone of all the women in the world."

But as we have come together we have realized, perhaps more than ever before, the obstacles and difficulties which lie in our way. This has been our love-feast, but it will be of little value to us if it does not fit us better to go forth to meet the real experiences of life which shall come to us when we have laid aside our day of thought and have entered into life's practical mission. The difficulties which we have met in the past are still around us, and we shall find that the world to-day is bound to its own thought as in the past. One of the greatest obstacles which we shall meet is the fact that there are certain classes of people gathered together of a single church, of a single society, who cry out: "If you are not seeking truth in our way, then it can not be that you are true, and you are not seeking truth at all." These are people who are bound to truth by their limited vision of it, who cry: "My creed, my philosophy, my work is true, therefore all else is false." But the women who go forth from this great gathering shall feel that there can be no great movement to which has gathered any number of people but that underlying it, and running all through it, is some deep and profound truth, and that it is only a barren mind that can look upon any great movement fol-

lowed by any large number of people, and can say it is all false. This has been the mission of this great congress, and our women have learned that it has been a high privilege to search all the great movements presented here, and out of each one of them to gather a germ of truth, and unite it with a germ which has been discovered in another great movement, until in going forth we shall be bound together by one great chain, each link a great truth gathered up out of the world and made our truth. So that we shall go forth, not as women of individual thought, or an individual church, but we shall go forth as women in whose souls have been planted germs of many great truths, and we shall be what was explained to us as the root-thought of the word Sorosis, yesterday, that great coming together of many seeds, the result of which shall be the bread of life to the people of the world.

Not only shall we meet the obstacles which have always been in our way, but we shall also find that other great obstacle which more than any other keeps woman in the background to-day. Women have always been taught that self-submission is the highest part of womanly character; that they should efface themselves, give up all hope of education, and all development and growth in themselves, that another may grow; we have justified the sacrifices of a sister in order that she may earn the means by which a brother shall be educated; the sacrifices of a wife that she may help push to the front her husband; or the sacrifices of a mother that she may assist her son; not because there is any principle in it; not because there is any special good accomplished; not because the son, or husband, or father has any special power in himself; but the sacrifice of the woman for the uplifting of the man seems to be the one thought, regardless of the principle of justice. But the sequel shows that many women have gone to their graves broken-hearted to lift up a man who was not worthy of living after he had been lifted; a man incapable of recognizing the sacrifice; a man who did not begin to possess in

himself such possibilities as were in the one that was sacrificed. Women will need to revise their table of virtues. Men have made it for us in the past, but in the future when we shall revise it we will leave in the table of virtues self-sacrifice, but we will put by its side self-assertion. What God needs in humanity to-day is recognition of the fact that one-half of the divine nature in the world is clothed in womanhood, and unless womanhood is developed, one-half of divinity itself is kept from the knowledge of the peoples of the world. The mission of woman in the pulpit is not alone to keep alive the fire of the Holy Ghost in the hearts of men and women in this world, and teach men and women the truth of the power of God to transform human life and human character; but one of the missions of the woman preacher is to people heaven with the feminine thought as well as the earth, and the race must be taught that they can no more be half-orphans in heaven than they are on earth, and that in the spirit of divine life, in the spirit of infinite love, in divinity itself, we have the feminine and the masculine, and God is the eternal parent of us all, the father and mother of the human soul. And when heaven shall be re-peopled by the Divine Spirit, which is the spirit of motherhood as well as fatherhood, oh how the heart of the human race will gladly sit at the feet of the mother-heart of God, and be comforted in the woes and sorrows and heartaches of life!

But the reformers themselves must learn, for it is impossible for any woman to become a real reformer who is not herself reformed. It is impossible for any human being to become a teacher who has not first been taught; impossible for any to lead and lift, who has not first learned to obey. Therefore I may be pardoned if I address some of my words to my own colleagues this morning and say, no more can every woman be a reformer than can every woman be a true and righteous mother, or than can every woman be a home-maker. God has not endowed all for any one thing, and those who would themselves become reformers must

learn that to be a guide and teacher there are certain qualifications and certain lessons which must become a part of our being, or else we are not equipped for our work in the world; and that this is the center of every reformer's life — a broad, vigorous, healthful character. No woman is fit to be a reformer who does not possess strong character. Now, character is what we are, and no one is nobler and truer than the character which she forms. Taking this thought outside of one's self, no life character is greater than the character of her who has wrought it. A mean mind can not build a vast life structure. A narrow soul can not build broadly, or wisely, or well. So if we would become builders whose building shall remain, if we would become teachers whose lessons shall abide, then must we become women of strong character in all of our relationships to the world and to God. In the building up of the work of the world there must be a strong character, regardless of what one's reputation may be, and in order that we shall be possessed of a strong character three things are essential to us. First, we must be possessed of moral courage, and that is the thing to-day which is rarer than anything else — moral courage. Now, moral and physical courage are very different things, and it has been thought that women could not be possessed of strong characters because they were not possessed of strong bodies. But moral courage, which is born of the soul, moral courage which enables one, regardless of his surroundings, to sacrifice anything and everything for truth, that is the first and necessary qualification for a leader and teacher of men. What the world needs to-day is great, broad minds, broad enough to reach out and grasp the truth, and hearts pure enough to receive it, and souls brave enough to defend it. And could the men and women of the world who believe the truth to-day and have minds large enough to grasp it, possess souls brave enough to stand by it, then would there be no more sacrifices of men and women on the altar of persecution and ignorance. But the women who go forth to work in the world to-day must

be possessed of this strong character whereby they can stand by the truth through the moral power which enables them to face social ostracism, prejudice, and denunciation, and take their stand by truth, because at the last they only are victors who are found on the side of truth. Longfellow has justly said, "No evil thing can succeed, no good thing can fail. There is no success save in the triumph of the truth." So we who stand by the truth, who are always standing by that, shall in the end be victors. Nations shall pass away, generations of men shall be born and die, the world may even pass into utter oblivion, but the truth, like the Divine One, is eternal and shall abide evermore.

Not alone must we be possessed of moral courage to stand by the truth, but we must be possessed of faith in God to be men and women of strong characters. I do not stand here this morning to define God to you. I do not undertake to tell you just how you shall believe in God or just what your conception of God may be, but no man or woman can ever be possessed of a strong character and become a teacher and leader of men, triumphing over obstacles, confident of victory before the battle has been begun, who has not faith in an overruling power, who is ultimately able to guide all things toward that which is right and pure. Plutarch said long thousand years ago that he made a search up and down the earth that he might find a city without a symbol of the man Christ Jesus, but could never find a city without any symbols or shrines; and what was true in the days of Plutarch is true to-day. In all this world there is no city or nation the center of whose life is not God. There is no number of people who have gathered together for any great purpose who have not some faith in some power somewhere, upon whom all others are dependent.

Then not only must a reformer be possessed of moral courage to stand by what she knows to be true and teach it; not only must she be possessed of faith in God, and know that ultimately she shall see somewhere, at some time, the

triumph of the truth, but she herself must become uncompromisingly obedient to the higher laws of God everywhere. You and I, all men and women of every land or clime, know that above the laws controlling our physical and our governmental life there are higher laws controlling our moral and spiritual characters, and it is as natural for us to turn our faces toward these higher laws as it is for the face of the heliotrope to turn toward the sun, and a woman of strong character must evermore keep her face toward obedience. The men and women of strong character then find out what the law of the highest is. You ask, where do we find it? I do not know, only in this world it is to be found, we believe, and it is to be found written on the hearts and lives of our fellow men and women everywhere. It is to be found written on the face of nature everywhere. In all lands and under all conditions God has never left himself without a witness to all peoples of the world. Therefore, we may learn the law of God in our relations in life, in our associations each with the other.

Look into the history of the race, and what will you find? You will find that God has placed in the hands of men and women some wondrous powers, wondrous possibilities. Some of the great poets of old have had given to them by God harps that were divinely attuned, and he has asked of them to sing a song which, when sung, would thrill the heart of the race and lift it up toward him; but they have taken these harps divinely attuned and sunk them in the dust at the feet of their lusts, and to-day the world mourns the lost songs everywhere. To every man and woman of us here God has given a soul, a soul so divinely attuned that we may hear the very harmonies of heaven; a soul so divinely attuned that we may hear the voice of God speaking with us, and be directed by that voice out into a high and holy plane. So whether that which we believe is true or not, if we stand by what we believe to be truth, God will illuminate the path, and we shall by and by know the truth, if we are true to the bit of truth we all possess now; for

they who are loyal to truth will find that truth is always loyal to them; and they who harken to its divine voice shall hear it all about them, and know the voice of truth and follow it, and the voice of a stranger will they not follow.

Now then, you ask, what shall be the reward of these who are thus laboring for the uplifting of truth? I say: My sister, be not disheartened. It matters not what your reward shall be. It matters not how it shall come. Your reward may not be the great, sweet honor of grateful success, but this it shall be — you shall be lifted into a true life, able to look out without servility, able to look up to God without fear, and though your truth may not be accepted, though you yourself may be rejected, though you may die and yet the world refuse to hear, this is not life's greatest sorrow. It is a greater one never to have heard the voice of truth speaking in the soul. As George Eliot says: "The words of deepest bitterness that can be known to the human soul can never be wrung from the lips; they are outward. It is only when one has covered her head in shame and humility, and has said, 'I am not worthy to be a martyr. The truth shall prosper, but not by me.'"

And, therefore, my sister, if it be your high and exalted privilege to have gotten a glimpse of truth, thank God. If it has been your higher and still more exalted privilege to have been able to give this truth to the world, thank God. If it has been your sublime privilege to see the world accept it, thank God. But in every case and all cases thank God that truth is, and that you have heard its voice.

Then, oh, woman! what may we not prophesy of thee, when thou hast come into perfect harmony with the truth, when thou hast heard its voice speaking in thine own being? What may we not prophesy of thee when from off the altar a living coal shall be pressed to thy lips, and thou shalt speak words all aflame with truth, which, when sinking into the heart of humanity, shall kindle a flame all divine within each heart, and a nation shall be born, an unknown nation yet, but a nation shall be born who shall call thee blessed?

It has been said that it is the greatest sacrifice one can make for a friend to give up one's life for one's love; to sacrifice one's life; to lay down your own to find it in the good of another. But how much richer, how much holier, is the praise of her who lays down her own good, who sacrifices it for the good of another unknown, or for the good of a nation yet unborn. This is the highest test of loyalty to truth. So that whether that which you have in your soul to-day, which burns like a living flame, shall be accepted by the race or not, if you lay down your own good for the good of a race that shall be, then you have manifested the greatest loyalty to truth that can be manifested by any one, and the truth has come, and your reward shall be the love of a people.

Do not now say I lift the standard too high. The standard of God can not be lifted too high. The standard of truth must ever be high above the standards of the world, and the standard-bearers of truth must ever be in advance of the great march of the world behind them. Therefore, do not lower your standard one inch. Do not stay your progress one moment. Do not hesitate or falter, but remember the words of the young color-bearer in our late war, who, when the standard-bearer of his regiment was shot down, sprang forward, caught the colors ere they reached the ground, and then, thrilled with enthusiasm, pressed on before, on, on, up the hill toward the rampart upon which they were charging. Seeing him go faster than the men could follow, the colonel shouted out: "Bring back those colors!" But without faltering he glanced back and cried, "No, colonel, bring your men up to the colors!" And on he went and planted the colors, and the men gathered around the flag of their country.

And so, my sisters, do not falter; and when they cry, the world is not ready, the world has not been educated up to your truth, call back to the world, "We can not lower our standard to the level of the world. Bring your old world up to the level of our standard." Then shall the people of

the world be lifted nearer to God, near the glory which evermore surrounds truth, near the eternal peace of God flowing like a mighty river, near in heart and soul to the truth and the source of all truth, the infinite love of Divinity itself.

Therefore, let me close in the words of one not of our faith, or the faith of any here; one from across the seas, a Brahman, who said: "The differences in religious views have divided the world into seventy great nations. I scan them all, and in and through them all I gather one truth — divine love."

And let us add to that the words of Jesus Christ of Nazareth: "One is your father, even God; and all ye are brethren."

CHAPTER XIV.—INDUSTRIAL, SOCIAL, AND MORAL REFORM,

AS TREATED IN THE SUBORDINATE CONGRESSES.

EDITORIAL COMMENT — EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE WOMEN'S TRADES UNIONS, BY MARY E. KENNEY — EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESSES DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION, BY CLARA C. HOFFMAN AND FRANCES LEITER — EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL CHRISTIAN LEAGUE FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL PURITY, BY ELIZABETH B. GRANNIS — EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL COLUMBIAN HOUSEHOLD ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION, BY LAURA S. WILKINSON — EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE AMERICAN PROTECTIVE SOCIETY OF AUTHORS, BY GRACE GREENWOOD (SARA J. LIPPINCOTT) — EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESSES DELIVERED IN THE REPORT CONGRESSES BY MRS. JOHN WOOD STEWART, MRS. FAIRCHILD ALLEN, HANNA BIEBER-BOEHM, AND MRS. BEDFORD FENWICK.

AT first sight the contents of this chapter may seem oddly grouped, but a little reflection will enable one to see that existing moral and social conditions are, in large degree, the consequence of industrial standards, conditions, and opportunities. The growing desire to lift housekeeping into a profession, to classify and systematize "the medley of shreds and patches" included under that vague general term, is most encouraging. It is evident that the phrase "dignity of labor," which has served to decorate so many fine exhortations delivered by the idle to the industrious, has assumed a practical significance. Women see that in the ability to sustain themselves by labor lies their only certain basis of self-respect, their only security against the most insidious and fatal temptations. That wealth does not

release its possessor from the moral necessity of developing and applying her powers, and that poverty does not excuse its victim from results that her own industry might forestall, are truths of relatively recent acceptance.—[THE EDITOR.]

ORGANIZATION OF WORKING WOMEN — ADDRESS BY MARY E. KENNEY, ORGANIZER FOR THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

To say that it is difficult to organize women is not saying the half. There are several reasons which prevent women from wishing to organize. In the first place, they are reared from childhood with one sole object in view — an object I do not wish to discourage but to elevate from its present conditions — that is, marriage. If our mothers would teach us self-reliance and independence, that it is our duty to depend wholly upon ourselves, we should then feel the necessity of organization, and especially of the new form of organization, which is voluntary coöperation. The one reason I have given leads to others. Because they do not feel that they have a permanent place in the industrial world they go into it for the time being only, and do not study its interests. They accept the system they are compelled to slave under as they find it, and give no thought to whether it could be changed or their conditions bettered.

Again, they feel that an institution, which has for its platform protection, is for men only, and the only protection they expect is the protection given them by men, not realizing that it is their duty to protect themselves. So that the only hope in the organization of women is in getting them to feel that they are, or should learn to be, independent.

Another reason, and especially the reason in New York City, is that the women are intimidated by their employers, and in many cases by the forewoman. I met a very bright young woman in New York who was discharged for being

a member of an organization. She feels the necessity of united effort among the workers, but is compelled to earn her livelihood, and consequently is deprived of the right to better her condition, or assist or meet her sister workers, through the fear of being deprived of her present means of subsistence. Such is the existing condition of the working women in our free America, where slavery is supposed to be a thing of the past, but where it really exists to-day in the most tyrannical form.

In addition to the above reasons, there is a difficulty in reaching the women in factories, especially in large cities, where it is difficult to gain access, in order to distribute invitations to a meeting under the guise of "an entertainment with addresses." I have entered many a factory with the expectation of being thrown out when detected, and in many instances have been told to get out as quickly as possible, without a thought that I was at least human.

Statistics of women employed in cities show that the time lost by women in Chicago earning less than one hundred dollars a year is 115.5 days, while the time lost by women earning five hundred dollars a year and over is 14.5 days. In other words, the women and girls who are poorly clad, poorly fed, and poorly housed, lose more than eight times the number of days lost by those in comfortable circumstances. In New York the women earning less than one hundred dollars a year lose an average of 128 days, while the women earning five hundred dollars or more lose only 17.3 days. The same is true of Boston, where women earning under one hundred dollars a year lose 108.5 days, while the women earning five hundred dollars and over lose 11.4 days. It is only reasonable to suppose that the unfortunate women receiving starvation wages are deprived of even these through ill-health caused by poor food, poor clothing, and poor shelter.

There is but one city, in my judgment, where justice is done working-women, and that is in Troy, N. Y. Here the principal industry is shirtmaking, and the women are

thoroughly organized. The employes work by the piece, six and eight hours a day, and receive ten to twelve dollars a week, which is fair wages. In Troy, if one individual has a grievance, and a just one, all demand justice at once.

In Albany, just across the river, the conditions in this same industry, and above all in the shops owned by the Troy firm of shirtmakers, are just reversed. The town is wholly unorganized. The women in the shirt industry, with the exception of those in one factory, are intimidated and kept from organizing. The factories are nothing better than slave prisons.

I applied for work at one factory with the object of becoming acquainted with some of the girls. I found that I should have to purchase a machine if I went to work. This would cost forty-five dollars, of which five dollars must be paid down, and one dollar a week afterward till paid for. When I became an expert shirtmaker I could earn from five to six dollars a week. I had to be at my machine at half-past seven in the morning or be fined. Not a word must be spoken during working hours. This is a rule in every factory in which I have worked.

Here are conditions existing in twin cities, one working under the factory lash, and the other under the condition of organized labor. Many of the Troy girls told me it was a pleasure to work in their shops. In Albany it is a dread. What a shame it is for a majority of the people to allow their freedom to be jeopardized by a few, especially when they hold the remedy in their own hands!

In my own trade, bookbinding, the wages paid in Albany are seven cents an hour for a ten-hour day, or four dollars and twenty cents a week, and still we are expected to be respectable. I know a forewoman in Albany who receives only five dollars a week, and she has an aged mother to support out of that. In this same office I know a young woman feeding presses who receives five dollars a week, and she also has a mother to support. This woman is

doing the same work a man does, and ought to receive from ten dollars and one-half to twelve dollars a week. Both of these young friends of mine give their whole time, labor, and skill from seven o'clock in the morning until six o'clock at night for a bare existence.

I have given only a few facts from personal experience. Just such conditions exist in our very midst. We don't have to go to Boston or New York.

Is it any wonder, then, with these fearful facts confronting them, that the masses are beginning to feel the injustice and oppression that is forced upon them? There are a few awake to their sense of duty, both to themselves and their fellow workers. All the masses need is to be educated to that sense of duty which will demand justice and abolish that system which compels my sex to accept wholesale prostitution, crime, and degradation.

A Bird's-Eye View of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union — Address by Clara C. Hoffman of Missouri.

Well was it said by Mrs. Lathrap in the council of 1891, "No other association has become so distinguished for the friends it has won and the enemies it has made. It has touched the home, the school, the church, the political and legislative power of the whole country until the shore-marks of its influence are wide as the Republic." The National Woman's Christian Temperance Union is applied Christianity; applied, not to a select few, but to humanity. It implies the possession and cultivation of a sense richer than benevolence, wider than philanthropy, and kinder than theology; the sense of humanity that sees the fatherhood of God for all, the brotherhood of man in all. It is a teacher who sees with the natural eye, and knows with the human reason, a multitude of conditions in this life that can and should be changed; a teacher who believes that the

much-talked-of, yet distant, coming of our Lord will be mightily hastened when all the people are taught the duties and conduct of this life; taught concerning the duty of husbands to wives and wives to husbands; concerning the right of all children to be born of love and hope, not lust; concerning the equal responsibility of parents, the care of the house, ventilation, wholesome cooking, cleanliness of streets, comfortable and convenient clothing, holidays, amusements, equal pay for equal work, justice to woman, good manners at home and in the public assembly.

With our young women, called "Y's," and our host of honorable honoraries, with Loyal Temperance Legions, boys and girls, and the valiant men who register our sentiments at the ballot-box, our national family sweeps away beyond the half-million line.

Every State and Territory is organized, and unions are formed among the colored people, the Swedes, Norwegians, and Germans in this country. The National Woman's Christian Temperance Union has joined hands with England and British America, and its insignia, the white ribbon, and its ritual of total abstinence are adopted there as here.

More than twenty-seven thousand medals, silver, gold, and diamond, have been given by that great-hearted philanthropist, W. J. Demorest of New York, to the youthful winners in oratorical contests, conducted mainly by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

By ceaseless agitation it has compelled city councils and authorities to recognize the necessity of police matrons, until this office is now firmly established in a great number of cities. The barbaric law, practically pronouncing the little girl of ten years old enough and mature enough to protect herself against the wiles of evil men, can no longer stand on our statute books unchallenged by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union; and for every advance made toward decent, humane legislation on this subject, it must in all fairness receive the major credit. Through plans carefully devised in national conventions, and faithfully

carried out by department superintendents, the broadening, elevating, humanizing, christianizing influence of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union has reached all sorts and conditions of men.

Happy under the leadership of one wise enough and broad enough to seek "every creature's best," to help in the betterment of the world, the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union has never refused to coöperate with every society whose aim is truth and justice for humanity. Steadily has it maintained the right of woman's equality, officially committing itself to that most righteous cause when policy counseled silence; and to-day its advocates for woman suffrage outnumber those of any society in this magnificent council of women.

Through its varied activities, its wide philanthropies, and tireless education within, without, around, and everywhere, the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union has become the mightiest dynamite under the moss-grown walls of prejudice built centuries ago on the traditions of men. Where politics and ecclesiasticism had failed came the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union with love in its heart, and a knot of snowy ribbon in its hand, and bridged the chasm between a severed North and South.

To the incomparable leader of the National and the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Unions, Frances E. Willard, God has given a vision broader and kinder than that seen from Pisgah's height; the vision of a promised land fairer than Canaan, whose inhabitants with sober brain, clear eye, and steady limb shall confess God's law within their members, as on stony tablet; whose constitution shall be the Golden Rule, and whose allegiance shall be forever to the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, Jesus Christ.

FLORENCE ELIZABETH CORY.

FLORENCE FENWICK MILLER.

EMMELINE B. WELLS

Physical Education for Women — Address by Frances W. Leiter of Ohio, Superintendent of Physical Culture Department of the Young Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

It has been significantly stated that the girl who can enter womanhood with a liberal education and good health is equipped to command the world. In the majority of cases, where such is seriously desired, the liberal education is denied because good health is lacking. The abundant opportunities in these days for self-help make pecuniary disadvantages of small account in acquiring an education, if the individual possess courage and endurance, which are the results of health.

The success of all plans for the advancement and enlarged usefulness of women, as a class, will be determined in years to come by prevailing physical conditions.

What has it been in the past? Prejudice in favor of unsuppressed activity for the boy, and modest inactivity for his less fortunate sister, has laid the weight of unfair restraint upon every girl from the hour of her birth. If the vivacity of some physically gifted daughter has ventured to break the bars of this time-honored restraint, she has, until recent years, been branded a "hoiden."

There is nothing in the genesis of the human race which can lead to the conclusion that God ordained two sets of laws, almost diametrically opposite, for the maintenance of health in Adam and his wife Eve. The penalty which has been suffered under this false adjustment bears its own disastrous marks in the generations of to-day.

The father may possess a fine physique and a robust constitution. This does not, however, insure to the son the same, if the mother is lacking in these directions; nor is the daughter assured even her mother's disabled status with such unbalanced parentage.

The highest possibilities of the race demand improve-

ment in both fathers and mothers. It does not, however, require a very keen student of the situation to understand that the success of human fruitage rests largely with the sex which nature has decreed shall foster the developing germ, and whose personal characteristics, whether meriting praise or censure, shall silently mold the child after her own pattern.

Of the personal characteristics of the mother, which manifest themselves in a greater or less degree in her offspring, as a rule, none are more striking, or indeed significant, than physical defects, because these often appear as indices of the grave elements in character. The skipping of a single generation or several, in proof of this, does not weaken the truth.

Who is ready to deny that uncertain conditions of health bar women from the extended fields of usefulness already wide open to those who will enter? Who, of all womankind, will venture to assert that woman can ever meet successfully even the initial duties of citizenship, until a keener intellect, keyed to the demand by the supporting tide of physical well-being, enables her to grasp, mentally, some of the questions in social and political life?

What systematic physical discipline has accomplished for men it can do for women. For their own sake and that of posterity these results should be sought.

Who does not know that to be a Roman implied the possession of a magnificent physique, through which all the cherished attributes of that warlike people found expression? This was not alone the result of careful training, but the inheritance from the mother as well. So, prominent in Roman history stands the noble Roman matron, whose systematic training, physical and mental, fitted her to become the mother of sons of whom that nation was justly proud. Shall we do less for a nation whose form of government crowns each son with the emblem of sovereignty, and whose increasing knowledge of the right, in the light of divine law, will sooner or later place

the same privileges and obligations upon every American daughter?

It is not the time or place to discuss at length the methods by which this needed discipline can be secured. Suffice it to say, each community, small or great, should establish a gymnasium where women and girls can assemble and receive instruction under some specialist qualified to meet the needs of the sex.

After more than half a century of varying experience, physical training is taking its place gradually in the curriculum of popular education, which includes girls as well as boys. The various educational institutions for women are also adding well-equipped gymnasiums as one of the inducements for patronage.

The first record we have of physical training for girls was made in the Boston Monitorial School, in 1824. In attempting to introduce some of the simplest exercises, the principal encountered the objections of primly educated parents. After a struggle these were, in a great measure, overcome. In writing to a friend regarding the experience, the principal said: "I trust the day is not far distant when gymnasia for women and girls will be as common in Boston as churches; and that young men, in selecting mothers for their offspring, will see to it that they are healthy and strong, capable of enduring fatigue and encountering dangers."

Seventy years later we respond to this a hearty Methodistic amen, with the addition, however, that we trust our young women, in accepting fathers for their children, will see to it that they can give purity for purity, lives untainted by the drugs and weed which are sapping the manhood of the nation, and through the laws of heredity cursing posterity.

The National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity — Report and Address by Elizabeth B. Grannis of New York, President of the National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity.

The National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity was organized in 1886. The national charter was obtained in October, 1889. The league aims to establish a single standard of purity, or to secure the same measure of chastity for men and boys which is required for women and girls. Girls and women must be freed from the sense of dependence upon men for financial aid and social position, which often becomes a temptation to wrong-doing, before this single standard can be universally conceded.

Since the organization of the league much good has been accomplished along the many lines which promise a higher and equal standard of purity. Very much has been accomplished through the religious and secular press, by regular monthly meetings, and by the special literature published and circulated by the league.

The headquarters are at 33 East Twenty-second Street, New York City.

We are convinced, and would suggest to other earnest advocates of a higher standard of purity, that no greater power can be summoned in the cause of purity than the regular daily, weekly, and monthly publications, in spreading a knowledge of the advantage gained to all classes in seeking to develop a higher standard and universal chastity for every individual.

The league had four bills before the Legislature last winter. The "tobacco" bill was in the form of an amendment to the code, and was designed for preventing the giving or sale of tobacco to minors by prison authorities. One might be surprised on learning that prison law and custom furnish

tobacco to boys even under the age of eighteen, who have never had chewing tobacco in their mouths until confined in prison or jail for petit larceny or other crime, so that they come out veteran tobacco chewers.

Our second bill was another amendment to the code, to the effect that any person convicted of breaking the Seventh Commandment should be imprisoned for not less than one year, and fined not less than one thousand dollars. We have had no law in the Empire State for more than forty years against the crime of adultery. There is often no alternative but to sue for divorce, which many wives and mothers are unwilling to do; while, if this bill could be passed, few persons could live openly in illicit relations, and it would have a most wholesome effect in preventing a reckless man from boasting to his wife of his unchaste relations with other women, and in many cases prevent such evil relations altogether.

We also had a bill the import of which was to secure a farm, and a temporary city home, for persons of any age, worthy or unworthy, and regardless of sex, where they could receive employment at a nominal remuneration, but sufficient to provide them shelter, food, clothing, and baths.

Our fourth bill was a very simple one, drawn by Judge Arnoux, who is a strong advocate of suffrage for women.

During the past three years we have striven arduously to agitate public opinion in the interest of a higher standard of purity, among those particularly who do not believe that a life of perfect chastity is as desirable and possible for men and boys as for women and girls. We have discussed the various forms of impurity which exist in and out of the family relation, while our steady purpose has been to impart judicious information and intelligence respecting personal virtue, from the period of earliest consciousness to the grave. We do not fail to commend the stanch and noble declarations of many of the best members of the medical profession who believe in and teach the equal standard of purity; neither do we cease to denounce, as we have occasion, the

fatal results of perverted judgment on the part of medical men who are graduates of our oldest colleges and practitioners in many of our best families, who teach that while physiological laws remain as they have existed from the beginning, and will continue to the end, the same standards can not be required of men which are right and proper for women.

We persistently seek to impress the fact that whatever enhances the value of woman in the home, or out of it, is of equal value to every man who desires to be the head of his own family, or who expects to participate in creating a home, and to be recognized as a member of respectable society.

We have already commenced to raise a fund with which to rent or buy a permanent home, where needy girls and women may find employment without reference to age or condition of any sort. We must have a place in which any homeless person may find an opportunity to earn a humble living. Existing charitable homes are usually established for special classes. There is almost no provision in New York City by which in an emergency a girl, boy, man, or woman, without friends or money, can find a refuge. Every place of shelter and help has been full this entire winter; even Blackwell's Island is in every department overcrowded, and surely no able-bodied girl or woman, or one who is able to earn fifty cents per day, ought to be sent to the workhouse or almshouse.

There is no institution so much needed in great cities for any class or classes of helpless persons as an institution which shall furnish temporary or permanent shelter to exceptional cases, and employment for self-support. Every dollar in money which is not earned when given has a tendency to pauperize or reduce self-respect. It is far better that all should render service for whatever they receive, whether the service is worth anything to any person or not; and there is no one who is able to stand or speak who can not, under good executive management, be placed in cir-

cumstances where he or she can do something toward an independent support.

The league, by a unanimous vote at its general meeting, and at its woman's business meeting in February, passed resolutions denouncing a proposed "Song and Dance Bill" for licensing little girls of tender age to appear upon the stage in theatrical exhibitions. The league sent out one hundred and sixty copies of these resolutions to Senators and Representatives at Albany, urging them to kill this bill promptly, which, if passed, would necessarily aid in the propagation of vice. We have also sent many letters to individuals, asking their coöperation to aid in preventing its passage, and have received a number of responses from Senators and Representatives, who have promised to do all in their power to prevent the adoption of the bill.

The incorporators of the Christian League are often asked why we did not unite with the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, or the White Cross movement, or some of the other organizations already in existence, instead of organizing as a distinct national society.

First. After many years of deliberation we were convinced that it was necessary to have a headquarters at Washington or New York City.

Second. We believe that men and women ought to be associated as co-workers in seeking a higher and equal standard of purity for both sexes in and out of the church. We recognize that there is a department of work which can be better done by men alone, and other work which can be done effectively only by women; and that a far greater amount can be accomplished when managed by mutual leadership.

While we would not intimate that the league has done better work than other organizations, still we are confident that in due time, when the league shall have attained mature age and full strength, it will have proven that the coöperation of men and women as workers in this cause has

accomplished far better and greater results than either men or women could accomplish separately.

Third. The league is, as a whole, thoroughly in sympathy with the various temperance movements, and its individual members work singly and collectively for the restriction of the tobacco habit, and total abstinence from it, as well as for the absolute disuse of alcoholic stimulants.

The league exacts no pledge from any individual member, save that he or she accepts the Lord Jesus Christ as his or her personal Saviour and the leader and example in every good work.

We aim to teach the right of every child to the counsel, companionship, and love of his father, the same as to that of his mother, under whatever circumstances it may have been forced into existence, whether it be born to a legitimate father and mother or not. We teach the enormity of the sin in the illegitimate father, notwithstanding that the law and custom of the land permits him to give away the child to a public institution wherever philanthropy may provide a resting-place for the little bundle of helpless infancy, and thus ignore his fatherly responsibility to his own child, which is deprived even of its birthright to its father's name.

We acknowledge that it is equally culpable in an illegitimate mother to dispose of her unprotected offspring, to whom no thought is given in most cases by the father, whether he have the wealth of millions, a college education, and forty years or more of worldly club-life experience, or whether he be the vilest of criminals from the lowest vagabond ranks.

Women who have pursued with careful and prayerful investigation the helpless young mothers, gathered from the ranks of typewriters, stenographers, teachers, bookkeepers, store or factory girls, often find them with their helpless infants in great charitable church institutions, lying-in hospitals, reformatories, or in the street, gone from bad to worse in hopeless despair, while the illegitimate

father in many cases is rewarded by smiles and patronage from the officers of "church societies." Intelligent mothers in and out of the church connected with these great benevolent homes really believe in their hearts that these illegitimate fathers have been very generous under the circumstances to bestow one hundred and fifty dollars or two hundred and fifty dollars upon the institution which receives the pretty little errand girl, chambermaid, or book-keeper, as the case may be, and supplies her with a bed, and surrounds her with machine routine, medical attendance, and strangers to explain to her the enormity of the sin of giving birth to an "illegitimate infant." Yes, the shocking falsehood by the church and state must be reiterated even to-day, that the innocent, helpless little offspring, directly legitimate from the hand of the Creator, must suffer the stigma of the abominable sin of its illegitimate father and mother, until the laws of the land shall be revised in accordance with the gospel of Christ, taking the place of old Jewish law or the more unjust conservative rule of modern society.

And what ought to be said and done concerning feticide in fashionable society? What does it lead to in and out of the marriage relation, and where is it to end? Is murder made respectable because it is a common and every-day occurrence in the families of communicants of every division of the church? There is no space here or the opportunity to call your attention to the unnamable sins of the age. We, as Christians, are commanded to go out and seek and save the lost. If we close our eyes to these terrible evils, how can they be restricted or cast out of our midst?

The letters which have been received by the officers of the Christian League from wives and mothers disclose facts which exist in the homes of the wealthy, in Christian families, in the haunts of degradation and poverty, as well as in the municipal government, of which most of us had never heard until we became an organized society to aid in these matters.

The highest Christian civilization may learn much from the oriental governments. If men are fitted to render safer and better service as eunuchs in oriental countries, why not adopt this most needed and surest method of punishment for certain criminals? Have we not Scripture teaching and example to sustain this plan? If any member of the body offend, shall it not be removed, that the whole body be not sacrificed to the one unruly member? Let wise statesmen counsel with the elect women, and adopt more rational methods for preventing certain crimes.

Working members of the Christian League have been frequent visitors during the past three years to all the city public institutions, prisons, insane asylums, and station-houses, during the day and night, where women lodgers and prisoners are received. From time to time we have sought in various ways to urge the necessary means for preventing practices which exist in these places; and improvements have been effected by securing the coöperation of men in political power. Many of the patients in the insane pavilion at Blackwell's Island, and in all the asylums in the country, are victims of self indulgence. Is it not time for the church to awaken to its responsibility and seek the coöperation of honest, chaste physicians, who will manifest a higher regard for physical and spiritual development for all God's children than for the etiquette so tenaciously regarded by men and women of the profession?

Solitary confinement in every penal institution is a source of untold evil. Every evil thought is rampant; many evil schemes are concocted; evil hands are directed by evil thought; and evil thought is certainly intensified by solitary confinement.

The Columbian Association of Housekeepers and Bureau of Information, with Plans for the Work Outlined in the National Columbian Household Economic Association, which was Incorporated March 15, 1893.—Report by Laura S. Wilkinson of Chicago.

The National Columbian Household Economic Association is a direct outgrowth from one of the committees of the congress auxiliary. When the chairman on Household Economics was appointed she called together the members of her department, but found that there was no formulated plan of work. This committee, numbering thirty, was one of the largest in the auxiliary, yet its attendance was so irregular that we discovered that no real work could be done unless we could be aided by additional money and more members. The one way to meet this difficulty was to form an association which should include the members of the committee, and make it possible to obtain subscriptions to carry on the work. This was done early in October, 1891.

The objects of this association are, as the constitution announces, "To awaken the public mind to the importance of establishing a bureau of information, where there can be an exchange of words and needs between the employer and employed in every department of home and social life. Second, to promote among its members a more scientific knowledge of the economic value of the various foods and fuels, and a more intelligent understanding of correct plumbing and drainage in our homes, as well as of the need for pure water and good light. Also to secure skilled labor in every department of woman's work in our homes."

The work of the association was to be done through seven committees. It was not our intention to confine our work to Chicago, and for this reason we adopted the name of the "Columbian Association of Housekeepers."

The chairman of Household Economics prepared and sent out the preliminary address, which was copied into many newspapers.

Our aim has been to consider the condition of the girl at service, her limitations, and her hours of labor; and constantly to ask ourselves if we, in her place, without a special training, could do as well. We attempted to find out why intelligence offices were so unsatisfactory. We found that there were several hundred intelligence offices in the city, but that they were doing little more than to receive their fees, and leave the housekeeper to look up the references of those who applied for situations.

Failing in our efforts to improve the intelligence offices, we next turned our attention to what could be done toward establishing schools where instruction could be given in housework, and to see what could be done to induce girls to take a three months' course of training before going into service. We found that there were no such schools. To establish one would demand trained teachers, salaries, buildings, etc. And then, where could we find the girl to take this preparatory course, when every kitchen is open to her to learn at the employer's expense? There is no established rate for service. All seems to depend upon the purse of the mistress.

We have brought the topic before the association, and committees have been appointed; but the fact is slowly though surely being impressed upon our minds that the fault lies with the housekeeper. Recognizing this, we decided to have a course of lectures on domestic service. These lectures were given by Prof. Lucy M. Salmon of Vassar College, who brought before us, in a historical and scholarly way, the condition of domestic service.

Not succeeding in arousing enthusiasm for our school of household science, we next turned our attention to what could be done in the way of establishing a housekeepers' emergency bureau to supply temporary help, the employe returning to her home each day. A committee of ladies

have charge of this work, look up the references of those who apply for the work, and a book of registration for employer and employe is kept at the office. On these books are found women wishing and willing to do all kinds of work — sewers, menders, housekeepers, teachers, stenographers, caterers, nurses, scrub women, and day governesses.

The monthly reports of the Housekeepers' Emergency Bureau constitute one of the most interesting features of our regular meetings, and testify to the value of the bureau.

Early in 1893, the chairman of the Food Supply Committee began her market reports. When these reports were read at our regular meetings, they proved so acceptable that it was voted that the association print them in pamphlet form for distribution. These reports make a general survey of the condition of the markets, both east and west, and contain many valuable hints in regard to purchasing food, as well as most practicable suggestions for the preparation of food. Usually recipes are given. At the same time all the latest improvements in prepared foods are mentioned.

Another item of interest to the housekeeper has been the finding out of those utensils which are absolutely necessary for a well-appointed kitchen. The cook-books in the market vary considerably in their printed lists of these, and it has been one of the duties of the association to look up this matter.

The Aladdin oven is perhaps the most popular of all the inventions that have been reported to us. This, as is well known, is the invention of Edward Atkinson, who has made a study of the nutritive qualities of food, and has made a scientific investigation of the most economical and hygienic way of applying heat. This oven seems to be one of the most satisfactory inventions of the age, but it must be put into the hands of an intelligent housekeeper. The ordinary girl will have no patience with it, as it is necessary that the meal should be planned ahead, so that proper time can be given for the cooking. The Aladdin oven can not

be hurried. It does its work slowly and surely. It is a great boon to those women who do their own housework.

What is the advantage of becoming a member of the National Columbian Association? is constantly asked. The first advantage is that it brings those women who are most interested in the real study of economic problems into closer relation with each other.

What is the advantage to those women not living in a city? Our monthly meetings are held the fourth Wednesday in each month. Our plan has been, within ten days from the day of the meeting, to mail reports of what is done at the meeting to each non-resident member. Usually, at our meetings, letters which have been sent to the association are read, and extracts from these letters are published. Questions are presented which sometimes remain unanswered for months, and the answer may come from a long distance.

In summing up the year's work last October, one thing which we had pledged ourselves to take hold of was a school for household science. We had made a study of the plans outlined in the Pratt Institute of Brooklyn, N. Y.

In the meanwhile Armour Institute was opened on Thirty-third Street, with Doctor Gunsaulus as president, and we soon learned that Armour Institute was to be modeled after the Pratt Institute. Doctor Gunsaulus had recognized the importance of a school of household science, and in the institute will be given the opportunity for our young girls to become fully instructed in scientific housekeeping.

The next point is, what guarantee will there be that the girls having received the instruction will go out to service? This will be the most difficult of all our problems. But when we recognize the fact that the girls in domestic service need the same thoughtful consideration as the girls in shops and offices, then will be found college settlements springing up to help the servant girls by establishing clubs and study classes.

It will not break up our homes to have our cooks and our maids come at regular hours to do their work and depart. But it will occasion a more systematic arrangement of all housework, and will ultimately end in establishing a system of coöperation differing from those plans of coöperation which have been tried and found wanting; because, in this new era of coöperation, skilled labor will be demanded in each department. When business methods shall have been established in the kitchen as in the shop, none will be selected for any line of labor save those educated in that line.

The food question alone is one of the most serious, and worthy of careful study. It is not enough to know how to prepare food; we must understand its adaptation from a chemical standpoint. In other words food must be made subservient to the various needs of the human organism, superinduced by climatic influence, occupation, and other causes of no less importance.

Another object is to make a study of the fuels and the application of heat needed in the preparation of food. This will lead to an investigation of those inventions which have so perfected the means to this end, viz., the application of gas and coal-oil, and the possibilities in electricity.

A Statement of Facts — Address by Grace Greenwood (Mrs. Sara J. Lippincott) of Washington, D. C.

I would willingly preach a double-headed sermon, or one based on two distinct texts, yet not without spiritual connection, namely: "Put not your trust in publishers," "Train up your daughters in the way that they should go, as," not *for*, "business men." In treating both texts I should be compelled to stand forth as the "awful example." I shrink with actual shame from revealing, as I must, in a truthful statement, my own weakness, ignorance, and eternal verdancy in matters of business.

I have been almost from the beginning of my book-making experience a meek, sheared sheep; a bewildered, plucked goose, subjected to all the inclemencies of the book market and trade sales, lost in "the ways that are dark," done for by "the tricks that are vain" of the masters of the guild. Still for the truth's sake, and the good of younger sisters, I have made up my mind to "a round unvarnished tale deliver," wherein I shall "naught extenuate and naught set down in malice."

My first publishers, a distinguished Boston house, who took me up in 1850, perhaps spoiled me a little by their kindness. They were my personal friends, and fair and considerate, as publishers go. I was really very popular in those days, when clever women, ambitious for literary honors, did not beset publishers in such ravenous hosts as office-seekers beset Congressmen now, and I do not think that Messrs. Ticknor & Fields, who continued to publish for me some twenty-five years, lost by me at any time. But the house changed hands, and during my absence for a year in Europe, their successors, without consulting me, sold the plates of all my books, some fourteen volumes, to a certain New York publisher, also distinguished, who, I was assured, would continue to publish for me, keeping the books in the market, as far as possible, and paying me my royalty on all copies sold. I never received from this New York house one penny, nor was any account ever rendered, even of the copies printed, which were, I am told, sold with the plates. Had I not been crippled by some serious pecuniary losses, and discouraged by more serious illness, I should myself have bought the plates, and resumed the publication of at least the juvenile story books, which were and are the most popular of my writings. As it was, I had to let them remain in the hands of that very respectable concern, hoping always that they had "a good Holt" on them, and would see their way to resume their publication and do justly by me. I was not quite simple enough to look for generosity.

On my return from my trip abroad, I ascertained that another New York house which had published my two latest volumes, bringing them out handsomely and reporting good sales, had, in a stress of adverse fortune, sold not only the plates of both my books, but the copyrights! My copyrights! Still I did nothing. I did not see that I could do anything but harm others without benefiting myself. These gentlemen were publishers, respectable citizens, honorable men — "all honorable men."

During another and prolonged visit to Europe I was informed that the Alden book concern had exhumed the long-buried plates of my juvenile books, and was publishing them in a cheap, much mixed-up edition. I winced a little at the inelegant dress of the Boston-born volumes, but was comforted somewhat by a modest royalty, which was regularly paid me for two or three years, until that company failed, owing me several hundred dollars. This time a court awarded me judgment for the amount due, but the sheriff reported that he could only collect sufficient from the wreck to pay his own fees! Still I believe the company soon revived and went on as before, even better, lightened of tiresome obligations.

The big scoop-net of the United States Book Company gathered up my poor little floating volumes. To pacify me they brought out a new edition on which I bestowed a great amount of new work, and was beginning to receive something in the way of royalty when that stupendous concern was suddenly wound up, or tied up, leaving me again in the lurch.

One or two of my volumes are at present in the hands of Tait, Sons & Company. They are also New York publishers, and yet I have hope in their justice and fair dealing.

"Hope springs eternal in the human breast."

Since the failure of that gigantic book company, the juggernaut of smaller publishing concerns, I have ascer-

tained that they were publishing two additional volumes bearing my name, one of which I had heard of, and denounced to them as "a piracy"—an early book reprinted with a new title, in order, of course, to deceive—the other being one on which I had received no royalty since the first year, when the payment was quite satisfactory. The piratical publication was entitled "My Tour in Europe," bought out by the United States Book Company from Hubbard, a Philadelphia publisher, who printed and dealt in the mutilated volume, but from whom I can gain no account by which I can trace the first mutilator. The other volume, wherein, as it is held, I have no rights which a publisher is bound to respect, is a "Life of Queen Victoria," published by a certain, or uncertain, transitory firm, Anderson & Allen, in New York and London, in 1883. This firm dissolved partnership in 1884, since which time the remaining partner has given me no returns, vouchsafed me no account, although he did make to me, some four years after the dissolution of partnership, the astonishing statement (which I have in writing as a curiosity in a business way) that he had destroyed his old account books, so that he knew nothing of what was due me, and had no way of finding out! This thrifty old gentleman has, however, offered to sell me at a third of their cost (a considerable sum at that) the plates of the biography—a book which was certainly very well received by the public, both here and in England, and approved by the royal family, but the sale of which was injured by the gaudy style of binding and by exceptionally bad management. During the jubilee year, however, it revived and did well, as the party most concerned admitted, but not then, nor in any year since 1884, has the value of one of the queen's own penny postage stamps been poured into my coffers by a grateful publisher. Still, I doubt not that in the eyes of his kind he is an honorable man—

"So are they all, all honorable men."

The Needlework Guild of America — Report by Mrs. John Wood Stewart of Pennsylvania.

In the realm of charity there is no need nor desire for international copyright. We borrow and lend plans for the public good, glad to receive and glad to share. Methods evolved in America have commended themselves as universally beneficent, and have been adopted by other countries. America has been equally ready to take with gratitude ideas germinated in other soil which seem suited to her conditions.

Perhaps England has been more than any other nation prolific in practical plans for philanthropy. The characteristics of most of these are directness, simplicity, and another quality which seems strange in a country where class distinctions are so strongly marked, an adaptability to all sorts and conditions of men. The Needlework Guild, founded by Lady Wolverton, is a notable instance of these combined qualities. Two thoughts appeared to rule her mind in devising this scheme — one, the great need of garments for the poor; the other, in face of this, a desire to start a crusade against the waste of time in the manufacture of so many useless articles which come under the head of fancy work, and to turn to the benefit of suffering humanity much valuable energy going to waste from want of thought rather than from want of heart. The destitution was perpetual and almost the same everywhere; the relief was capricious and varied by whim or chance, and meanwhile incalculable hours were going by in many women's lives filled with mere listless and aimless occupation.

"I sent a paragraph," says Lady Wolverton, "to our county paper, suggesting the possibility of organizing a Needlework Guild, which should substitute useful for useless work, and provide an object for many who had hitherto worked without one; the work to be given to the hospitals, homes, etc., in the county; at the same time asking any who

approved the idea to communicate with me." The plan was this — only two garments were to be required from each member; only one meeting of the officers a year. Very little time or money was asked of any one person, and there was to be no red tape in the proceedings when the grants of accumulated clothing were made — only the satisfaction of inquiries prompted by common sense. Her own county took it up, and within a month the parent of all needlework guilds was organized and at work. Since then the growth of the guild has been rapid and widespread. It is firmly established, and by its inherent nature does not grow more complex. There is only multiplication again and again of little similar individual parts, as in the cell structure in animal life.

Two years after the organization of the guild, Lady Wolverton issued a report. Copies of this were brought to America by persons in touch with the work in England, or were sent to them by friends. The idea of soliciting from individuals the definite donation of two garments a year was adopted by some existing organizations, usually in connection with churches, and some distinct societies were formed embodying in the main Lady Wolverton's plan.

In April, 1885, Mrs. M. M. Hartpence received an English report and put it into the hands of a small circle of women in Philadelphia, who held a weekly semi-social meeting in a private house. Its beginning gave very little prophecy of what it has become. They saw at the outset that it had possibilities of growth beyond their own limits, and the idea of extension and broad organization grew rapidly in their minds, and appeared in their first printed matter put forth two months later. This was in the form of a set of rules embodying, in general, the principles which govern the society to-day. The papers were sent broadcast from Maine to California. Of the four persons who organized the work in Philadelphia, two lost interest the first year, and have taken no active part since. The other two are

the present general president, Mrs. J. W. Stewart, and the general secretary, Miss S. B. Hodge.

So far as we can learn, the Philadelphia organization is the only one which attempted from the beginning to extend the guild beyond the limits of its own town or city. Therefore, it may rightly assume the honorable title of parent guild.

The first annual report, published in 1886, recorded seven branches, and a distribution of nine hundred and twenty-five garments. In 1886, Mrs. Morrison was appointed president of the parent guild, which was at that time, and remained until 1891, the center to which all branches reported. She has held that post ever since, and the guild owes its continued existence largely to her faithful service.

The work grew steadily, though slowly, never losing ground, but hampered by the prolonged illness of some of those most interested in the movement. For four years it developed by the slow process of spontaneous growth, aided only by an occasional newspaper article and by its annual report; this always showed increase, but not the rapid enlargement which the country required. We felt that we held in our hands a force for the alleviation of suffering which should be communicated to every town and city in the land.

In June, 1890, conditions being more favorable, definite effort was made to spread a knowledge of the guild. Articles were written for prominent papers, many personal letters were sent, meetings were called here and there to explain the workings and benefits of the society. The results were quickly apparent, and many branches were added.

Up to this time the parent guild in Philadelphia had been the center to which all branches reported, and it had borne the entire labor and expense. With the enlargement of its borders it became evident that the parent guild could not continue this course, and it was decided to make an even division of responsibility among the branches, and to

give to each a voice in the management. Thus, in January, 1891, the form of organization was changed and put upon its present basis, and at the same time the name "Needlework Guild of America" was adopted. Notwithstanding the great distances between city and city in our country, the unity of the work as it had already begun, and its outlook for the future, justified the name. The growth of the society originating in Philadelphia had, with one exception, absorbed all other branches existing in this country, and had met with no zeal like its own, so that new branches formed in the future were likely to be the outcome of its own effort, not, as before, sporadic and unconnected existences. It was only as the "Needlework Guild of America" extended its territory that it learned of the existence of other societies in our country formed on Lady Wolverton's plan.

When the first step was taken to organize a branch in New York City, in 1890–91, the society in Grace Church was in vigorous operation. Its members, recognizing the well-established and widely-extended work that was being done by the larger organization on much the same lines on which they were working, cordially united with the "Needlework Guild of America," and their society is now represented in the New York branch by two or more sections, which are among the largest that it has.

The unit of organization is a group of five persons — president, secretary, and three directors — each pledged to the collection of twenty-two garments a year. This number in a town or village (providing all denominations are represented, for the guild is non-sectarian, and must so manifest itself at the outset) constitutes a branch. The same organization in a city constitutes a section, and when ten sections have been formed the presidents elect four leading officers — honorary president, president, secretary, and treasurer — who have the oversight of the branch. Vice-presidents are not required, as the section-presidents stand in that relation, but they may be added in a village branch.

In October or November a meeting is held, when the garments are brought together and are distributed according to the votes of the officers and directors. In a village branch, directors share in the voting; in a city branch, the section-presidents form the committee for management and distribution. It has been found that there is economy of time and labor in having but one meeting a year.

Each branch conforms to the few simple rules given in the leaflets, reports as soon as organized to the general secretary, and receives from her the leaflets and other papers containing instructions for carrying on the work.

As soon as possible after the autumn meeting, a statement is sent to the general secretary, giving the number of garments received and distributed, and the names of officers and directors up to date, and this information is inserted in the published yearly report.

That there may be unity of interest in this widely-spreading society, and that every branch may have a voice in whatever concerns the whole, the central bureau is established to legislate for the entire body. This is composed of the four general officers of the guild, the officers of the parent guild, and the presidents of all the branches, and meets annually in Philadelphia on the first Thursday of December. During the year the affairs of the guild are intrusted to an executive committee appointed for the central bureau, to which it reports at the annual meeting.

Considering the wide scope of the guild, its expenses are phenomenally small. There are no salaried officers. One clerk at a salary of ten dollars a week is all that is necessary to supplement the work of the officers; an office of modest proportions in a central location is the only other expense, except postage, printing, and stationery, but this is a large item. The branches pay for such literature as they order, but much is sent them gratuitously, and an enormous amount is distributed freely for the development of the work.

The ideal plan for guild extension is that each branch

shall assume the task of organizing branches in its own vicinity and wherever the influence of its members may reach. We desire to impress upon our members, not only as a privilege but as a duty, that each member may rightly consider herself a deputy from the central bureau for this purpose, for the guild is a multiplication of minute forces, and coöperation is our watchword. Under this system the burden will rest lightly on all, heavily on none. Thus also will it be impossible for the work to suffer decline through the failure of any of its leaders. Any who desire to undertake the forming of a branch may be sure of the hearty coöperation of the officers of the central bureau. The rules are so few, so exact, and so simple, that if complied with a successful organization must invariably result.

The first step to be taken in organizing a branch is to write to the general office, 1108 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, for leaflets. An assortment of these is furnished gratuitously to any one who will undertake to establish the work wherever she has influence. In applying for papers state the population of the place. A town of twenty-five thousand or over requires a different set from a smaller one.

The guild is a channel through which all, of whatever name, nation or creed, may work together in unity, and only those who are in sympathy with this spirit should lead the movement. It should be representative of the broad spirit and best energy of any town or city in which it is established.

Each branch controls the distribution of the garments it collects. They may be given to the needy of the town, to the charities of its nearest great city, or wherever the officers or directors choose to send them.

A quarterly message is sent to the branches through the *Altruist Interchange*, a magazine devoted to the exchange of news among widespread philanthropic societies.

There is hardly a town or village in our land where such an organization would not be a power for good. It will not

supplant nor in any way interfere with the work of any other society, but is so designed that it may include and stimulate those who, for many reasons, can not attend meetings for sewing, and for the large number in every community who do no systematic work of this sort.

The cordiality with which the guild is received and its beneficence appreciated, is instanced in the case of St. Louis, where in less than two months after organization four thousand garments were collected. Milwaukee in six weeks after hearing of it had over three thousand; Elizabeth, N. J., over two thousand within five weeks; Buffalo, N. Y., in the same time, fifteen hundred; and Newark, N. J., in less than four weeks, twenty-five hundred. All these without any pressing emergency other than the "unexaggerated statement of daily happenings."

Anxiety has been expressed lest in great collections of garments gathered by the Needlework Guild, with so little cost or effort on the part of any one, there might be a freedom in the distribution which should tend to pauperization. We appreciate this, and impress caution upon each branch in giving to individuals. There is little danger in making grants to institutions. A paper prepared to aid in our annual distributions is called "Inquiries to Institutions." After a word of explanation as to the reason for making the inquiry, these questions follow:

First. State the sex, range of ages, and number of inmates of your institution.

Second. How many new garments were received and distributed by you last year? How many old?

Third. How many more garments could have been used to advantage? (In case of hospitals include in this estimate two warm suits of underclothing for every convalescent leaving your care.)

Fourth. What kind of garments are most needed?

Fifth. Does your work include any distribution to the outdoor poor? If so, what proportion?

These inquiries have elicited facts concerning the need which may well persuade one to join a movement aiming to meet that need. A well-known hospital stated that not

one new garment had been contributed during the previous year, when eight thousand were in demand, and where there was no source of supply except voluntary contributions. When one considers that this is a statement from but one hospital, what of the many? It does not take a severe mental calculation to demonstrate that the five or ten thousand garments in our individual city collections, and the total ninety-five thousand for the past year, represent but the beginning of the effort to supply an almost unlimited demand.

Physicians testify that many discharged as cured often return to the hospital with a relapse, or some new form of disease, because sent forth to meet cold and hardship so poorly clad. The guild thus not only prevents suffering, but saves the city or State fund, and claims attention on account of its economy of the public service. Its field is not confined to hospitals alone. Homes for destitute children and the aged, homes for discharged convicts, life-saving stations, day nurseries, schools for the freedmen — these and many other forms of beneficent work have received its benefits.

The women prisoners in a certain penitentiary were found fit subjects for merciful help in midwinter. They often entered clad in summer rags, to be discharged in the depth of winter, with only their own clothing returned. Several have been reclaimed afterward by this interest shown in them by their fellow-women. It has been said in this connection more than once that "the line between respectable poverty and pauperism is the clothes-line."

It is estimated that in New York City two hundred thousand garments would barely supply present necessity, and the president of the Chicago branch has said this city could use judiciously an equal number.

The guild is now established in twenty-two States and in almost all of the principal cities. We are unable to forecast its future. Our constitution already provides for State secretaries. Whether any more complex organization than

the present will become a necessity for a society having but one department of work and requiring but one meeting a year, we can not tell.

The Anti-Vivisection Society — Report by Mrs. Fairchild-Allen of England.

The first organized movement against vivisection occurred at Florence, Italy, in the latter part of 1863, when public attention was called to the doings of Professor Schiff, whose name frequently appears as one of the most infamous and reckless experimenters of the world. No persecution or prosecution was attempted at the outset. A memorial was, however, presented to him, urging greater moderation. Schiff scoffed at this memorial, denied the charge of cruelty, and proceeded with his work until 1877, when, through the revival of the agitation by the devoted Countess Baldelli, he returned to Geneva. There he doubtless followed his "profession" until his death.

"The Handbook of the Physiological Laboratory," published in 1873, had, in the meantime, directed the attention of the people of England to the extension of the practice of vivisection in that country, and the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals prosecuted the Norwich experimenters. During that same year a memorial urging immediate efforts for the legal restriction of vivisection was drawn up by Miss Frances Power Cobbe, and extensively circulated, receiving many hundreds of signatures. This was followed by the introduction of restriction bills in both houses of Parliament, but the Royal Society not being unanimous in regard to action upon this matter, both bills were subsequently withdrawn.

In February, 1875, the first society in the world for the abolition of vivisection was formed in London by Mr. Jesse. In November following, Dr. George Hoggan and Miss Cobbe, knowing the demand for abolition to be practically useless at that time, resolved to found a society "to

obtain the utmost possible protection for animals liable to vivisection." This was accomplished in the early part of 1876, and was followed by similar organizations in Ireland, Scotland, and other countries of Europe, until now there are fifty societies in the Old World and two in America; among them the great German League for the Prevention of Scientific Animal Torture, the Scandinavian, the Irish, the Scottish, the London, the French, the Swiss, the St. Petersburg, the Dresden, the Friends', the Netherlands' anti-vivisection leagues; anti-vivisection societies at Cardiff, Wales, and at Bombay, India, and the Humanitarian League in London.

Through the efforts of the Victoria Street Society a bill for the restriction of vivisection received the royal signature and became an act, August 15, 1876. This bill was by no means satisfactory to the opponents of vivisection, being deemed entirely insufficient. As time passed their fears were realized. The abuses connected with the practice continued fully as aggravated as before, and now all the societies not content with half-way measures are demanding unconditional abolition. They are officered and supported financially by some of the noblest of names, including church dignitaries and royalty, and many of them are steadily issuing series of publications, which are being widely disseminated in both Europe and America.

The American Anti-Vivisection Society was founded at Philadelphia in 1883, first for restriction, but later it declared for abolition. A bill for the prohibition of class demonstration passed the Pennsylvania Senate a short time since, but was lost in the House. The society, however, is undaunted, and is working with renewed vigor toward its object.

The anti-vivisectionists believe, first, that no practical value has accrued to the human race through experiments upon living animals; second, that if there has, the practice is unjustifiable; third, that the debasing effect of the studied practice of cruelty upon defenseless creatures far

outweighs in its evil effects the good that is claimed for it by medical scientists; and they can not comprehend the necessity for repeating before classes of medical students painful experiments, the results of which have already been made known. They believe also that as other great wrongs, which seemed as firmly rooted as this, have been suppressed, so will vivisection be abolished, and once again will the world witness the triumph of the higher humanity.

DIE JUGENDSCHUTZ — REPORT BY HANNA BIEBER-BOEHM OF GERMANY.

I stand before you as the president of the association Jugendschutz in Berlin, which means, in English, protection to young people from the danger of impurity, which destroys the happiness and health of mankind.

The practical part of our work is to provide homes for honest young girls without means of making a living, and without any one to support them. We make no discrimination among religions in the Jugendschutz, but teach girls to understand that the essential is the same in all religions, namely, to be good. Another purpose of the Jugendschutz is to show to everybody the fearful dangers which are threatening the happiness and health of our families. Surely there is no mother in any country of the world who is not glad to see her daughter married. But do these mothers consider how many of their daughters when married suffer from illness and disappointment by reason of the fact that ninety-nine per cent of all young men live impure and vicious lives before they marry? Famous professors of medicine — for instance, Nöggerath and Ricord — assert that eighty per cent of young men who lead impure lives are infected with gonorrhea and syphilis by those unfortunate girls who, with the permission of the government, are submitted to the most infamous and degrading prostitution. These contagious diseases, which are a thousand times more dangerous and fearful in their destruc-

tion than the cholera (as we are told by Professor Pehlman, in Bonn, and others), are incurable, and are followed oftentimes, even after many years have passed, by dreadful abscesses, rotting off of various parts of the body, blindness, drying up of the marrow, madness, etc. The famous Professor Schroeder of Berlin gave us the assurance that most of the attacks of illness among women are the results of the former vicious living of their husbands, the family doctor concealing always this fact in order not to disturb "conjugal peace," as they call it. The same authority traces back directly to hereditary syphilis all nervous diseases of children, cramps, imbecility, dropsy of the head, disease of the spine, and scrofula. Even more serious than syphilis is gonorrhea, because this illness has not been regarded as dangerous, and, therefore, has not been treated so much. Doctor Nöggerath of New York showed, in 1872, the danger of this malady. He states that the malady is incurable, and always, even if seemingly cured, infects the wife. The truth of his statement is confirmed by many famous physicians, as Henning, Lenger, Gusserow, Martin, Fritsch, Hegar, Schwarz, McDonald, Lawson, Schroeder, Olschansen, Kraft-Eling, Ribbing, and Torrel.

We ask with astonishment, how can it be possible that nevertheless so many physicians degrade themselves by aiding unconscientious men in the work of making thousands of wives miserable? Is it not time to lift the ethical level of the profession?

Will such explanations not induce even the most phlegmatic of mothers to consider whether she has been a good protectress of her family? Professor Ribbing says that only a woman who knows what prostitution is understands the danger eventually to be feared from a husband whose moral purity is stained, whose health is destroyed, whose manners are coarse, whose faithfulness can not be trusted, whose sense of beauty is ruined; she knows that her children will inherit diseases and sexual concupiscence. She must furthermore fear as a consequence of prostitution

many dangers and temptations for her sons, and the most cruel disappointments and sufferings for her daughters.

Is it not the greatest nonsense for people to pretend that prostitution is a protection to honest women? It is false that prostitution is a "necessary evil," and must be tolerated in order to satisfy the instinct of propagation in men. We demand herewith that education and self-control shall be applied to the instinct of propagation. Mankind must no longer be injured by this instinct, which up to date has been nursed and increased enormously in an artificial way, by means of drinking spirituous liquors, by consuming too much meat, by reading equivocal books, by visiting frivolous spectacles and public houses. This demand agrees perfectly with that of hygiene, which prescribes an absolutely pure life for men and women before marriage, and absolute faithfulness during marriage, as the only possible assurance of health. Professor Kraft-Eling says: "A large number of young men of normal constitutions do desist from contenting their instinct of propagation without injuring themselves thereby." Osterlin reports: "Self-control can protect from misfortune if based on fine moral sentiment, on pure sense, proper judgment and education, and if supported by a proper method of living and pure moral surroundings." Lionel Reale of King's College in London says: "It can not be taught too impressively that the most rigid abstemiousness and purity is in accordance with the laws of physiology, and that yielding to the wishes and desires can not be justified by the physiological more than by the moral or religious nature." Professor Ribbing assures us that during his practice of twenty-nine years he did not find anybody who claimed that it was impossible to control this instinct. Acton declares in his famous chapter on "Continence and Incontinence," that total abstinence from sexual intercourse can be practiced by young unmarried men without danger to their health." The College of Medicine of the University of Christiana, in 1887, asserted that, "The opinion that a pure life and sexual continence are working injury to the health

of mankind is a great mistake. About this we are of the same opinion. We do not know of any disease or debility which can be traced back to a pure moral life."

We must use all our energy to reach a better moral education for both sexes, but all of this labor will be of no avail so long as we are governed by laws which, as far as impurity is concerned, stand on the side of the wicked. So long as any higher and bolder vocation is closed against women, and the most uncleanly and injurious trade of prostitution is allowed, no moral education will be of avail. If women had a seat in our parliament these shameful laws, which are a disgrace to all the people of the world, never would have existed. But as this is not the case we must do for the present what we are able to do.

The Royal British Nurses' Association — Report by Mrs. Bedford Fenwick of England.

The English nation will look back to the years 1854–1855 as the beginning of the changes in trained nursing; before that time our hospitals were worked primarily by the Sisters of Mercy, who had but little theoretical knowledge of hospital duties. The nursing of the sick was handed over to women of the very lowest type, women who could get no other work to do, the most demoralized of our sex. The portraits drawn by Dickens of Mrs. Gamp and Betsy Prigg were taken, I believe, from life.

The abuses in our hospitals called forth a better class of workers. Cultured women some years ago began to undertake the work, but it was found very arduous; the food was bad, the hours were long, and the companionship was demoralizing. Out of this system the regulations which are enforced to-day arose, and only women of education, culture, and the best physical and intellectual endowment are accepted. I may say that in one of the largest London hospitals one thousand six hundred applications are now received from educated women to fill from sixty to seventy vacancies.

The Royal British Nurses' Association is composed only of medical men and nurses, and was formed in order to unite all qualified British nurses in the membership of a recognized profession, to provide for their registration on terms satisfactory to physicians and surgeons, as evidence of their having received systematic training, and to associate them for their mutual help and protection, and for the advancement, in every way, of their professional work.

There is no necessity to point out the immense advantages of coöperation. Nurses, when they decide to combine, only follow the example shown by nearly every other profession, handicraft, and trade in which men are now engaged, but they make almost a new departure, so far as professional women are concerned, and for this reason their union acquired the greater significance. The progress of the association has been curiously watched in this and other countries, as illustrative of an experiment which, if successful, might have far-reaching effects in the encouragement of coöperation among women employed in other spheres of life. It may fairly be said that the progress of the association hitherto has been more satisfactory than could have been at first anticipated. In four years it has been joined by more than three thousand nurses, and although many have died, and more have for various reasons resigned, it now has more than two thousand eight hundred members.

The first subject which engaged the attention of the association was the most important question of the registration of trained nurses. The practice of enrolling upon a general register the names of the members of any skilled calling in order to distinguish them from persons who assume the same title without any justification, is of admitted utility and public benefit, and the principle of registration has frequently been sanctioned by Parliament. It was, and unhappily still is, notorious that grave necessity exists for the protection of the public, not only against ignorant women terming themselves nurses, but also against well-trained workers who have proved themselves to be entirely

unworthy of trust by drunkenness, or by the commission of various grave offenses and crimes. In other professions means exist whereby such discreditable characters can be removed from the recognized ranks of the calling, and nurses very fairly ask that similar powers shall be provided in order that their profession may be cleared of persons who disgrace it. After considerable discussion at meetings held in different parts of the country, and after most careful consideration, the association applied first to the General Medical Council, and then to all the large hospitals in the United Kingdom which train nurses, asking each, the former separately and the latter collectively, to undertake the work of registration. The General Medical Council declined to do so, chiefly upon the ground that it had no power to undertake such a scheme. With a few exceptions the hospitals also declined, the majority of their governing bodies being of opinion that it was no part of their duty to control nurses who were not in their service. The association, in default of all other help, therefore, undertook the work itself. It appointed a very influential and representative registration board, and opened a register of trained nurses, offering for the first six months, as a period of grace, to enroll the names of all who could prove that they had been in attendance upon the sick for at least three years, and that they were of unexceptionable character. Since June 30, 1890, every candidate for registration has been required to prove that she has had three years' hospital work and experience. The most careful inquiries are made into each applicant's character and work, and the board has the power to remove from the register the name of any nurse who shall, after full inquiries, be considered by the board to be unworthy to remain thereon.

The advantages of this system to medical men, nurses, hospitals, and the public are very great. The registers being published annually, doctors are able to learn at a glance when and where any registered nurse received her hospital education; whether, in fact, she has had special

experience or not in the cases for which she is needed. Trained nurses are distinguished for the first time from women who assume that title without being in any way entitled to do so, and from those who bring discredit upon nurses as a body. Hospitals which were formerly powerless to protect the public against women who forge or steal their certificates, or against nurses whom they have trained, or perhaps even certificated, but who afterward proved unworthy, are now protected to some extent against the discredit which such persons reflect upon them. And the public is benefited most, because, by demanding a registered nurse, they can now be protected as never before against the many dangers to life and property which ignorant or untrustworthy nurses can cause.

Beyond this important work, however, the association seeks in various ways to help nurses. It has established a benevolent fund from which pecuniary assistance is given to members of at least two years' standing who are in need of such aid. Pensions of twenty pounds a year each have been established for members of not less than three years' standing, who are past work and without sufficient means of subsistence. In time it is hoped that this department will grow to be of the greatest service to nurses in times of adversity, sickness, or old age. The association holds six meetings during each winter for the reading and discussion of papers on nursing subjects, a conversazione in December in London, and the annual meeting in July in a provincial town. At the offices there is a reading-room and library for the use of members, and a list of vacant appointments is also kept. The *Nurses' Journal* is sent, post free, to every member once a quarter. In various other ways now it benefits nurses, and by still other methods, as time goes on, it will be able to advance their interests. In short, the Royal British Nurses' Association can claim that, with nearly three thousand members all over the world, and with its record of accomplished work, its existence has been already more than justified.

CHAPTER XV.—ORDERS, CIVIL AND POLITICAL REFORM,

AS PRESENTED IN THE SUBORDINATE CONGRESSES.

EDITORIAL COMMENT—EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE YOUNG LADIES' MUTUAL IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION, BY EMILY S. RICHARDS—EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, BY MRS. ADLAI E. STEVENSON—EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE WOMAN'S RELIEF CORPS, BY KATE BROWNLEE SHERWOOD—EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE ORDER OF THE EASTERN STAR, BY MARY C. SNEDDEN—ABSTRACT OF AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE GENERAL CONGRESS, BY RACHEL FOSTER AVERY.

OF no other subordinate Congresses were the managers more painstaking in the preparation of their respective programmes than were the committees charged with the control of the Department Congresses here represented. The report of the Department Congress of the Eastern Star, so carefully prepared and so generously sent by Mrs. Lorraine J. Pitkin, merits special mention.

In numbers and in public influence the four organizations herein reported are among the strongest in the country.

It seems appropriate that the last pages of this historical résumé shall be filled with the last utterance of the Congress. Therefore, the address of Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery is here reproduced. It serves to bind the subordinate Congresses to the main Congress; it seems not an echo but a clear prolongation of the key-note of the great meeting, the greatest significance of which lies in its recognition of the fact that harmony is greater than melody; that not merely is the whole greater than any of its parts, but that

a whole is greater than the sum of all its parts, inasmuch as to the aggregated life of all its parts it adds its own vitality.—[THE EDITOR.]

THE LEGAL AND POLITICAL STATUS OF WOMAN IN UTAH —ADDRESS BY EMILY S. RICHARDS OF UTAH.

The legal age of woman in Utah is eighteen years. She possesses all the property rights enjoyed by man. She is not only his equal in this respect, but, if a married woman, she enjoys a marked advantage over her husband; she not only has power to possess property in her own right, which she can control and dispose of without consulting her husband, but she also has a dower right in his real property. All women of legal age, whether married or single, have the same right as men to acquire, hold, and dispose of all kinds of property.

As early as 1872 the territorial Legislature provided that all property owned by either spouse before marriage, or acquired afterward by purchase, gift, bequest, devise, or descent, with the rents, issues, and profits thereof, was the separate property of that spouse by whom the same was owned or acquired, and that separate property so owned or acquired might be held, managed, controlled, transferred, and in any manner disposed of by the spouse so owning or acquiring it, without any restriction or limitation by reason of marriage. The law also gave women the right to sue and be sued. Under this statute a great many women have acquired and held title to property in their own right, and the percentage of such property owners is large as compared with that in other States and Territories.

The causes for divorce in Utah are similar to those in most States in the Union, and apply equally to men and women. An actual residence of one year before the commencement of the action is necessary to give the court jurisdiction. Children that have attained the age of ten

years, and possess sound minds, have the privilege of electing to which of their parents they will attach themselves. Neither party is entitled to the custody of a child as of right, but, other things being equal, if the child is a girl or of tender years it shall be given to the mother. In all cases the court makes an equitable distribution of the property of the parties, and provides for the maintenance of the wife and children.

From 1870 to 1887 women voted and held offices in Utah. As an instance of the latter, Miss Ida Ione Cook, who is not unknown in educational circles in Chicago, was elected and served as superintendent of public schools for Cache County. Several women served as notaries public, and we have a number of practicing attorneys who are women.

Woman suffrage was conferred by an act of the legislative assembly in 1870. The law provided that every woman of the age of twenty-one years, born or naturalized in the United States, or who was the wife, widow or daughter of a native-born or naturalized citizen of the United States, who had resided in the Territory six months next preceding any general or special election, should have the right to vote at any election. This privilege was taken away by an act of Congress in 1887.

Though repeated efforts have been made to restore the franchise, they have thus far been unavailing, as Congress has the exclusive power to change the law. The sentiment in the Territory favoring woman suffrage is believed to be as strong now as when we were enfranchised, and it may be confidently predicted that when the local government regains the power to do so, women will be restored to their political rights and privileges.

Socially, women enjoy all the privileges accorded to men. All our educational institutions are open to them. They are encouraged to practice law, medicine, and all the other professions. They are at liberty to preach the gospel, speak at public gatherings, visit the sick, and officiate at funerals. Important educational positions are occupied by them, and

all the walks of life are open to them. Some are engaged in business for themselves; others, without opposition or prejudice, occupy places as clerks, saleswomen, typewriters, typesetters, bookbinders, factory operatives, telephone and telegraph operators, photographers, and other suitable positions, in many of which they are taking the place of men.

The influence of woman is fully recognized. Her coöperation is sought in nearly all undertakings of a public, political, or social character, and in whatever direction her energies have been employed her attainments compare favorably with those of men. The efforts and achievements of our women are appreciated by the men, who give them every encouragement and assistance in their various enterprises.

Response to an Address of Welcome — By Mrs. Adlai E. Stevenson of Washington, D. C.

In response to the cordial invitation extended by the World's Congress of Representative Women, under the auspices of the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary, we are present to-day representing three thousand of the Daughters of the American Revolution, a national organization founded two and a half years ago.

It has been founded, as has been well said, upon a sentiment, the sentiment that cherishes and holds in sacred reverence the traditions, faith, and achievements of our revolutionary fathers.

It is therefore with both pleasure and pride that I greet for the first time, and under these most pleasing and inspiring circumstances, so large and representative a gathering of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

As lineal descendants of the men and women who, for the sake of political and religious liberty, faced undismayed the dangers of the primeval forest and turned not back from the perils of an inhospitable shore and an unfriendly race,

it is eminently meet that you have gathered in this now historic hall and add your voice to the general rejoicing on this natal day.

To the great discoverer whose genius and courage opened the portals through which our fathers passed into an inheritance in this fair and fertile land, we accord all honor.

However, as Daughters of the American Revolution we are bound by stronger ties to the brave men and heroic women who, by their valor and patient endurance, achieved American independence, and made possible for us these sheltered homes and all the grand possibilities which now lie within the reach of the women of this century. How firm their purpose and how faithful the performance, historian and poet have vied to tell.

Just now a new interest has been awakened, and middle-aged men and women, no less than the lads and lassies, are turning to moldy tomes and neglected tombs to learn what deed of chivalry performed by a forgotten ancestor entitles them to honorable enrollment among the Sons or Daughters of the American Revolution.

It is well that in the mad rush of modern American life we can pause and ask from whom and whence came the mighty powers which have stirred the nations and have placed America in the foremost rank of the nations of the earth?

With a new Liberty Bell soon to be sprung into existence by the magic touch of the fair hand of the mistress of the White House, and then to speed upon its mission of proclaiming liberty to the world; with the bright prospect of a continental hall or home — whether to be shared with the Sons or not I am not advised — and the still higher ambition of assisting in establishing a University of the United States in compliance with Washington's farewell suggestion, the Daughters of the American Revolution have every incentive to earnest endeavor, and I believe a few years will see the fullest realization of their aspiration.

May I add one thought in closing. In all that you under-

take, in all that you do, "think of your forefathers; think of your posterity."

The Past, Present, and Future of the Woman's Relief Corps — Address by Kate Brownlee Sherwood of Ohio.

The first essential of the Woman's Relief Corps is fraternity — the fraternity of loyalty which knows the flag, reverences its defenders, and cherishes the memory of their heroic deeds.

The second essential of the Woman's Relief Corps is charity — "Charity toward all, and malice to none," in the words of Abraham Lincoln. Especially do they assist the Grand Army of the Republic and such other Union veterans as need their help and protection. They give needful aid to their widows and orphans, finding them homes and employment.

The third essential of the Woman's Relief Corps is loyalty, and upon this their fraternity is based. It is the loyalty which has its root in the Declaration of Independence itself, enjoining all members to true allegiance to the United States of America, to the inculcation of the love of liberty and country in the hearts of their children, and to encourage the spread of liberty and equal rights to all. Loyalty and correct deportment are the sole qualifications for membership in the Woman's Relief Corps, and its one hundred and thirty-five thousand members include women of every race and nationality within the Union.

It is with honorable pride that we claim to be the direct heritors of the first national association of women in the United States, organized in 1861, under the auspices of the Ladies' Aid Society, to render aid and comfort to the Union soldiers engaged in putting down the rebellion — a society which taught American women the power of organization. Lincoln's call for volunteers, April 15, 1861, enlisted the women with the men.

The loyal women of America fought as great battles and won as signal victories in 1861-65 as did the Army of the Potomac beating at the gates of Richmond, or Sherman's army thundering its way from Lookout Mountain to the sea. The work of the Soldiers' Aid Societies, finding expression through the Sanitary Commission, was many sided.

Untried and without experience, without capital and without credit, women projected their enterprises, and they counted their profits by the millions. The darker the hours the brighter their hope; the greater the needs the swifter the response.

At a meeting of the Sanitary Commission in Washington, Abraham Lincoln said: "I am not accustomed to the language of eulogy, I have never studied the art of paying compliments to women, but I must say that if all that has been said by orators and poets since the creation of the world in praise of women were applied to the women of America, it would not do them justice for their conduct in this war."

April 6, 1866, the year following the war, the Grand Army of the Republic was organized, and as the order spread, local aid societies of women were organized as auxiliaries. Three years later the first Woman's Relief Corps was organized by the soldiers of Portland, Maine. Like societies were instituted elsewhere in New England, nearly all opening their doors to all loyal women, and in 1871 Massachusetts organized a State department, other New England States following. In Ohio and other Western States aid societies were formed, as posts of the Grand Army felt the need of woman's work.

In July, 1883, following a call from Commander-in-Chief Paul Van Dervoost, by authority of the Fifteenth Annual Encampment of the G. A. R., representatives of the various women's organizations, east and west, met at Denver, Col., in connection with the Seventeenth National Encampment, and formed a national association known as the

"Woman's Relief Corps Auxiliary of the Grand Army of the Republic." Fifty-six women became charter members. This great Columbian year the Woman's Relief Corps has a total membership of one hundred and thirty-five thousand, divided into two thousand six hundred and eighty-six corps in thirty-five States and Territories, and has raised and expended in relief a cash aggregate of nearly one million dollars.

The Woman's Relief Corps has assisted largely, through petition and direct influence, in securing just pension laws for the relief of the Union Soldiers, their widows and orphans; and alone and unaided secured the passage by the fifty-third Congress of the bill for the relief of army nurses, after eight years of unflagging work. They have built and are carrying on the National Relief Corps Home at Geneva, Ohio, for soldiers' widows, mothers, and army nurses, and dependent soldiers and their wives. They have built, by States or departments, the Memorial Home in Pennsylvania, the Evergreen Home in California, and the Woman's Annex to the Soldiers' Home in Michigan. They contribute largely to the support of the Soldiers' Home in Massachusetts, and are furnishing hospital comforts, books, and pictures to the Soldiers' Homes and Soldiers' Orphans' Homes of New Hampshire, Vermont, Ohio, Indiana, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Colorado, Minnesota, Washington, California, and other States.

Systematic, concerted movement in connection with school authorities in this line of patriotic, educational work has been inaugurated by the Woman's Relief Corps, which promises to be a fixed propaganda for the dissemination of republican principles underlying our free government.

With our large influx of illiterate and ignorant foreigners, and the rapid enrollment of their children in our public schools, the momentous issues hanging upon a movement like this are readily seen. Though the first aims of the Woman's Relief Corps are defined in its auxiliaryship

to the Grand Army of the Republic, yet its platform is so broad that the organization will be perpetuated long after the last veteran of the Union has answered to the final roll-call.

The Eastern Star, Its Origin, Progress, and Development — Address by Mary C. Snedden of Missouri.

Certain landmarks or laws in Masonry were handed down from age to age and from generation to generation, no one knowing whence they originated and no one having the right to alter or change; but all Masons were bound to obey them. Among these landmarks we find that no woman may become a member of the craft.

How, then, came women to be associated with this exclusive brotherhood of masons? And what is the relationship existing between the Masonic fraternity and the Order of the Eastern Star?

The changes in the intellectual relations of men and women that have come with this generation have had their influence even in this ancient order, and have made our order possible. Every age has its John the Baptist. Such a one was Robert Morris, the founder of the American Rite of Adoptive Masonry. Robert Morris was made a Mason in 1846, and at once became so intensely alive to the beauties of its symbolic teachings that his whole life was given up to the study of Masonry. He married, and his desire was that his wife should go with him in these paths of beauty. In their studies and researches they found many side degrees, where the wife or daughter of a Mason was given some sign and password whereby she might make herself known to a Mason if in distress.

The idea grew with him, and from 1850 to 1855 he communicated to Masons and their women relatives five degrees and called them the Eastern Star. These degrees were based on an old French rite. No organizations were formed.

It was simply a social degree usually conferred after the lectures. A banquet was often spread, and Masons' wives met with Masons in a Masonic hall.

He soon became so far advanced in his ideas as to form organizations called constellations, which received charters from a Supreme Grand Constellation, of which he was the Supreme Grand Luminary. But few of these constellations were formed, and they were of short life. The paraphernalia was expensive, the ceremonies too dramatic and complicated.

Finding the work not practical in this form he undertook to simplify it, and published a manual entitled "Families of the Eastern Star." This was used from 1859 to 1868 by himself and other Masonic lecturers, who thus communicated the degrees. The system was lacking in that there was no permanent organization, but the germ was there, and from it has evolved the order of to-day. Others saw the beauties and possibilities of the Eastern Star.

The first successful organization was formed in Michigan, in 1866, working under "Tatem's Ritual." The Lodges were called "Eastern Star Lodges of Adoptive Masonry." A Grand Lodge also was formed which tendered its allegiance to the General Grand Chapter in 1880.

In 1876 there were Grand Chapters in Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Mississippi, California, Vermont, Indiana, Connecticut, Nebraska, Missouri, Illinois, Arkansas, Kansas, and Massachusetts.

The organization of these bodies and the publication of their proceedings revealed the fact that although the Eastern Star was founded upon a practical system, serious and growing evils had resulted from the peculiar method of growth as a system and extension. The publication of the different rituals, and revised editions thereof, had brought confusion in council and diversity of work, where there should have been unity and uniformity.

July 15, 1875, in the Grand Chapter of Mississippi, a resolution was adopted to this effect: That uniformity of ritual

was essential to the future success of the order, and that delegates be appointed from the several Grand Chapters, and that a convention of these delegates be called to consider the formation of a national organization that should have absolute and supreme control over the ritual and lectures of the Adoptive Rite. This was followed by similar resolutions in other Grand Chapters.

April 6, 1876, the Grand Chapter of Indiana extended an invitation to all the Grand Chapters of the order to meet in Indianapolis, for the purpose of organizing said supreme organization. The invitation was accepted, and the convention resulted in the organization of the General Grand Chapter, November 16, 1876. At this first gathering of Eastern Star members, from the different sections of our country, there was much enthusiasm. A constitution was adopted and a ritual committee appointed.

At the second meeting, May, 1878, the ritual was adopted. The third session was held in Chicago, August 20, 1880. Since its organization the growth and development of the order has been gradual and satisfactory.

The General Grand Chapter has provided an unobjectionable method of extension into unoccupied territory. It exercises the right of domain over all States and Territories where no Grand Chapter exists, until the formation of one therein.

There are chapters under the immediate jurisdiction of the General Grand Chapter in Alabama, Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Kentucky, North Dakota, New Mexico, Louisiana, West Virginia, Wyoming, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Utah, and Washington, D. C.

This is a proud showing for sixteen years' growth. In 1876 a few scattered chapters, using many rituals, with no method of extension; in 1893 nearly one thousand three hundred chapters and about seventy-five thousand members.

When individuals come together and form an organization they have an object in view. When the Eastern Star was conceived its founder sought to create a social tie

between Masons and their families. He did not claim, nor have we ever claimed, that the Eastern Star was any part of Masonry, that any of its cherished secrets were given to us. He sought to give the fraternity a helpmeet in all the beneficent work of the order. We believe we are justified in saying that the order has been of help and has reached a higher standard of usefulness than Robert Morris ever hoped for in his fondest dreams. Among the objects for which we are associated together are the caring for the widow and orphan, and assisting the great brotherhood in all deeds of mercy and love.

Since woman has worked hand in hand with her Masonic brother a great impetus has been given to the building of Masonic Homes, and there are now successful homes in Kentucky, Michigan, Missouri, Illinois, Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia, with prospects of several others very soon.

These homes are such in name and deed. Here worthy but unfortunate Masons, their wives, widows, and children, find a safe retreat, where they are surrounded with all the comforts and conveniences of a home in every sense. They receive every care, and when sickness comes the best medical treatment is given, and their declining years are made as bright and comfortable as human love can make them.

The inmates are as one family, free from the feeling of dependence that is felt in a public institution, and is so repugnant to a sensitive soul. They come as fathers and children, and are received as objects of personal love. In this noble work our order has not been officially recognized, but we have worked patiently, willingly, and quietly, trying thus to prove to our Masonic brothers the good there is in us, firmly believing that time will give us all we crave. And the time is coming, for already one grand jurisdiction has placed us side by side with the Grand Royal Arch Chapter, Grand Commandery Knights Templar, and Scottish Rite. Kansas has placed two members from each of these

on its Masonic Home board of directors, and also gives two to the Eastern Star, and one of these a woman. It has gone further than this, and says the orphan children of members of the Eastern Star shall be admitted, even though the fathers were not Masons. I am proud that Kansas leads in this.

Our order is often spoken of as a woman's order, but from the nature of our organization — owing our origin, life, and usefulness to the Masonic fraternity — it is not such. All Master Masons in good standing are eligible to membership, and on our rolls have ever been found the names of the best and noblest of the fraternity, who, when we came with uncertain step and timidly craved permission to enter the sacred portals of the Masonic hall, threw open its doors and bade us welcome. But for their influence, support, and coöperation we should never have achieved success.

It is pleasant to know that the founder and patriarch, Robert Morris, gave the General Grand Chapter his sanction and approval. At the third session, 1880, he was an honored guest, and was made an honorary member; and his birthday anniversary, August 31st, was made the Festal Day of the order.

Organization and its Relation to the International and National Councils of Women — An Address by Rachel Foster Avery of Pennsylvania, Corresponding Secretary of the National Council of Women.

The great meeting which is just closing has shown a grand pageant of the organized work of woman, filing majestically before us day after day.

It would seem as if woman had reached out her hand and taken possession of the intellectual and spiritual realms to show to mankind the power of organized womanhood.

But this meeting is to the meeting which is planned for

five years hence what a disorderly rout is to the march of an army. Strongholds which, to the undisciplined forces of free-lances, seem impregnable, promptly haul down their banners and send out their flags of truce on the approach of a disciplined, well-trained, well-officered army.

When it was first proposed, eight years ago, by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, that in 1888 there should be held in this country an International Woman Suffrage meeting to commemorate the grand beginning in 1848 of the struggle toward woman's full emancipation, the timid hesitated, thinking even that a great undertaking, demanding more money, time, and labor than could be found to devote to it; but the woman whom we all delight to honor, the leader of the suffrage forces, Susan B. Anthony, she — the undaunted one — resolved that it should be. She developed the original thought into the idea of an International Council, to which all women should be summoned to bring their reports of progress along all lines, to compare together the work and the gains of the past forty years. This resulted in the International Council of 1888.

When, in 1888, delegations of women came to us from seven other countries, and from over forty associations in our own and other lands, May Wright Sewall developed still further the plan, and conceived the magnificent thought of permanent organizations of women, national and international, which should form grand clearing-houses for ideas.

Acted upon by the delegates then present, this conception crystallized into the National Council of Women of the United States and the International Council of Women.

These bodies, officered by leading women of America and of Europe, have been found to be the proper vehicle for expressing the highest attainments of organizations among women. These together, the National and the International, have been the willing co-workers with the Woman's Branch of the Congress Auxiliary to give to the world the World's Congress of Representative Women.

To thousands of women the International Council of 1888

came as a revelation, broadening their horizon, uplifting them to higher mental and spiritual planes.

The Congress of Representative Women should bring this same great boon of mental breadth and uplifting to many thousands more.

From the individual woman working alone, through all the links of the local organizations, county, state, and national, along one line of work to the National Council, inclusive of the lines of the International, inclusive of all nationalities, women have now perfected a strong and flawless chain — a chain with which womanhood can bind the whole world together in peace and unity.

The motto of the National Council of Women of the United States is "Lead, Kindly Light." The design is a light upheld by a delicate hand; not a blazing, swiftly-consuming torch, but a light burning quietly and constantly before the altar of humanity, before which the united womanhood of the world pays its tribute.

What the International Council of Women may come to be is for the future to decide, but when we look back five years and see the immense gain in the organized work of women, we can not doubt that the prophecy of this meeting is that five years hence there will exist materialized what now exists in the brain of the woman who has managed this congress — a grand International Congress of Women, composed of delegates from all civilized countries, sitting for a part of each year, considering all questions between nations, throwing the influence of a united womanhood in favor of better conditions for humanity, better educational opportunities for the world's children, and in favor of that equality between man and woman which shall give to man the high privilege of living, not with his social and political inferiors, but with his social and political equals, which shall lend its influence toward peace and the healing of the nations.

EDITOR'S CONCLUDING NOTE.

When the chairman of the Committee on Organization entered into a contract to edit the volumes now presented to the public, it must be confessed that she had an inadequate conception of the difficulties which would arise in the execution of her task. In the first place she expected to receive from the officers of the Congress Auxiliary complete and accurate reports of all addresses delivered in the "World's Congress of Representative Women." A cursory examination of the records turned over to her by these officers resulted in the discovery of many and grave errors. This must not be interpreted as an implied criticism of the official management of the Auxiliary or of the reporters employed by it. In the unfinished building, wherein the sound of the workman's hammer still lingered, mingled with the whistling and bell-ringing of the locomotives and the rumbling of trains over adjacent railroad tracks, the reporters labored under disadvantages which rendered accuracy impossible. Hence a letter was sent at once to every participant in the General Congress, inviting her, in behalf of historical accuracy, to send a copy of her address or report to the editor.

Many of the participants in the Congress responded to this appeal by sending their original manuscripts or carefully corrected type-written copies of them; many more, however, expressed their entire willingness to be represented by the editor's revision of the official reports of their work.

Accuracy would have required that every participant in the Congress should have had an opportunity to correct the proof of her own address; but the large number of the participants, and the extent of the territory over which they were scattered, together with the necessity for haste, rendered this impossible.

It is to be hoped that these considerations will secure the indulgence of both contributors and readers respecting errors which under the circumstances are inevitable. That the second edition of this work may be amended, the editor further begs that the author of each address, report, paper, or discussion herein presented will send to her corrections of all errors noted.

Although it was at first intended that these volumes should concern themselves with only the General Congress and the Report Congresses a preliminary inspection of material showed that no adequate conception of the character and scope of the great Congress could be given by a report which did not include the Department Congresses also. Inasmuch as the Congress Auxiliary was in no way responsible for reports of Department Congresses, the editor was compelled to collect all of the documents pertaining to such Congresses by personal effort. A letter asking for a copy

of her contribution was sent to every woman whose name appeared on the Department Congress programmes. That no pains might be spared in the effort to secure a fair representation of the work of every organization holding a Department Congress, a letter was sent also to the president and secretary of each such organization suggesting to them the collection and revision of the addresses given in their Department Congress.

In a majority of cases the participants in Department Congresses sent copies of their addresses directly to the editor, giving her carte blanche respecting their use. In a few instances the secretary or some other official of an organization collected and edited the papers given in its Congress. In this connection special mention should be made of the painstaking labor of Sarah A. Stewart, secretary of the International Kindergarten Union; Mary G. Burdette, secretary of the Women's Baptist Home Missionary Society; Elizabeth B. Grannis, president of the National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity; Lorraine J. Pitkin, secretary of the Order of the Eastern Star; Lily A. Toomy, secretary of the Catholic Women's Department Congress; Katherine Hodges, secretary of the American Protective Society of Authors; and Rachel Foster Avery, corresponding secretary of the National Council of Women of the United States; all of whom prepared admirable abstracts of the proceedings of the Department Congresses of their respective organizations.

In order that the two volumes now completed should present an adequate history of the General Congress, two considerations were essential: first, that every paper given in the General Congress itself should be presented in whole or in part; second, that every subordinate Congress should be represented by at least one paper. These conditions have been observed.

All of the papers given in the subordinate Congresses have been carefully edited, and will be published later in a separate volume, making a third volume uniform with the two now offered to the public.

It is hoped that the editor's desire to be entirely fair in endeavoring to present a balanced record of the work of woman will be attested by these volumes. If the representative of any organization should feel that it has been inadequately treated, let her attribute the unfortunate fact to the necessary limit of this work, and credit the editor with an unremitting effort to give all societies an equal showing. The four organizations with which the editor is most closely associated are the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and the National Council of Women of the United States. Each of the first three of these organizations is represented in these pages by one paper only, read in its Department Congress, while the Department Congress held by the last-named organization finds no mention here. It is the hope of the editor that these facts will be accepted as final proof that she has not availed herself of the opportunities of her position to magnify the importance of the lines of work which command her warmest interest.

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL.

APPENDIX.

A.

The following is an extract from a letter sent to the Committee of Twelve Hundred, referred to in Chapter I:

The Committee of Arrangements desires that this great opportunity shall be used in the way that will further the highest interests of humanity. It therefore is anxious that the programme shall be prepared with the greatest discrimination, and to this end is asking leaders in the various departments of work, the world over, to aid it by answering the following questions:

FIRST. What subjects will you suggest for discussion in the World's Congress of Representative Women?

SECOND. What women will you suggest to write papers, or lead in the discussion of the subjects suggested?

It must be understood that the committee will find it impossible to place all of the subjects and all of the writers presented, in response to the above inquiries, upon the programme, but it solicits you to make your lists of both subjects and writers as full as you may desire, and will be very grateful for a prompt response to this appeal.

B.

Sur la proposition de Mme. May Wright Sewall, déléguée du Grand Conseil des Femmes Américaines, la résolution suivante est votée:

Persuadé que l'organisation et la réunion fréquente des femmes dans chaque pays favoriseraient les efforts qui ont pour but de provoquer la mise en pratique de cette justice nationale, de cette moralité et de cette philanthropie plus élevée qui caractérisent le XIX siècle; persuadé aussi que l'union des femmes de toutes les nations produirait le même effet dans le monde entier, le Congrès Approuve la Fondation d'un Conseil International Permanent de Femmes.

C.

CONFERENCES AND CONFERENCE COMMITTEES.

The Congress has been, in a sense, divided into eight departments, to each of which has been assigned, during the entire week of its session, a conference hall, as follows:

Conferences on Education, - - - -	Hall XXVII.
Conferences on Industry, - - - - -	Hall XXI.
Conferences on Literature and Art, - -	Hall XXVIII.

Conferences on Philanthropy and Charity, -	Hall XX.
Conferences on Moral and Social Reform, -	Hall XXXII.
Conferences on Religion, - - - - -	Hall XXII.
Conferences on Civil Law and Government,	Hall XXXI.
Conferences on Science and Philosophy, -	Hall XXX.

Each of these conference halls is in charge of a conference committee, some members of which will be found there each day from 9 to 10 A. M. and from 12.30 to 8 P. M. These ladies will receive and introduce all visitors to their conference hall, and will arrange for informal conferences, subject in each department to the chairman of the committee.

When formal meetings are arranged for conference halls, notices of these arrangements will be sent by a member of the sub-committee in charge immediately to the Bureau of Information, after conference with the chairman of the committee. There they will be duplicated and copies sent to the presiding officers in all meetings then in session. These officers are requested to make announcements of these notices, which will, in all cases, be signed by the secretary of the Congress, Rachel Foster Avery. In this way conferences will at once be made known to all audiences assembled in the Art Palace.

GENERAL REPORTS.

One department of the Congress work which will not appear until the printed reports are issued is a great series of general reports upon the eight departments mentioned above. The writers of these reports have been secured from among the most eminent women of the various countries represented. The list is not entirely completed, but will be filled before the reports are issued at the close of the series of congresses. The names of the writers of these reports are given under the eight departments of the Congress, in conjunction with the conference committees of said departments, as follows:

EDUCATION.

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Miss Eliza Scott Kirkland.
Mrs. Grant A. Millar.
Countess of Aberdeen, Woman's Protective Provident League, Scottish Women's Liberal Federation.

SOUTH AMERICA.

Martha Sesselberg, Member of the Pará and Amazon Commission.
Isabel King.
Amy C. Wales.
Madame Quesada.

SIAM.

Lady Linchee Suriya.

SWEDEN.

Mrs. S. Aldersparre, Frederika-Bremer-Forbundet.
Miss Gertrud Adelborg, Frederika-Bremer-Forbundet.
Miss Anna Roos, Frederika-Bremer-Forbundet.
Mrs. Ellen Ankarsward, Foreningen für Gift Kvinnas Eganderätt.
Mrs. Anna Hierta Retzius, Foreningen für Gift Kvinnas Eganderätt.
Mrs. Rosalie Olivecrona.
Mrs. A. Montelius.
Miss H. Casselli.
Mrs. A. Myhrman Lindgren.
Miss L. Engstrom.
Miss Ellen Key.
Miss H. Cronius.
Miss Hilda Dallman.
Miss Lotten Dahlgren.
Mrs. Anna Fleetwood Derby.
Miss Hilda Wennberg.
Baroness Thorborg Rappe.
Miss Ellen Fries.
Miss Hulda Lundin.
Miss A. Lagerstedt.
Miss Eva Fryxell.
Miss Eva Rohde.
Mrs. A. Wallenberg.
Dr. Carolina Widerstrom.
Mrs. Sofi Wilson.
Mrs. Helena Bergh.
Miss Anna Sandström.

SPAIN.

Professor Catalina de Alcala.
Emilie Pardo Bazan.
Señora Dona Maria del Pilar Sinues.

SWITZERLAND.

Mme. Tauthe Vignier, L'Union des Femmes.
Dr. Emilie Kempin.

SYRIA.

Mme. Hanna K. Korany.

E.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS.

The following extracts from foreign letters, which might be multiplied indefinitely from other letters received by the chairman of the Committee of Organization, will show the interest evinced in this Congress abroad:

From Count Seckendorff, Ober Hofmarschall to the Empress Frederick:

THE EMPRESS FREDERICK'S PALACE, BERLIN, January 13, 1893.

Count Seckendorff has received the commands of Her Majesty, the Empress Frederick, to thank Mrs. May Wright Sewall very much for her letter of October last, 15th.

Her Majesty desires him to say that Her Majesty takes the greatest interest in the scheme which Mrs. Sewall has put forward, explained at such length in Mrs. Sewall's letter, and which recalls to Her Majesty the conversation which she had with Mrs. Sewall at Homburg. It is because Her Majesty saw so many difficulties in the way of realizing this plan (which has her complete sympathy), that an answer has so long been delayed. Her Majesty was anxious that no stone should remain unturned.

From Herr Dr. Max Schmid, Berlin:

I have received your inclosures with hearty thanks, and follow your undertaking with interest. So far as lies in my power I will gladly work for your cause.

From Alice P. Morrison, Department Superintendent Ontario Woman's Christian Temperance Union:

I was very much pleased to receive one of the World's Congress Auxiliary circulars, and to learn of the extensive arrangements being made for the advancement of the cause of womanhood. There has never occurred heretofore so favorable an opportunity to place before the world in an unprejudiced light the various plans in operation and work now being done by the *women* of the world; and I, for one, look forward to grand results from this movement.

Personally my work is limited to a department in the Provincial Woman's Christian Temperance Union; but every effort put forth for the cause of womanhood — from the grand organizations of whom the beloved Frances E. Willard is the head to the remote school for Hindu widows, with their dark-skinned sister Pundita Ramabai as teacher — strikes a responsive chord in my heart, and calls forth my most earnest prayers for success. Hoping that all that you hope for and much more may result from this far-reaching and noble scheme, I remain, etc.

From Mrs. Laura Ormiston Chant, London:

It is evident I am bound for the World's Fair in May. I have been appointed one of the honorary delegates by our National Suffrage Society. I am going to bring my daughter with me. It will be a life-long memory for her — a visit with mother to this, the most marvelous gathering of the century; it will help her to a magnificent ideal of the future of woman.

From Florence Balgarnie, London:

I am very glad to tell you things go on well; we shall have twenty-five societies represented by honorary delegates, and several by delegates. I am much honored by your invitation to take part in the symposium. I inclose our list up to date. Of course the reports which so many societies are sending in we hope will be published, and thus the main object will be accomplished of comparing notes with accuracy on all women's questions. I have really worked with might and main for the Congress; so you must not judge of my enthusiasm by the shortness of my letters.

From Lina Morgenstern, Berlin:

Your letter pleased me very much, for I perceive more and more how magnificent

the congresses will be. The wish expressed by the committee touched me deeply, and I am very willing to forward them an address on the "Industrial Position of Women in Germany."

From Frau Hedwig Heyl, Charlottenburg, Berlin, Germany:

In reply to your favor I beg to tender my sincere thanks for the honor conferred upon me by the committee to become a member of your Congress, the aims and objects of which have my most lively interest. I am also honored by your desire of my delivering an address upon the subject selected by your committee. I regret that the duties of my position here prevent me from delivering this address personally, but have much pleasure in forwarding the essay in time. I assure you, dear madame, of my sincere and profound interest in the good cause in which your committee has embarked.

From Frau M. Strecker, Vice-President of the Alice-Frauenverein, Darmstadt:

Accept my best thanks for your kind communications and papers. I regret as much as yourself that your telegram of last summer was forwarded to me too late to enable me to make your acquaintance in person. It shall be our endeavor, by means of public addresses and newspapers, to make clear to the women of our particular home, Hessen, the cause for which you so kindly and warmly enlist our attention, and bring forward all such who may have anything special whatever to communicate regarding the subject in question. In memory of the ever-to-be-remembered Grand Duchess Alice, who encouraged women in every branch of work, and whose influence ought not to remain unnoticed on this occasion, we hope to take part in your great International Exhibition, under the title, "Women's Work in Social Progress in Hessen."

As early as March 12th I received both packets, and beg you to accept my best thanks for them. Miss Ella Mensch will have the honor of personally expressing her thanks for your kind invitation for the eight days of the Congress. After having seen a part of the sphere of action of American women, it seems to me more important than ever to be represented at this Congress by a delegate. It is a great pity that so many ideal aspirations here remain undeveloped for want of means, although the greatest industry prevails.

From Emily Kempin, Dr. Jur., Zürich:

I feel much honored by your invitation to prepare an address for Thursday, May 18th, on the subject, "Woman's Debt to Zürich," and I shall gladly comply with your request.

From Frau Elizabet Kaselowsky, Berlin:

I received your prospectus about the Woman's Congress, and I did all I could to make it prosper here in Germany. I think you will be informed that there will come several ladies to speak about different themes. I will come myself, not expressly for the congresses, but as a representative of the German Women's Committee, to take care of and to arrange our exhibit. So I hope to see you in the spring, for I intend to depart in the last days of March, and to stay, perhaps, eight weeks in Chicago.

From Josefa Humpal-Zeman, Prague, Bohemia:

You are very kind indeed to honor me with the invitation to address the Woman's Congress. I should prefer not to appear before such a distinguished gathering; but for the sake of the women of my country I accept gratefully your invitation, and have chosen the theme, "Woman as a Social Leader." Having accepted it, I assure you, dear madam, that I will do all in my power to do justice to the subject, and prevent the need of regrets on your part for having honored the women of my nationality by choosing one of them to participate in an effort which will be a new turning point in the history of woman.

From Alexandra Gripenberg, Helsingfors, Finland:

Accept my best wishes for the success of your grand work, and believe me yours very sincerely, etc.

From Callirrhöe Parren, Athens, Greece:

To-day I have received your letter, and I thank you to have thought of me. I accept with great pleasure. With next post I write you a long letter upon this matter. I hope to be at Chicago with you.

From Rosettina Amadori, Bologna, Italy:

Veuillez agréer mes remerciments pour votre aimable lettre; elle augmente encore mes regrets de ne pouvoir me rendre à Chicago pour le Congrès Universel des Femmes. J'y prends le plus vif intérêt et j'en reconnais la haute importance; j'envoie mon adhésion, et je souhaite vivement que le Congrès obtienne une bonne réussite, et que la lumière qu'il va repandre soit d'une influence bienfaisante pour tout le monde. Puisse-t-i-l apporter aux femmes les avantages moraux aussi désirable que nécessaires. Je me chargerai avec plaisir de la publication sur quelque journal Italien des exemplaires que vous avez eu la complaisance de m'envoyer.

From M. C. A. Chénod, Secrétaire de L'Union des Femmes, Geneva:

Nous avons reçu votre avis, et, nous appuyant sur l'invitation qui est adressée aux sociétés de femmes à se faire représenter au Congrès féministe de Chicago, nous venons vous demander de nous faire la faveur d'accepter comme déléguée de notre Société Madame Tauthe Vignier, qui doit se rendre à Chicago pour assister au Congrès. Notre but en demandant à participer a votre Congrès est de nous rapprocher des Associations féministes qui sont tout autrement avancées que nous, pour trouver un appui auprès d'elles, et pour puiser de nouvelles forces dans leur example.

From Madame Clemence Royer, translator of Darwin, and author of many works, Paris:

Bien certainement, je ne vous ai point oubliée — et je vais m'empresser de faire toute la propagande dont je suis capable

From Marie Popelin, Docteur en Droit, Bruxelles:

J'ai su par les journaux que votre visite à Paris a été un grand succès, et que là, du moins, on vous prépare une belle délégation. Nous travaillons beaucoup à notre Ligue, et nous avons constitué le comité d'honneur que vous nous avez demandé. Je compte bien prendre part au Congrès des Femmes, et nous voudrions recevoir les papiers concernant le programme et les questions qui seront discuteés, et savoir si vous désirez un travail de nous, et quel genre de travail. Je voudrais voir de mes yeux l'activité des Américaines, juger de leur développement et prendre la parole au Congrès.

From Marie Deraismes Présidente de la Société pour l'Amélioration du Sort de la Femme, Paris:

Je suis très touchée de votre cordiale lettre. Nous n'avons eu qu'un regret, lors de votre passage à Paris; c'est que vous n'avez pu nous consacrer plus de temps. Pour répondre à votre désir je vous adresserai une étude succincte sur le pouvoir de la femme dans la politique. J'ai déjà abordé ce sujet dans les œuvres que vous recevrez; néanmoins, j'y reviendrai spécialement, pour votre Congrès. Notre deléguée sera chargée d'en faire la lecture.

From M. Davrigny, Secrétaire de l'Union Internationale des Sciences et des Arts, Paris:

En réponse à votre dernière lettre, j'ai l'honneur de vous faire savoir que notre Comité a désigné pour partir comme membres d'honneur du Congrès féminin, Mme. Ernesta Urban, artiste peintre, et présidente de notre société, et Mme. Cécile Renvoz, femme de science et conférencière. Nous vous savons grand gré de votre invitation à coopérer à vos travaux.

From M. Chailley-Bert, *Journal des Débats*, Paris:

M. J. Chailley-Bert presents his best compliments to Mrs. May Wright Sewall, and begs to inform her that he will be very much pleased to publish in *Le Journal des Débats* anything concerning the highly commendable Congress of Women at the World's Fair.

From Jane Cobden Unwin, London:

I hope that you will excuse the delay in my letter, and at the same time express to the members of the Committee of the Woman's Branch of the Auxiliary my sincere thanks for their invitation to speak on Thursday, the 18th May. I look forward with much pleasure to being present during one or two days of the week's Congress.

From Madame Aline Valette, Secretary of the Fédération Française des Sociétés Féministes, Paris:

Les semaines et les jours passent avec une effrayante rapidité. À peine nous ètiez-vous arrivée, et déjà vous étiez repartie ; si bien que, quand je pense à votre passage à Paris, je crois avoir fait un joli rêve, et il me faut, par une preuve matérielle, me convaincre du contraire. De mon côté, je m'engage à vous faire part de ce qui surgira de saillant relativement à notre cause, à Paris, ou ailleurs, en France. Recevez, Madame, le bon souvenir d'une Soeur française qui ne demande qu' à aider à faire moins grande la distance qui la sépare de vous.

From Madame Vincent, Representative of the Fédération Française, etc., Paris:

La Fédération Française des Sociétés Féministes, in a meeting held on the 2d of February, has named a commission with the object of seeking and arranging practical means for sending out delegates to the Congress of Chicago. I beg of you to give me all particulars which are necessary to us.

From Madame Griess-Traut, Vice-Présidente de la Société pour l'Amélioration du Sort de la Femme, Paris:

Je reponds à votre bonne et intéressante lettre, qui m' a rappelé non seulement le souvenir de votre personne sympathique, mais aussi celui de la mission de dévouement dont vous vous êtes si bien acquittée à Paris. Les duplicata des mémoires que vous m' avez addressés ont été distribués au mieux possible à des femmes de progrès, les sociétés connues s' étant trouvées déjà pourvues. Recevez tous mes voeux pour votre bonheur personnel, et pour le succès de votre grande et magnifique œuvre.

From M. Guy Tomel, Rédacteur au Figaro, Paris:

Je me tiens entièrement à votre disposition pour continuer la propagande en France. Vous n'aurez qu' à m' adresser les documents relatifs à votre œuvre au fur et à mesure de leur publication.

From Madame Wiggishoff, Montmartre, Paris:

Je vous suis reconnaissante de votre bon souvenir. J'espère que l'esprit a raison du corps, et il faut bien que cela soit ainsi, pour que vous puissiez faire face au travail qu'il vous faudra faire encore d'ici six mois, après ce que vous faites depuis un an, pour nous préparer un Congrès digne de notre grande cause. Croyez, chère madame, que je garderai toujours un souvenir précieux de la visite que nous avons faite ensemble dans nos écoles; votre enthousiasme communicatif, chère madame, prouve combien était bien placée la confiance que votre comité vous a témoignée en vous déléguant sur notre continent; tant d'efforts ne sauraient être méconnus, et nous vous devrons beaucoup, Mesdames.

From Fanny Zampini Salazar, Naples, Italy:

Many thanks for your kind letter. I am glad that I can deliver in English my address on "Woman in New Italy." I am starting this week for my tour through Italy, so as to study better my subject, making the personal acquaintance of our most promi-

nent women, whom I already know by correspondence. I can not tell you how impatient I am to take part in your most interesting Congress, where I am sure to learn a great deal about all that is being done throughout the entire world to elevate our sex.

From Frau Hanna Bieber-Boehm, President Jugendschutz Verein, Berlin:

Is there no possibility of postponing the World's Congress of Representative Women until July? It is impossible for me to travel without my husband, and he can not come so early; and this Congress is what, above all things, I want. It will be a great pain not to be there, but, unhappily, before August it is impossible.

From Frau Mathilde Weber, Philanthropist and Author, Tübingen. Thus closes a long and helpful letter:

I send you hearty greetings over the ocean, with the wish and belief that your great Congress may conquer many old prejudices against our sex.

From Frau Henriette Goldschmidt, President Verein für Familien und Volkserziehung, Leipsic:

I hope the inspired labor of Froebel, and the principles of education developed by him, will be among the subjects considered by your great Congress, the influence of which must be so wide and so lasting.

From Fräulein Augusta Förster, Kassel. She writes with the greatest enthusiasm of the Congress, and says:

Whether I come as a private person, or as the delegate of the Allgemeine Deutsche Frauenverein in Leipsic, or of the Allgemeine Deutsche Lehrerinnen Verein, my participation will be in education and philanthropy; although it will please me better to keep silent in this great Congress where the greatest will be present to speak.

From the Contessa Emilia Peruzzi, Florence, Italy:

The documents, preliminary addresses, etc., concerning the proposed Congress of Representative Women have been read with profound interest. I send the names and addresses of many Italian ladies of high standing, to whom I hope the plans of the Congress will be communicated, and pray that its success may equal the hopes of the committee.

From Lady Aberdeen, London:

I must crave your forgiveness for not having answered your letter at an earlier date. I shall be glad to take up the subject that you suggest—"Women as a Force in Politics."

[Lady Aberdeen's interest in the Congress is so great that she comes over to attend it, although she will be obliged to leave again before its close to keep engagements in London.]

From the United States Minister at Madrid — Hon. A. Loudon Snowden:

I have had much pleasure in bringing to the notice of the Spanish Government the subject of the Woman's Congress. I will inform you at once if I should be successful, and meantime I beg to express to you and to your co-workers the admiration I feel for this admirable undertaking, which promises to be one of the noblest and most elevating occurrences of the century.

From the United States Minister at London — Hon. Robert T. Lincoln:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, and to acquaint you in reply that I have had pleasure in forwarding a copy of the same to Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to whom I at the same time wrote a note expressing the hope that it might be possible for the government of this country to comply with the request of the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary, and appoint two ladies of influence and distinction who have interested themselves in the education of women, in philanthropy, literature, or art, as delegates to the proposed Congress.

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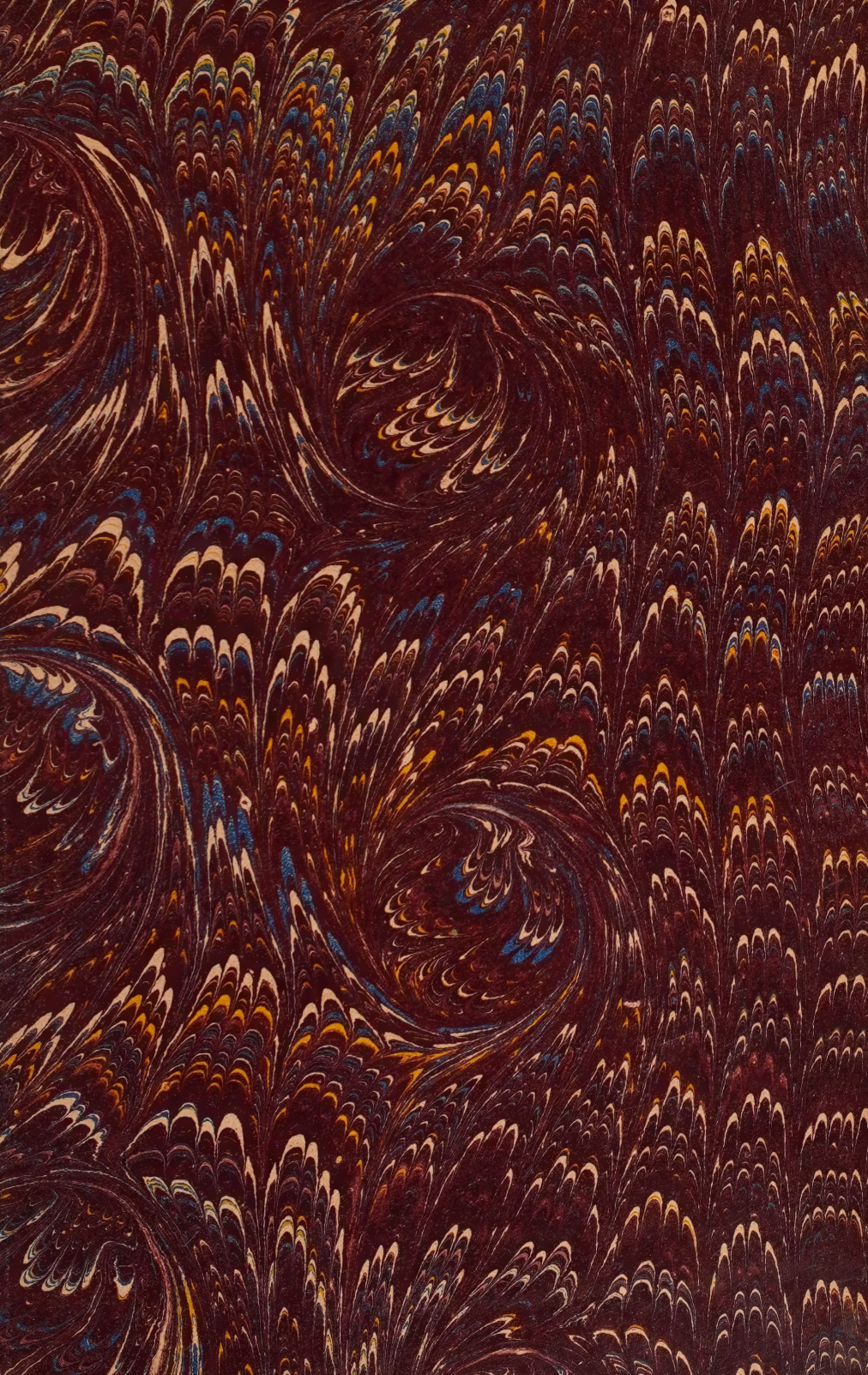
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